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No. CCCXV.

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BETWEEN the Church and Orthodox Dissent lies Methodism, a body of Christians allied with both, but separated by differences stronger than the affinities which connect it with either of the cognate forms of religious organisations. Methodism is mindful of its obligations, yet jealous of its independence; it has therefore adopted the tautological watchword, 'The friends of all, the enemies of none.' We propose to lay before our readers, in some detail, the organisation, belief, and results of Methodism, as a distinct domain of the religious life of Englishmen. The attempt to indicate the influence of sporadic Methodism would lead us too far afield, and we therefore purpose to confine our attention to Methodism as it has crystallised into distinct communities. It will further be necessary to restrict our observations in a great degree to the parent stem, and simply indicate, in passing, the salient points of difference between the Wesleyan and other branches

of Methodism. With the exception of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, all the different Methodist societies hold the same doctrines, which they expound with substantial agreement. Their disputes, many of which have been intensely bitter, have arisen solely on questions of government, and in this they range from the episcopal form in America to a most democratic system in the United Methodist Free Churches; while between the extremes are the Wesleyans, whose polity is a heterogeneous compound of Presbyterianism and of original devices for the government of religious corporations.

The line of demarcation between Dissent and Methodism has been well defined from the beginning. Methodism sprang from a sense of personal guilt before God; Dissent arose from the conviction that Episcopacy was wrong. The quarrel of the former was with irreligion, of the latter with prelacy. Dissent discussed theories of Church government as though the salvation of the world depended upon the adoption of some particular scheme. Methodists declared that their prime purpose was 'to reform the nation, more particularly the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land.' 'Dissenters,' said Wesley, 'begin everywhere with showing their hearers how fallen the Church and ministers are; we begin everywhere with showing our hearers how fallen they are themselves.' Dissent magnified the congregation and made it honourable: Methodism originated the 'United Societies' which were to have close connexion with one another, and always to act in unison. Dissent boldly separated from the Church; the Methodist leaders declared that they 'obeyed the bishops in all things indifferent, and observed the canons as far as they could with a safe conscience.' Their separation was gradual; it continued through many years, it was accompanied with fond regrets, and it has tinged, though with gradually fading tints, the intercourse of the Church and Methodism.

Methodism arose in the darkest days of the Reformed Church of England and in the most dismal of English Dissent. At the head of the movement were Whitefield and Wesley. The former broke through all trammels and brought the tidings of the Christian faith to the Kingswood miners and similar men by means of field preaching. His passionate oratory took their hearts by storm, and when he found himself unequal to the demands created by his own success he called John Wesley to his aid. At first sight this seemed an unhappy choice. Wesley was a scholar and a gentleman, logical and

incisive in his style of address, cool and unimpassioned in his utterances. As a Fellow of his college he left nothing to be desired, but it was another thing to confront unwashed colliers. But from the moment he faced those eager crowds his soul awoke, ecclesiastical prejudices melted, the man overpowered the priest, and the master of the movement was felt to have come upon the field. One gift he had, and no one shared it with him—he was a born administrator of spiritual forces. Whitefield's power ceased when his glowing periods were ended; Wesley's followers boast that twenty millions of people call him their 'venerable founder.' The marks of its birth have grown dim, but the Methodism of to-day testifies to the genius of this most practical of English Churchmen. He systematised everything he touched; and that not through a vulgar ambition to found a spiritual despotism, but through the constraint of a nature which impelled him, as it does the bee, to store treasure only in symmetrical forms.

Methodism is built upon the class meeting as its germ cell. This is a meeting which is held weekly, generally under the direction of a layman, for religious conversation. It numbers from twelve to fifteen individuals, not necessarily of the same sex. Its adoption marks the true inventor in religious dynamics. Wesley gives several accounts of the origin of this meeting. 'In 1739,' said the founder of the 'United Societies,' 'eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin. They desired that I would spend some time with them and advise them. . . . I appointed a day when they might all come together.' This was the beginning of the Methodist societies. But it was soon seen that many professed Methodists were unbecoming in their conduct. No way of correcting the abuses presented itself. 'At length,' says Wesley, 'while we were thinking of quite another thing, we struck upon a method for which we have had to thank God ever since. I was talking with several of the society in Bristol concerning the means of paying the debts there, when one stood up and said, "Let every member of the society give a penny weekly till all are paid." Another answered, "But many are poor, and cannot afford to do it." "Then," said he, "put eleven of the poorest with me, and if they can give anything, well—I will call upon them weekly." The men that undertook the collecting reported the evil-doers to Wesley. He saw in a moment that he had hit upon an effective plan of supervision. Instead of the leaders, as these collectors were called, going to the members, the latter were to come to them weekly.

Prayer and religious counsel preceded the contribution of the pennies. Religion and finance were wedded, and the system of Methodism became a living thing.

The next thing was to form rules for the societies which were composed of these classes. This exactly suited Wesley's mind. Beginning with the comprehensive maxim that 'the sole condition required in those who desired admission into the societies was a desire to flee from the wrath to come,' he proceeded to enclose the whole domain of life with a network of regulations. Nothing escaped the meshes. Their duties as citizens, their diversions, their dress, their trade, their religious observances—all are reduced to method. It is as though one would combine the fervour of an enthusiast with the rigour of an ascetic. The concluding words show the resolute character of early Methodism: 'These are the rules of our societies. All these we know that the Holy Spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any amongst us who observe them not . . . we will admonish him of the error of his ways. If he repents not, he hath no more place among us.' The Methodist type of religion is emotional, and the class meeting was intended to be practical. In many respects it has accomplished its aim. It has brought some degree of religious instruction to all Wesleyans. It has furnished an easy and effectual means for dealing with immorality in its members. It has provided a furnace in which the raw material has been fused till it could take the Methodist stamp. In skilful hands it has combined the results obtained by well-conducted confirmation classes, communicants' classes, and Bible classes, adding a social and fervent spirit peculiar to itself. A large staff of zealous and able men have in it found occupation and an outlet for the energy of religious life; while the personal contact of men in the smaller circles it has formed has removed religion from the isolation of the pulpit, and brought it to the home and the heart. Its small weekly contributions have provided principally for the support of the ministry. It has so approved itself to the ruling minds of Methodism that they can thus speak of what Wesley called 'this little prudential regulation: 'Watch over class meetings with holy jealousy; use every effort to maintain them strictly in all their efficiency.' The class meeting 'is a test of membership. The Holy Table cannot be approached, as a matter of course, by any except those 'who meet in class.' Every holder of office of any kind must be found using this prudential regulation. Multitudes put attendance upon it in place of the holiest rites of

Christianity. It sometimes fails of attaining its best type; and then the class meeting degenerates into a religious club, where the strain of religious exercises is tempered by social gossip. Fluent talkers gain an audience duly attentive, because each hopes in turn to take up his parable. Great boldness is developed in discussing the most delicate phases of religious life, and all that is undemonstrative is in danger of being despised. Educated Methodism grows weary of this peculiar institution, and therefore its membership is declining, even while the numbers attending Methodist chapels may be on the increase.

Once in the Methodist net, and the neophyte is watched carefully. The leader of his class notes every idiosyncrasy; and when the regular minister comes once a quarter to inspect the class, and give each member a ticket of membership, he is duly informed of every promising name. At the same visit the leader is himself inspected, and is induced to keep accurate returns of all contributions to the funds, and the names and addresses of all members. In the days of Wesley members were expelled at a word, but many struggles between the people and the ministers since his days have resulted in a compromise. The ministers in theory and in practice maintain the sole right to receive and to expel members; but a regularly graduated series of courts now consider the facts of any charge, while the sentence is reserved for the ministry. This, at least, is the Wesleyan rule: the minor sects give equal rights to the laity with the ministry. In conformity with the strict view of Wesleyanism, a private member counts for no more in governing the societies than a private soldier in governing the army. The part of each is simple obedience. No question in Wesleyanism is put to the popular vote; no officer is ever chosen by unofficial voters. The richest layman can only give his vote when clothed with the robe of officialism. The minor Methodists are more democratic; but the 'old body' maintains that shepherds gather sheep, and that they are either led or driven.

It is not surprising that Methodist writers on ecclesiastical matters who follow their founder's hints should endeavour to draw a parallel between the primitive diaconate and the class leaders of their system. Nor would the parallel be altogether deceptive. The Methodist class leader in his best type has been a devout man, not devoid of practical shrewdness. He has made a study of his Bible, especially the New Testament. He has endeavoured to instruct his members in the essentials of religion, and has had many devotional aids put within his

reach. He has sedulously watched over his class, sympathised with them in their troubles, advised them in their difficulties, visited them and consoled them in the hours of sickness and death. In country places he has gathered a few simple souls together, and preserved alive a flame of devotion in obscure hamlets. It is to him that we owe the piety Leigh Richmond has drawn in the 'Dairyman's Daughter,' and to him many a young man in a large city has been indebted for the first words of counsel when he was a stranger in a strange place. When the spiritually gifted Tholuck resided in London, busy with the thoughts that he has given to the world in his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, he is said to have been greatly charmed by the piety of a Methodist class leader, and to have sought his counsels. We are far from suggesting that perfection has been ordinarily achieved; but it is fairest, in judging systems, to take cognisance of some of their best fruits as a whole. Class leaders have not forgotten to magnify their office. They have, however, never won the rank of co-pastor, and the leader is, therefore, never anything but an assessor when the minister sits in judgment upon offenders. But in Methodism finance is always allied with religion—a fact which has been embodied in the saying 'of that famous old lady, who, when called upon to state the items of her creed, summed it up in the four particulars of "repentance towards God, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, a penny a week, and a shilling a quarter."' The last items were her contributions to the support of the ministry. There are, however, many other financial questions connected with Methodism, besides the support of ministers, in all of which regular officers are appointed with definite duties and privileges.

All the societies in a certain area are grouped together in what is called a 'circuit,' to which one or more ministers are appointed for one year at a time, and none are to continue for more than three years, 'except ordained ministers of the Church of England.' Each circuit has a meeting once in three months of its regular preachers, lay preachers, and various officials. It has certain functions in matters of discipline, when specially constituted for that purpose, receives reports of the societies in its area and of all schools, approves or rejects candidates for the ministry, provides the funds for the support of the ministry, and invites, subject to control, the ministers that are to conduct its affairs. The chief minister, who is called 'superintendent,' is always in the chair, and he can immediately bring the proceedings to a close by vacating

it. This system of semi-local government under central control develops strong interest in the minds of resident laymen, and invests them with privileges that are far from lightly esteemed. It is this employment of laymen in matters of importance that gives Methodism its hold on the middle and lower middle class. What the Rochdale Pioneers applied to manufactures, the Methodists have exemplified in the creation of religious communities. It is mutual co-operation in another department of life.

Before reviewing the constitution of Methodism, we pause to consider some of its peculiar institutions. Prominent amongst them stands the Lovefeast. Wesley witnessed amongst the Moravians an attempt to revive the ancient *Agapæ*, and it was one of his most fixed ideas that his peculiar practices would be more seemly if he could contrive to present them under the authority of antiquity. He therefore appointed Lovefeasts, and from his time the Methodist rite has preserved a shadow of the antique custom. Grace is said before meat and thanks are returned, but the members find themselves at a Barmecide banquet. The meal consists of buns and water which is to be drunk out of huge cups passed from hand to hand. After this grotesque formality has been observed, the Lovefeast becomes a kind of gigantic class meeting under the direction of a minister. Many features lingered here of old Methodism after they had died out elsewhere. The Methodist women who wore the half-Quaker costume so dear to Wesley still haunted these assemblies; and a chance attendant in Cornwall or in certain parts of the North of England might yet meet many men who would pass muster for models to the illustrations for Bunyan's most popular work. In such a meeting, the excitement of the more impressible portions of the audience, the racy wit of the speakers, the appreciation of their points shown by pious ejaculations, the narration of the conflicts with the tempter whose temptations are conveyed in the undiluted Doric, the relation of a dream to the evident discomfort of the presiding preacher, the old world-tunes surging up spontaneously from different parts of the crowd, the unexpectedness of some picturesque phrase, the shrewd utterance of some clever business man, the evident fervour of the elders, the half-amused wonder of the new converts, the humour, the pathos, the Puritanism, the mysticism, the healthy piety—form a whole not easily forgotten when once witnessed, and defying analysis whenever it may be recalled.

One custom that was originally Methodistic has now passed

far beyond its limits. The Kingswood colliers before their evangelisation by Whitefield were wont to spend their nights in the public-houses ; afterwards they gathered in their schoolroom and spent one night in the week in prayer. This was reported to Wesley, and he was asked to put a stop to it. With his usual caution in dealing with popular movements, he considered it carefully, and, after he had ‘ compared it with the customs of ‘ the ancient Christians,’ he gave his consent for the meetings to be continued ; and the vigil of Latin Christianity became the watchnight of Saxon Methodism. The practice is now accepted in churches that have more sympathy with Catholic ritual than with the watchnights of converted colliers. But Wesley was many-sided ; he was content with connecting his societies with the past by the revival of primitive customs, and justifying the use of his prosaic ‘ tickets ’ by the Apostolic *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί* ; yet he must boldly borrow from a Puritan divine the most impressive Methodist function. This divine, Richard Alleine by name, had composed an extended form of vow to be taken by individual Christians, as a species of Puritan equivalent to the rite of Confirmation. This Wesley adopted, and it is now as peculiar to Methodism as the Communion service is to Anglicanism. On the first Sunday of the year the members of society, and those specially admitted by the minister, gather together for what is termed the ‘ renewal of the covenant.’ The hymns chosen are solemn in their matter and in their music. In the most profound silence portions of this Puritan document are read, containing the strongest denunciations of self, couched in the figurative language of that day. An appeal is made to ‘ act as if God ‘ were visibly present.’ The whole congregation kneels and repeats the words of the ‘ covenant.’ The stringency of the terms would be considered sufficient in the case of a religious order. A hint is given, of which many avail themselves, that the promise ‘ may be made in these or the like words ; ’ but when the form is concluded assent is signified by all who are present originally by standing up, but now mentally in most cases. The silence is broken by the singing of Doddridge’s hymn, ‘ O happy day that fixed my choice,’ or some other specially adapted to the occasion. The celebration of the Eucharist completes the impressive rite. We are not aware that the devotional aspect of the older Puritanism is presented so clearly in any Dissenting service as this ; but, even here, we are at one with an anonymous Wesleyan essayist. ‘ Without ‘ doubt there is much that is exquisitely beautiful in that ‘ service, but there is an unfortunate mixture of what is faulty

‘ in expression, and unbecoming to Christian lips.’ Despite all drawbacks, this service has produced much true religious life.

When Methodists erected a tablet to their founder’s memory in their mother chapel in London, they called him ‘ the patron and friend of lay preachers, by whose aid he extended the plan of itinerant preaching through Great Britain and Ireland, the West Indies, and America with unexampled success.’ The words are not more reticent than we expect to find in epitaphs, but we gather from other sources that the patron of lay preachers witnessed their advent with anger. It required his mother’s common sense to reconcile him to their existence ; and, though he gladly availed himself of their assistance, he kept them within the narrowest limits of authority. In one of the last sermons he wrote, on ‘ The Ministerial Office,’ he ‘ flames with indignation against unauthorised intruders into the office of the priesthood. . . . They had presumed to administer the sacraments *when he had not appointed them.*’

However, patrons have always had their humours, which clients have condoned for ‘ the sake of doles ; and Wesley’s preachers, ignoring his illogical theories, took the position he assigned them, and on their dead selves stepped to higher things. The lay preachers fell into two classes—the itinerant, who now receive Presbyterian ordination and go from circuit to circuit ; and the ‘ local ’ preachers, who are simple laymen. In times of chaos after Wesley’s death lay preachers administered both sacraments, and considered themselves entitled to rank equally with itinerants. Gradually but surely Wesleyanism broke down that assumption ; and in the person of the second great legislator Methodism has known, Dr. Bunting, the itinerants claimed, when put on their trial, ‘ to be tried by their peers.’ These were the members of their own order, and from that time forward all aspiring to greater dignities while they remain laymen must seek their fortunes amongst minor Methodist bodies. In Wesleyanism the superintendent minister nominates every local preacher, presides over the periodical examinations of their characters, and appoints them to such chapels as he sees fit. By the labours of these laymen Methodism is maintained in the rural districts. According to the historians of Methodism, local preachers have been of various grades in social life. Country gentlemen, members of Parliament, representatives of the learned professions, substantial tradesmen, mechanics, and farm labourers have figured amongst them. Ex-local preachers are to be found in unexpected places. They have harangued Chartist mobs, organised

secularist associations, directed trades' unions, ministered in fashionable Nonconformist chapels, and found a home in the priesthood of the National Church. At present the work of lay preachers seems rather endured than valued; and while the Church is anxious to promote the resuscitation of a lay diaconate, Wesleyanism is apparently supplanting its irregular agents by its trained ministry.

In former days women preached amongst Methodists; and the figure of Dinah Morris, modelled by the most sympathetic of modern novelists, rises before the mind at the mention of these female preachers. However admirable they may be in a novel, they were not acceptable in Methodism. Some assailed them with banter, as witness this extract from a sermon of the time: 'Balaam,' said the preacher in a funeral oration, 'was converted by the braying of an ass. Peter by the crowing of a cock, and our lamented brother by the preaching of a woman.' Others appealed to apostolic prohibition, but the women preachers did not withdraw at the command of venerable men. At this juncture the highest authority in Methodism deliberately forbade their ministrations. The grounds were clear, and ought to have been convincing: '(1) because a vast majority of the people are opposed to women's preaching; (2) because there is a sufficiency of preachers whom God has accredited.' Unabashed by this judgment, they finally took refuge with the Primitive Methodists.

The buildings in which Methodist services are held were originally called preaching-houses; chapels is their usual style in this country, but in America and the colonies they are termed churches. The first Methodist preaching-house was built in Bristol in 1739; but the first opened was in Moorfields, London, being a disused foundry altered for the purpose. The description of it, given in Tyerman's 'Life of Wesley,' affords an interesting glimpse of early Methodist practices. A bell summoned the people to early preaching at five o'clock in the morning, and again at nine for family prayers, as several persons had rooms in the foundry. There were no pews in the chapel, but a dozen seats for women had backs. Free seats were under the front gallery for them, and also the front gallery. The men were consigned to side galleries. Classes met in a room behind the chapel, and prayers were read on the Wednesdays and Fridays. One end of this room was a school; at the other Wesley's books were sold, over it were his apartments, and in a dwelling-house by the side were the domestics and assistant preachers. Wesley laid down strict laws for his preaching-houses, including their shape, the way their win-

dows were to open, the absence of all pews, 'Chinese palings, and tub pulpits.' The men and women must sit separately, according to the practice of the Primitive Church; and 'if I come,' he says, 'into a new preaching-house, and see the men and women sitting together, I will go out.' He drew up a plan of legal settlement for his chapels, and issued the peremptory order, 'Not a stone shall be laid till the house is settled on the Methodist plan verbatim. N.B.—No lawyer is to alter one line, neither need any be employed.' But even in Wesley's days the division of the sexes was overthrown, and his act of uniformity was speedily inoperative. At present the chapels of every Methodist sect must be as ecclesiastical as an architect of the nineteenth century, chosen by a committee after open competition, can contrive to make it.

In reading the architectural reports on Wesleyan chapels, we are struck with the fact that very minor modifications in the majority of cases, and no modification at all in very many, would render the buildings perfect for the celebration of most advanced Ritual. Nor does the desire for expensive and ornate chapels confine itself to Wesleyans; all Methodist bodies appear to yield to the same impulse, till we come to American and Canadian Methodism, where the churches vie with the architecture of the most ecclesiastical of their neighbours. The æstheticism of the age has proved too strong for the vaunted plainness of the Methodist precisians.

Contentions for power to appoint preachers to these chapels and to have the legal possession of them arose at an early stage. The first deed was drawn in accordance with the provisions of the old Presbyterian meeting-house settlements. It was the shrewdness of Whitefield, strange to say, that drew Wesley's attention to the dangers of this mode of settlement, and, after his alarms had been excited, he consulted 'three eminent counsellors.' By their ingenuity a legal form was prepared that steered clear of all the difficulties. The crucial point was grasped clearly by Wesley; for he says: 'If you give trustees powers to eject ministers, their power will be greater than the king's. Where he is patron he can put in a preacher, but he cannot put him out.' The Conference was first strictly defined, and then to it was given full power over all appointments of preachers, with the proviso that its power was not to be operative as against Wesley during his lifetime. During that period and afterwards, the trustees contended for the forbidden domination. They were gradually defeated, partly because in some cases their pretensions were illegal, and were so declared by the civil courts;

partly because the general feeling of the Methodists resented the power of trustees; and most of all because the preachers, believing that their autonomy was essential to the well-being of the societies, resolutely set themselves to break their power, and to reduce them practically to a position in which they hold the legal right to the property without great capability of affecting the religious policy of the denomination. A very strict oversight is maintained over each chapel, its income, its expenditure, and its capacity. Statistics on these points are carefully compiled every year, and they are collected and preserved under the direction of a special office. These statistics are all read over at an annual meeting of the trustees of each chapel, and are verified by the signature of the minister in charge of the circuit.

In deciding on the conflicting claims of the Conference and of trustees, Cæsar has frequently decided upon things which extreme religionists are not usually content to give to Cæsar. The most important case which Methodism ever submitted to the decision of the civil courts came before Lord Lyndhurst in 1835 on appeal from Vice-Chancellor Shadwell. The cause of the dissension appears to have been that proposals had been made to found a theological college for the better training of candidates for the Wesleyan ministry. The project met with considerable opposition; for though Wesley had endeavoured to impress upon his preachers the necessity of reading, and taught his people to pray, ‘Unite the pair so long disjoined, knowledge and vital piety,’ a large section of the community entertained a strong objection to the regular training of the ministry. By some oversight, Dr. Warren, an apparently able man, and of more than ordinary culture, was omitted from participation in the arrangements. He became the chief of the opposition, and gathered round him many adherents who were by no means congenial companions. A satirical poem published on the Conference side termed them ‘the radicals, shirtless and thin.’ The quarrel assumed larger dimensions, and it was evident that the exclusive power of the ministry over spiritual affairs was the real grievance. In the course of the conflict, Dr. Warren was suspended by what was really a committee of the Conference. He persisted in occupying a chapel in Manchester. The trustees were divided, some siding with the Conference and some with Dr. Warren. In the course of the trial, which turned upon the course pursued in Dr. Warren’s suspension, the discipline of Wesleyanism and its regulations were put in as evidence, and reviewed by the Lord Chancellor in his judgment.

‘The case was argued for four days; the court was thronged; the interest of the spectators was intense; the grey heads of many of the veterans of the Methodist ministry and laity—men who had battled through long and weary lives for their beloved cause—were distinguishable in the crowd. When it was perceived what the Lord Chancellor’s conclusion must be, deep but controlled emotion spread through the assembly, tears flowed from many eyes, and when he finally pronounced judgment, it was felt that a momentous era in Methodism had been reached; that the broad seal of English law had been stamped upon the legislation of John Wesley; that the chapels, funds, and all the fundamental authorities of Wesleyan Methodism were secure for ages. In their authoritative review of this occurrence the Wesleyan Conference does not scruple to recognise Lord Lyndhurst “in his official capacity “as a minister of God for good.”’

This Erastian estimate of a Lord Chancellor sounds strangely from the upholders of the ‘Power of the Keys’ as entrusted to Wesleyan ministers, and provokes a momentary question whether it would have been as high had the judgment gone in favour of Dr. Warren. It is, however, but fair to say that Wesleyan authorities seem generally content with legal decisions; for in a similar case submitted to the Court of Chancery concerning the use of a chapel for the Wesleyan as against the ‘New Connexion’ Methodists, Dr. Bunting’s biographer writes: ‘Some very obvious propositions puzzle those who do not wish to understand them; and it is often well that they should be sifted through the intellects of great lawyers and judges, and there presented in their simple verity to those who have doubted them.’

The public worship celebrated in Methodist chapels has fallen into two distinct types. On the one side stand the Liturgical Wesleyans; on the other the non-Liturgical Wesleyans and all other Methodist communities. Wesleyanism combines both, and rejoices in a variable ritual. It retains in many of its congregations the traditions of its fathers, and Anglican rites still witness to the old alliance between it and the Church. The Book of Common Prayer is found in the hands of worshippers in many of its metropolitan chapels, and in some old Methodist centres in the provinces. A stranger attending these chapels in the morning would notice two striking divergences between morning prayer in an ordinary parish church and a Wesleyan chapel. The minister would wear no distinctive dress, neither gown nor bands being permitted,* and he would employ two extempore prayers, one be-

* ‘Nor shall gowns or bands be used among us; or the title of reverend used at all.’ ‘Form of Discipline,’ Peirce, p. 278.

fore and one after the sermon. A few smaller variations would strike him. A word or two in the Absolution might be omitted; the Queen might not be termed 'most religious,' 'bishops and curates' would give way to 'ministers of Thy Gospel,' but there would be no other striking alteration of importance. Were he to attend a celebration, he would find the celebrant standing on the north side, and giving out hymns during the celebration. The phrase 'the burden of them is intolerable' would be omitted; but in every other respect, except perhaps the manual acts, everything would follow the rubrics of the Anglican office. If he witnessed a public baptism he would find no sponsors, an extempore address to the parents taking the place of the instructions for them in the Prayer Book. The young Christian would not be signed with the sign of the cross, but the rest of the service would be familiar. Were the same visitor to be present at the evening service, he would find no Liturgy, but a Presbyterian form of worship—hymns, extempore prayers, a long sermon, and perhaps a public prayer meeting or an evening Communion. In the non-liturgical chapels both morning and evening service is of the same character. The afternoon service, which used to be a feature of Methodism in large towns, seems to have fallen into desuetude there, though it lingers in the country parishes. No minor Methodist sect retains the use of the Liturgy, nor does the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, although it was organised on a liturgical basis. The forms for the ordaining of ministers and the Office for the burial of the dead are borrowed from the English ritual. Attempts have frequently been made to revise the Prayer Book for Methodist use. Wesley commenced these fruitless labours; and the statute law of Methodism orders in its Wesleyan discipline that 'when service is held in Church hours either the English Liturgy, Wesley's abridgment of it, or at least the lessons appointed for the day shall be used.' But Wesley's revision was not popular; so that Adam Clarke, when consulted on the introduction of a Liturgy into a Wesleyan chapel, replied: 'Introduce the Church service in God's name, not in any *abridgment* (sic), but in the genuine original.' But there has always been a Dissenting element in Methodism, and this has clamoured for revision mainly on the old Puritan lines. Even where the Liturgy has not been used by themselves, these congregations have resented the adoption and approval by Wesleyanism of a form of words which they hold to be unsound and unsafe. To gratify this feeling, a committee of the Conference has been endeavouring for some time to

revise the Liturgy. The result is thus summarised in the chief literary organ of the Wesleyans : --

‘ It seems useless,’ says the ‘ London Quarterly,’ ‘ to persevere in what seems to bring out so clearly division of sentiment. There are great numbers of ministers who would deprecate the alteration of a word in the communion service, and there are not a few who believe that the general tendency of the changes proposed in the office of baptism is to take out of it the doctrine which Methodism has always held. The introductory words of the baptismal service assert what Mr. Wesley asserts in his “ Note ” on John iii. 5, concerning “ Water and the Holy Ghost ; ” let that be retained. They contain, however, a few words which the whole connexion would agree to change.’

Another anonymous writer says there are those in Wesleyanism ‘ whose passionate love for the Liturgy can find no ‘ fainter expression than this : “ I find no fault in it at all.” ’ It is apparent that many Wesleyans agree with their founder, who asks : ‘ Who denies that ye were then ’ (i.e. in Baptism) ‘ made children of God ? ’ but the majority would repudiate the sentiment. Methodism in Great Britain has never attempted to organise a Church, although, as we see, it has continually assumed an independent position. It has, therefore, ignored the position of baptised children, and, having made ‘ meeting in class ’ the test of its membership, it has exalted the ‘ ticket on trial ’ into the gateway to the mystical body of Christ. Individuals have attempted to remedy this by devices of a more or less ingenious character. But they are all based on the idea that baptism must be brought into some sort of relationship to the class meeting. The Methodist Episcopal Church has endeavoured to rectify this, but without success. Hints are found in some Methodist publications that Confirmation as administered in the Church would be advantageous if introduced into Methodism ; but beyond the formation of catechumen classes, with the inevitable ticket of membership, nothing has been accomplished in this direction.

While Wesleyans alone of all cognate societies retain the Book of Common Prayer, they have all practically a Liturgy in the Wesley hymn-book, the different communities varying in the proportion of genuine Wesleyan hymns, the oldest body having retained more of the distinctive hymns than the other sects. While we gladly acknowledge that many noble lyrics, the product of the muse of Charles Wesley and of the felicity of metrical translation that was the special endowment of his brother, have become the common heritage of English-speaking Christians, though once peculiar to Methodists, we must remark on the many weak and unreal compositions that

disfigure this collection of hymns. Many of those most highly prized by Wesleyans are descriptive of such abnormal phases of experience as to render them alien from the commonwealth of Christendom. A cursory glance at the whole shows marked faults in spite of the curiously self-laudatory preface to the original edition, in which Wesley declares: '1. In these hymns there is no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to fill up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. 2. Here is nothing turgid or bombast on the one hand, or low and creeping on the other. . . . 4. There are, allow me to say, both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language, and at the same time the utmost simplicity and plainness suited to every capacity.' But it must not be supposed that this was an original work. It contains survivals of various theologies. Here lie side by side Watts and Doddridge, with their Nonconformity lost in Christianity; Ken, with his calm and sober piety; Brevint's high sacramental theories done into rhyme; Moravianism speaking through its best minstrels; the German pietist school with awe-struck recognition of the Divine Presence and profound thoughts of the primeval beauty of the Source of all being. Charles Wesley's lilting songs of triumph over persecuting mobs and many an echo from ancient victories stir the heart of the soldiers of Christ; while the Calvinist controversialist, Toplady, and Thomas Olivers, his opponent, unite to inspire Methodists with deep spiritual feelings. Other hymns, however, in the 'Collection' tempt one to retort upon Wesley his own criticism upon certain Davidic psalms, and label them as 'unfit for the mouths of Christian congregations'—bitterly sarcastic, they are stinging epigrams, not spiritual songs. Some are intensely morbid, and a few offensively Pharisaic. But when all the deductions are made, there are reasons why Methodists should consider it a 'priceless treasure.' It is Methodism in metre, and a man who has analysed it knows the secret of the Methodist revival. A Wesleyan quotes from it with as keen a relish as a High Churchman quotes the Fathers. It is the end of all controversy to him, as the Tridentine decrees are to a Romanist. He reproduces it with the accuracy of a well-taught Presbyterian repeating the Catechism. He sings its jubilant iambs in enthusiastic missionary meetings in Yorkshire; he shouts its stanzas with startling emphasis above the roar of a Cornish revival—that fearful and wonderful product of spiritual emotion and Celtic ardour; and when he makes the last confession of his faith amongst many witnesses, it is often in the words that the well-loved hymn-book supplies.

Methodism has an unmistakable type of theology, although Wesleyanism has never drawn up either a Confession of Faith, after the fashion of the Reformed Churches on the Continent, or a creed rivalling in energy and compactness the well-known Roman Catholic symbols. The derived bodies in England have in some instances attempted in a loose fashion what their prototype has rather indicated than attempted; but Methodism has not imposed a creed upon its adherents. Wesley himself wrote upon theological subjects in a manner that sets all rules of dogmatic science at defiance. Since his day we have become accustomed to hear very unguarded utterances made by professed theologians, but even now it is startling to read such sentences as these in the writings of a teacher with pretensions to orthodoxy: ‘One of the best tracts that great man, Dean Swift, wrote was his “Sermon on the Trinity.” Herein he shows all who endeavoured to explain it have utterly lost their way. . . . It was in an evil hour that these explainers began their evil work. . . . I dare not insist on any man’s using the word ‘Trinity or Person.’ In a similar strain, he says in another sermon: ‘Neither does true religion consist in orthodoxy or right opinions. . . . A man may consent to all the creeds, and yet it is possible he may have no religion at all. . . . He may be almost as orthodox—as the devil; not indeed altogether, for every man errs in something, whereas we cannot well conceive him to hold any erroneous opinions.’ In another passage, having enumerated all the essential points of difference between Churchmen and Dissenters, he dismisses them with a nonchalant farewell: ‘Let these stand by; my only question at present is this, “Is thine heart right?”’ Not that he held his own opinions lightly, for he draws a strong contrast between himself and those ‘who called themselves of a catholic spirit only because they were of a muddy understanding.’ One pious wish in the preface to those ‘Notes on the New Testament’ which a grateful people have exalted into a standard of belief, is fraught with the spirit of true charity: ‘Would to God that all the party names and unscriptural phrases and forms which have divided the Christian world were forgot; and that we might all agree to sit down together as humble loving disciples at the feet of our Master, to hear His word, to imbibe His spirit, and to transcribe His life into our own!’ Once, in an outburst of liberality, he boasted: ‘Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion, but they think and let think. Neither do they impose any particular mode of worship. . . . Now, I do not know any other religious society

‘ wherein such liberty of conscience is now allowed, or has been allowed since the days of the Apostles. Herein is our glorying, and a glorying peculiar to us.’ But in his writings Wesley displays a most perplexing eclecticism. His ‘ Christian Library ’ and his ‘ Arminian Magazine ’ contain extracts from the most opposite divines. His design was ‘ to separate pure, genuine divinity,’ and to leave ‘ the huge mingled mass of baser mixtures to their own obscurity.’ So, with the self-reliant air which was so natural to him, he sat in judgment upon Anglican divines, Puritan ministers, Apostolic Fathers, Cambridge Platonists, and French Mystics. He taught his congregations to sing—

‘ The Unitarian fiend expel,
And chase his doctrine back to hell ; ’ *

but he published a life of an eminent Unitarian, with the frank preface: ‘ I was exceedingly struck at reading the following life. . . . I dare not deny Mr. Firmin was a pious man.’ In another thing he showed his superiority to the narrow pietistic spirit that condemned fiction. Finding a novel of which he approved, he condensed it, cutting out much of the ‘ goody ’ padding, by which he awoke the ire of the author, and recommended it to ‘ all who are already or desire to be lovers of God and man.’ This book, edited by Kingsley as ‘ The Fool of Quality,’ has beguiled the hours of many a Methodist school-boy who was strictly forbidden to read novels, but was permitted to revel in the very mild sensationalism of Wesley’s ‘ Henry, Earl of Moreland.’ Indeed, Wesleyans have broken away from his teaching on many points. He dreamt of a Broad Church society, liberal in theology, evangelical in doctrine, disciplined with the rigour of a religious order, and burning with the zeal of Redemptorist Fathers in a mission. The wrecks of his ideas encumber modern Methodism. It appoints quarterly fasts, which are as much observed as Lenten abstinence is practised by ultra Protestants. Wesley drew up sumptuary laws against ‘ lapelled coats, short sleeves, long-tailed gowns, and a superfluity of buttons and ribbons ; ’ but the ‘ people called Methodists ’ do not seem to give special directions to their tailors and milliners to observe these regulations. He desired breadth of thought amongst his people ; but Methodist preachers do not play the *rôle* of liberal theologians. He gloried in their liberty ; the chief literary organ of

* Hymn 443, for the Mohammedans, last edition but one ; now expunged from the ‘ Collection.’

Methodism has discovered another and quite different ground of boasting. 'Methodism,' we find, 'has assumed all the characteristics and responsibilities of an organic Church of the Presbyterian type; it has its ministry and its sacraments and its catechism, and all that goes to the perfection of ecclesiastical organisation. Perhaps there is no denomination or Christian Church existing which can send forth so unanimous and therefore so strong a voice on any question of ethics or doctrine.' The self-assertion of this passage rivals the most unblushing avowals of priestly dignity to be found in any manifesto; but the following extract displays the dexterity of a practised apologist who knows how to press every feather into the scale he desires to load. In the preface to Winer's 'Confessions of Christendom,' Dr. Pope, the most cultivated theologian in Methodism, gives the following account of Wesleyan doctrines from the standpoint of a scientific student of creeds:—

'English Methodism has no distinct articles of faith; at the same time it is undoubtedly true that no community in Christendom is more effectually hedged about by confessional obligations and restraints. Methodism combines creeds, confessions, and standards, in its doctrinal constitution, after a manner on the whole peculiar to itself. Materially, if not formally, its theology is bound by the ancient œcumenical creeds, by the articles of the Church of England, and by comprehensive standards of its order. It holds fast the Catholic symbols; the Apostolic and Nicene are extensively used in its liturgy, and the Athanasian, not so used, is accepted so far as concerns the doctrinal type. The doctrine of the Articles of the Church of England is the doctrine of Methodism. The assertion must of course be taken broadly. The "Connexion" has never avowed the Articles as its confession of faith; some of these Articles have no meaning for them in its present constitution; others of them are tolerated in their vague and doubtful bearing rather than accepted as definitions; and, finally, many Methodists would prefer to disown any relation with them. Still the verdict of the historical theologian would locate the Methodist community under the Thirty-Nine Articles. . . . Where they diverge from the Westminster Confession, Methodism holds to them. . . . Finally, we have the Methodist standards belonging to it as a society within a Church, which regulate the faith of the community, but are binding only upon its ministers. Those standards, more particularly, are some sermons and expository notes of John Wesley's; more generally, these and other writings, catechisms, and early precedents of doctrinal definition. Taken as a whole they indicate a standard of experimental and practical theology, to which the preaching of its ministers is practically conformed.'

Suffice it to say

'that the Methodist doctrine is what is generally termed Arminian, as

it regards the relation of the human race to redemption; that it lays great stress upon the personal assurance which seals the personal religion of the believer; and that it includes a strong testimony to the office of the Holy Spirit, in the entire renewal of the soul in holiness as one of the provisions of the covenant of grace upon earth. It may be added that a vigorous maintenance of this common standard of evangelical doctrine has been attended by the preservation of a remarkable unity of doctrine throughout this large community.'

Whether we accept this statement *au pied de la lettre* or not, it shows a marked development of doctrine when compared with Wesley's 'Plain Account of the Methodists,' and a still more skilful change of front to attack a new generation which more or less consciously rejects the isolation of a society, and claims affinity with the Catholic Church. In one item, however, we must correct Dr. Pope's description. In accordance with Wesleyan usage, he confounds Methodism with his own community. Now there are thousands of Methodists who are not Wesleyans. None of these hold the Thirty-nine Articles, and they never rehearse the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds in worship. But they have incorporated their belief in bald enumerations of 'doctrines,' as amongst the Primitive Methodists: or placed it under the protection of the Court of Chancery, as the United Methodist Free Churches in their Foundation Deed. All these epitomes are loosely worded, but curiously enough they all insist upon the endless duration of the punishment of the wicked as an article of faith. Even these formularies are not imposed upon private members, only upon 'preachers and 'expounders of God's Word,' or, as an extreme case, upon class leaders. The American Episcopal Methodist Church has, owing to its founder's determination to create a Church in America, articles and creeds that are obligatory on the ministry. But for England, Wesley forestalled Neander's maxim, *Pectus facit theologum*. We believe Methodists boast that all their commentators and theologians hold exactly the same system in every point. Dr. Adam Clarke occupies a bad eminence in one point. He held peculiar views about the person of the tempter in Paradise, and the application of the title of Son to the second Person in the Trinity. The first was condoned with a happy *bon mot*. 'Who knows who tempted Eve 'better than Adam?' the second was refuted by a ponderous treatise; and lest any nascent Wesleyan theologian should ever be tempted to stray in this by-path of obscure dogmatics, a question on the Eternal Sonship is put to every aspirant to the Wesleyan ministry. The minor Methodist communities have not produced any theological writer known beyond their

own confined circle. A hint of novelty of belief is sufficient to injure any Wesleyan minister. At least so we gather from the following semi-inspired remark in the 'London Quarterly Review.' It appears that a minister elected to the 'Fernley Lectureship'—a sort of Methodist 'Bampton'—gave room for the suspicion that in some particular his pronunciation of the denominational Shibboleth was defective. 'Everybody,' says the reviewer, 'knows the excitement produced by the promulgation of what were held to be new and doubtful views; views which, though they are not regarded as endangering any fundamental doctrine, and therefore do not impeach the orthodoxy of their promulgator, have probably kept him out of a theological chair, which seemed otherwise naturally to wait for him.' Rumour also asserts that the only Wesleyan minister who has ever achieved the slightest distinction in the scientific world is debarred from the same lectureship through a suspicion that he leans to the doctrine of evolution. Ministerial sameness is the necessary result of the Wesleyan system, and proportionately of all Methodist organisation. There is not only the *esprit de corps* that prevails in every order, but there is a deliberate direction of means to produce this result. It commences from the moment that the superintendent of a circuit nominates a candidate for the ministry, and though after his ordination he is delivered from all formal theological examinations, yet twice every year, till he dies or leaves Wesleyanism, the orthodoxy of his belief is challenged. Twice every year the opportunity of resigning his position on a change of sentiment is afforded. The door stands open for him, simply guarded with the knowledge that if he abandoned that brotherhood, it would be curtly said of him, as it has been said in his hearing of others who have renounced their allegiance, 'Methodism can do without him, better than he can do without Methodism.' Yearly a small band goes forth; but the remainder maintain the same unbroken traditions in theory, if not in practice. There are shades of difference between the ministers of course, and individuality of character gives rise to small divergences; but these bear the same relation to the wide limits of thought in the Church, that the all but imperceptible rise and fall of Mediterranean waves bear to the mighty Atlantic tides.

We now pass to consider how the units are welded into one whole, which Methodist writers term 'the Connexion.' Again taking Wesleyanism as the typical form, and premising that, in proportion to its age, each offshoot retains more of the original impress of Wesley, till the latest is reached, in which doctrines

alone remain to connote the common Methodism, we find all the chapels in a neighbourhood grouped into a 'circuit,' under a minister termed the 'superintendent.' The circuits are thrown into districts under the oversight of a 'chairman.' Twice every year the ministers in each district meet with certain laymen. These meetings are really committees of the annual assembly, or Conference. A form has been compiled, called the 'Order and Form of Business,' and on its lines every committee in Great Britain transacts its business. The proceedings of each are recorded under exactly the same headings in an undeviating order, and summarised in stereotyped tables. The character and efficiency of the ministers, their support, the support and education of their children, their relief in cases of extraordinary personal or family affliction, the distribution of public moneys, the erection and enlargement and sale of every chapel, school, and minister's house, the number of members, teachers, scholars, and local preachers, the working of Home and Foreign Missionary Associations, and all contributions to the various connexional funds, together with detailed reports on every minute point of discipline, and suggestions for the alteration of laws and usages—all in prescribed succession pass in review before these committees. Three full and accurate copies of proceedings are preserved, and separate reports sent to central committees. But, throughout all, a marked distinction is maintained between ministers and people. The ministers alone consider spiritual matters, and decide on all questions touching their own character; the ministers and laity decide on financial questions. The only time when voting takes place by orders is for representatives to the Conference, when each sends its own to the mixed Conference, as will be presently explained. By this system strict uniformity is secured, and all business is prepared for the consideration of the supreme legislative body. In English Methodism all other bodies efface the marked division between ministers and laity.

We now come to the real power in Wesleyanism. This is the assembly called the Conference, a name dearer to the Methodist heart than any other. The term 'Conference' is, in the most recent Wesleyan Handbook, qualified by three adjectives, and is Legal, Ministerial, and Representative, according to circumstances. The Legal Conference was a creation of John Wesley's to secure the chapels he had built and the perpetuity of his system. It was clearly defined by him in a 'Deed Poll,' and enrolled in Chancery. It consisted of himself, his brother Charles, and ninety-eight of his preachers.

They were constituted a body corporate, and a general method of procedure was made binding upon them. The law knows no other Conference than the legal representatives and successors of these 'ministers and gentlemen.' But on their first meeting after Wesley's death a letter was read to them requesting them to consider their brethren as their equals in every respect. They wisely adopted the advice; and, while they allowed equal privileges to all, put themselves within the law by adopting, formally and explicitly, all the acts of the General Conference as their own acts and deeds. This body was heir to Wesley's spiritual despotism and irresponsible power. Immediately on his death a large section of his followers determined to throw off a yoke which respect and gratitude rendered tolerable while imposed by the hand of a benefactor, but which was intolerable when that benefactor was dead. In 1797, six years after Wesley's death, a secession took place, prompted by a desire 'to introduce a more liberal system of Church polity into Methodism, by associating laymen with ministers in its government and administration; and to supply its people with every scriptural ordinance by the hands of their own ministers.' In a word, the Dissenting element in Methodism desired a democratic government, and the administration of the sacraments by Methodist preachers. The latter the Wesleyans granted under a 'plan of pacification;' but to the former they would not yield. For eighty years the demand for the admission of the laity into the governing Conference was reiterated in various forms, and each new secession made it a prominent part of their programme that they would admit the laity to equal rights; but Wesleyanism stood firm by its bolted doors. An attempt was once made to starve the Wesleyan Conference into submission, and 100,000 members withdrew from its communion. It did not yield—a fact greatly to its credit—but gradually gave increasing powers to committees composed of ministers and laymen. In 1877 a new constitution was given to Wesleyanism, in which the ministers still retain their ecclesiastical privileges, but have offered the laity a larger share in the government of temporalities. The Legal Conference remains intact; but a Ministerial Conference meets which deals with spiritualities only, then a Mixed or Representative Conference assembles 'in which other subjects come before it. During the Pastoral Session the Conference consists of the Legal Conference, and all the ministers who have permission from their respective district committees to attend its sittings; and during the Representative Session, it consists of the Legal Conference, and the ministerial and lay repre-

‘ representatives who have been elected, 240 of each order. The
‘ acts of this Conference in this wider sense, both during its
‘ Pastoral and Representative Sessions, are confirmed by the
‘ vote of the Legal Conference.’ It will be seen that the
‘ keys are still in the hands of the ministers; like Thomas à
Becket they will only permit clerics to try clerics, and to
admit into the Church and expel from it.

The Wesleyan Conference meets annually in some large and generally antique chapel, the doors of which are jealously guarded. No layman, no representative of the public press, no unaccredited minister can enter; but the Conference will, through its official ‘ minutes ’ and through privileged ministers, furnish such accounts of its proceedings as it thinks fit to the public. The floor of the chapel is occupied by non-official members, the galleries are the haunt of very young ministers, and a platform supports the president, ex-presidents, secretaries, and a few officials. The atmosphere of the assembly is unique. The business is transacted with the precision of a merchant’s office under the religious sanctions of a synod. Accounts of moneys paid and received are examined, while pastoral addresses to various foreign conferences are read, and priestly benedictions roll over the chinking of the coins on the money-changers’ tables. A Church congress talks in hopes that some grains of wheat may be fanned from the chaff; the Wesleyan Conference talks that it may legislate. Convocation debates with a haunting and irritating remembrance of past power; the Wesleyan Conference argues and decides with an increasing confidence in the acclamations that will meet its decisions. Representatives find their way into the Methodist assembly from affiliated and derived communities in France, Canada, the United States, and Australia, and the preacher from an obscure country circuit, seeing them in the flesh, grows proud of a community on which the sun never sets. In the ordinary course of things, the subjects of debate are mere matters of routine, and only interest the Connexion; but occasionally matters of more general importance are discussed—such as an *eirenicon* from a zealous Churchman, which is sure to awaken the old controversies; the attitude of the Wesleyan denomination towards education; or the imperilling of the unity of the ministry by the over-ardent action of some ecclesiastico-political preacher who contends that his absorption in the Wesleyan system does not militate against his taking part in some momentous question of a national character. The ablest speakers generally figure in such encounters, and the training of a lifetime in the art of impromptu debate bears its

fruit. The Representative Conference is younger, its numbers are fluctuating, and, though it moves very much on the lines of the older assembly, its speeches are less concise and more rhetorical than are usually delivered in the ministerial assembly.

It is extremely difficult to assign this Conference to its proper place in a catalogue of ecclesiastical organisations. All its preachers are of one order; but while on trial they are forbidden to marry, they may not administer either sacrament, except baptism *privately* in cases of emergency, nor may they vote in the Conference. The president is supposed by Wesleyans closely to resemble that *primus inter pares*, whose portrait has so often been drawn by theorists on the primitive government of the Church; but his primacy is ended with his year of office. The 'chairmen of districts' may be the modern descendants of the Chorepiscopi; but who can attach episcopal dignity to such work-a-day titles as these? 'Superintendent of a circuit' may be the Latinised equivalent for bishop of a diocese, and may in reality approach Usher's idea of prelacy; but the title is too redolent of police supervision to contract prelatical associations. Lay representatives may be 'ruling elders;' but they are only elected *pro hunc vice*, and are discharged from duty and from office by the rising of Conference. Yet this nondescript Presbytery writes its priest very large. It does not attempt to attach itself to any ancient and apostolic seat, yet it asserts that it is composed of 'ministers and pastors empowered not only to preach the Gospel, but to administer the sacraments of our holy religion, and charged with all the responsibilities of the Christian pastorate.' What is included in this the Conference showed, when it refused to receive 'any proposal which would go to transfer, altogether or in part, the responsibility of the sentence in disciplinary cases from the pastorate to the lay officers. To adopt such a course of procedure would be to give up a principle which, in the judgment of the Conference, is essentially inherent in the pastoral office.' It is not a century and a half old, and yet it scarcely allows a session to pass without administering a rebuke 'to the pretensions of sacerdotalism, and combating the hard materialism, the fleshly philosophy, the sensuous worship of our time.' Its younger members are taught to notice the defects of all other communions—Roman, Lutheran, Anglican, Reformed, Friends, Brethren, minor Methodist bodies—and then their tutor utters this panegyric over 'Methodism proper, which is eminently at once high and free—Presbyterian as to the basis of its theory,

‘Episcopal after the earliest type; employs the laity in every
‘diaconal function, and more carefully than any other religious
‘community distinguishes the functions of the pastorate and of
‘the laity; reserving for the final ministerial jurisdiction all
‘questions that affect the power of the Keys as left by Christ
‘in His Church. The Methodist doctrine is that our Lord
‘left the Keys—the general government of His Church, and
‘special binding and loosing of its members—to the Church
‘itself, as represented, however, by the men whom the Spirit
‘would raise up with the Church’s concurrence to represent
‘its authority.’ Englishmen generally suppose that no man
should be permitted to criminate himself, but the Wesleyan
Conference knows no such scruple. Not content with all the
means at their disposal for the discovery of lapses and offences
against morality and the laws and usages of their societies, they
say: ‘Not the Conference only, but all its district committees
‘possess the undoubted right of instituting any inquiry or
‘investigation which they may deem expedient into the moral,
‘Christian, or ministerial conduct of the preachers, even
‘though no formal or regular accusation may have been pre-
‘viously commenced on the part of any individual.’ This is
termed ‘friendly examination,’ and has been used with effect
when all other means of discovering supposed delinquents
failed. The Free Church of Scotland in its struggles against
the arbitrary power of patrons found few warmer friends than
the Wesleyan Conference; yet it maintains its right to appoint
any preacher to any circuit in spite of the protests of its re-
cognised officials, and to take away any minister from his
flock, however much they may desire to retain him, or even
to suit their convenience to send him by a stroke of the pen
from Cornwall to Caithness. Good Wesleyans are those, who,
closing their eyes to these and many other anomalies, consider
the Conference as the bright, consummate flower in the para-
dise of Christendom, and put down all attempts at reforming
it in the same category as painting the lily. It is not to be
wondered at, that the minister loves the Conference early and
never ceases to praise it. If the French private soldier carries
the marshal’s *bâton* in his knapsack from the hour he joins the
colours, the young Wesleyan minister reads the insignia of
presidential honours in his ordination Bible. The Conference
is to him what the House of Commons is to the rising member
anxious for official employment. Every distinction, every em-
ployment, every honour is in the hands of this body, from the
appointment as a ‘deputation from the parent society’ to the
most responsible office. Every three years, at the longest,

every circuit is abandoned by its former minister, and Conference appoints his successor. If his early dreams are unfulfilled, Conference bears the burden of the unsuccessful man, and finds him a home every year of his itinerant life. He may be unable to afford any change in the autumn; but at Conference time it will go hard with him if he cannot cast all his troubles aside, and for three weeks share the ungrudging hospitality of a willing host, and be surprised for that brief space to find himself of some importance in the world. The Conference is to its members a refuge in trouble, a meeting-place for friends, a sanctified tribunal, a holy convocation, a solemn synod. The hand that would assail its privileges or its powers is sacrilegious in the sight of its members.

It may interest clerical readers to know how Wesleyans vindicate the validity of their orders. The answer to this is found in their history. In the first place, Wesley early enunciated a principle which has been firmly held by his followers: 'Uninterrupted succession from the Apostles I know to be a fable.' He accepted with this Stillingfleet's conclusion in his 'Irenicon'—'neither Christ nor His Apostles prescribe any particular form of church government, and the plea of divine right for diocesan episcopacy was never heard of in the primitive church.' In accordance with this a late Wesleyan authority lays it down that 'the notion of a succession of bishops conveying by digital contact from age to age the whole volume of divine grace . . . is as contrary to the letter as to the spirit of the New Testament.' It will be seen that these principles, if granted, permit the formation of new religious societies and their organisation, provided sufficient cause is shown for their creation. Wesley believed that the state of the Church and the nation permitted him to create such societies. In 1741 he called out lay preachers to do nothing but preach and visit amongst such societies. He saw his difficult position, and puts his perplexities in a nutshell. 'Soul-damning clergymen lay me under more difficulties than soul-saving laymen.' Every step saw the new body rising into legal existence and into ecclesiastical importance. The societies were repelled from the Church by individual clergymen. The law forced them to register their chapels as 'Protestant Dissenting' meeting-houses, or else to forego all the benefits of the Toleration Act. No one could hit upon a *modus vivendi*. The societies wanted religious services and sacraments; Wesley gave them all he could by the hands of ordained clergymen. More were required. Wesley had read Lord Chancellor King's work on the Primitive Church.

‘I firmly believe I am as much an *episcopos* as any man in ‘England,’ he said, and, in conjunction with other arrangements, ordained certain of his preachers to all ministerial functions. He did this tentatively, ordaining for America in 1784; Scotland, 1785; England, 1787. It was plain that now one of two things must happen—either after Wesley’s death Methodists would form independent congregations and gradually become extinct, or they must produce the line Wesley had begun to draw, and give the sacraments by the hands of their own ministers to their societies. After many struggles—to quote from an author whose statements have been reproduced in this paragraph substantially, though not always literally—

‘the Wesleyan Conference recognised and provided for the actual condition of ecclesiastical independency into which the Connexion had been brought only when that condition had long existed; and Methodist preachers abstained from using the style and title appropriate to ordained ministers, and from assuming in any way collectively the language of complete pastoral responsibility, until by the universal action of the Connexion the “societies” had, of their own will, practically separated themselves from the Church of England, and forced their preachers into the full position and relations of pastors.’ †

This champion of Wesleyan polity leans more to the Liberal view than Dr. Pope; and, reading this Saul-like impeachment of the action of the people by the light of the official utterances of the Conferences, it would appear that the High Church views of Wesley on the priesthood were modified by circumstances, and, working in connexion with the popular desire for separation from the Church, ended in producing a system that in its development tends to create a marked individuality and belief in its own excellence, but which all must allow to have attained its objects with a fair amount of success. Ordination is now administered by the President of the Conference, assisted by the older ministers, and the ordinal is an adaptation of the Anglican form. The other Methodist bodies have from the first taken a more independent position, and approximated more to the standpoint of Dissent than their Wesleyan brethren.

It has lately become a favourite dream with Churchmen that the mistaken policy of the past might be reversed, and Methodism reincorporated with the Church. This is a baseless vision. All who have followed this article will see that the tendency of Methodism, even in the form most closely re-

sembling Anglicanism, is to separate more and more from every other Church. Formerly the Conference held the Church in great honour, not only because of the hallowed dead, but through their hopes of the living; but in 1868, when Dr. Pusey's letter to the then President of the Conference gave a fair field for the discussion of the relations between the two, the result was summed up in the Wesleyan Magazine by a minister who never fails to appear as a friend of the Church in Wesleyan circles.

'We hope it now appears that in every point of view these proposals for unions are impracticable, ill-considered, and inexpedient. If those who make them would expend their time and talent in maintaining the Protestant character of the Established Church, they would do more (though indirectly) towards accomplishing their object than by any such overtures as we have lately heard of. They would conciliate the feelings of many now grieved, beyond expression, at the unfaithfulness of those who claim to be the only authorised guides and instructors of the English people.' *

At one period of their history Wesleyan ministers expelled an able man from their community because he joined the Liberation Society of his day. No power could carry such a sentence through the Conference of 1882. Once the criticisms offered by Wesleyans upon the Church were regretful; now the critics are friends who pour the contents of their alabaster boxes from such a height of superiority that the precious balms break the heads of the recipients of their favours. What will the authors of some of these overtures for reunion think of the answer?—

'It is just as likely that Methodism should absorb Anglican episcopacy as that Anglican episcopacy should absorb Methodism. Methodism has already, within the network of its own sister or daughter churches, a more widespread and a more numerous "Connexion" and community of churches—a vaster host of adherents—than Anglican episcopacy can sum up in all its branches and correlatives. As a world-power Methodism is much the more potent in its operation and influence. For the Church of England (so called) now to absorb Methodism would be a portentous operation. It would be more hazardous than to put new wine into old bottles.'

The Conference fairly disclosed the cause of its antagonistic policy in a manifesto on the education question put forth in 1843. They opposed, they say, certain bills on the ground that they would give the clergy undue influence in educational affairs, and justify their action on these grounds:—

* Rigg's 'Churchmanship,' p. 111.

‘We have been hitherto accustomed to regard the Established Church as one of the main bulwarks of the Protestant faith; but her title to be so regarded has of late been grievously shaken. Opinions concerning the insufficiency of Scripture as the sole, authoritative, and universal rule of faith and practice, the exclusive validity of episcopal ordination, and the necessarily saving efficacy of the sacraments . . . are now held by a large number of the Established clergy . . . an exclusive and persecuting spirit has appeared in many parts of the land . . . the common offices of good neighbourhood are often denied to all but strict conformists; and every approach to Christian intercourse and co-operation, for religious purposes, with those beyond the pale of episcopal jurisdiction, is repudiated, almost with indignation. A preference for papists over their brethren of the Reformation is in some cases openly avowed; and feelings of tenderness, and even veneration, for the Church of Rome, are carefully cultivated by this party. The simple worship hitherto practised in this country is deprecated by them in comparison with the gorgeous ritual of Rome. . . . We are aware that there is a numerous and powerful body of holy and faithful men in the National Church, and we cherish the hope that they, and the authorities of the Church, may, by a more vigorous, explicit, and united assertion of the doctrines of the Reformation, purify their branch of the Christian community from the evils which at present threaten its destruction.’

In the forty years which have elapsed since this was written many things have happened, and, were circumstances to call forth a declaration of policy, every phrase in the preceding document would be strongly accentuated. One of the fruits of the so-called Catholic revival in the Church has been to awaken an undying hostility in the most friendly of Nonconformist bodies; and while individuals in the Establishment will always be regarded with esteem for their works, their learning, or their social influence, the day of semi-alliance with the Church is hastening to a close.

It is not, however, to be assumed that Wesleyanism will coalesce with Dissent, especially political dissent. If anyone wishes to know how philosophic Wesleyans bear themselves towards other Nonconformists, he has only to read Dr. Rigg’s ‘*Connexional Economy of Wesleyan Methodism*.’ Dissenters, as a rule, do not love Wesleyans. In every disagreement within Methodism the malcontents have found ready help and advocacy from Dissent. The non-political character of Methodism in its corporate capacity irritates and puzzles the Dissenter, who approves of the aims of the Liberation Society. On the other hand, the dislike is reciprocal. It began in Wesley’s days; it smoulders on in times of quiet; but it will break out on slight provocation. Unable to cast in its lot heartily with either the Church or Dissent, Methodism

stands proudly aloof. It contemptuously rejects absorption into the one or alliance on equal terms with the other. In the meanwhile it consoles itself with such flattering interpretations of history as these, and draws the robes of its dignity more closely round its figure:—

‘We can well imagine the Methodist society to have acted on the original intentions of its *human* founders, and to have continued as an accepted order within the national Establishment. However, the will of the *Divine* founder of Methodism has manifestly been otherwise. The Head of all churches has thrown around the Methodist societies their *own Church, perfect and complete, lacking nothing for diffusion at home or propagation abroad.*’

The italics are our own; but we use them to draw attention to the fact that inchoate Methodism has crystallised into hard and ever hardening forms, till all its founder’s hopes of a new spirit of Christian love and life to animate all existing forms have proved utterly baseless. It is increasingly evident that Methodism has become a constant factor in English religious life, and the statesman will reckon on it as a separate source of influence in national life. Its operations will be capricious. They will always be controlled by religious considerations, but it is quite within the range of practical politics that the leaders of this community may bring their minute and all-prevalent organisation to bear as a whole upon some urgent question. The result would, in such a case, be very considerable, especially if it were one that commanded the assent of the whole Methodist people, irrespective of their various differences.

We have hitherto regarded English Methodism only, but American Methodism presents peculiar features. The most striking of its peculiarities arises from its adopting the episcopal form of government. It was organised by Wesley on his own principles in a field where he believed himself free from the considerations of expediency that fettered him in England. The American colonies had been the scene of the labours of his preachers at a very early date, and their efforts had been followed by great success. A need arose for the administration of the sacraments, and, when these Methodists turned to the English clergy, it was evident that the population had outgrown the means of supplying their spiritual destitution. The evils were intensified by the revolution; and when the independence of the United States was secured, it was held that the Church of England no longer existed in the States. The Methodists naturally looked to Wesley for help. At first he had turned to the English Church, and begged the Bishop

of London (Lowth) to ordain one presbyter who might travel amongst his societies in America and administer the sacraments. The bishop refused on the ground that 'three ministers were in that country already.' Wesley hesitated for a long time, but in 1784 he took the decisive step. He first consulted with Dr. Coke, and laid before him the proposal to ordain men for supplying the needs of his followers. His old belief that he was an *episcopos* strongly upheld him, and he further fortified his decision by the precedent of the Alexandrine Church, 'which for two hundred years provided its bishops through ordination by its presbyters.' Coke hesitated, but at last yielded; and at Bristol, met Wesley, with the Rev. James Creighton, another presbyter of the Church of England. These three first ordained two of Wesley's preachers as deacons; on the next day, they were ordained presbyters; on this day, Coke was ordained superintendent or bishop of the Methodist societies in America. They proceeded to their destination, and ordained Francis Asbury superintendent or bishop for the same societies. The American Conference 'agreed to form a Methodist Episcopal Church, in which the Liturgy (as presented by the Rev. J. Wesley) should be read and the sacraments administered by a superintendent, elders, and deacons.' The American ear, fond of sonorous titles, rejected superintendent, and, to Wesley's illogical chagrin, adopted the style of Bishop, and in 1788 published in their minutes the following curious question and answer: 'Who are the persons that exercise the episcopal office in the Methodist Church? John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, by regular order and succession.' In their manifesto, the American Methodists say: 'Following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the episcopal mode of government, we thought it best to become an Episcopal Church, making the episcopal office elective.' The Liturgy is no longer employed in American Methodism; but the Articles of Religion are in force, though binding on ministers only. The terms of membership are identical with those of English Methodism, but attendance on the class meeting is not obligatory. Bishops are not ordained to a diocese; but their duties are to preside over Conferences, form districts, appoint ministers, to travel through the country, to ordain bishops, elders, and deacons. Annual Conferences meet under the presidency of 'presiding elders,' elders having displaced presbyters in their nomenclature. General Conferences meet once in four years. No other branch of Methodism has adopted Episcopacy in any form; and there are in the United States four other Episcopal

Methodist Churches, and five non-episcopal, which will allow the American Methodist much latitude of choice in the matter of his religion.

We are now at liberty to enquire what are the results which Methodism has achieved? In order to answer this question we have minutely investigated the reports of the Methodist Churches, and have endeavoured to hold a just balance between opponents and the self-laudation which does not hesitate to say: ‘The Bible Society, the Missionary Society in the modern Protestant form, those great publishing institutions misnamed Tract Societies, the adoption of Sunday schools by the Church, the religious periodical publication, and most other characteristic religious agencies of our day, sprang directly or indirectly from Methodism.’ With strong confidence in the accuracy of our statements, we compute the adherents of Methodism at five millions in connexion with the Bristol Conferences and fourteen millions with the American. The ecclesiastical property in Great Britain may be calculated at eleven millions, and in America at eighteen millions sterling. The annual contributions for purely Methodist purposes in Great Britain amount to two and a half millions sterling, and in the rest of Methodism to three times that amount.

Wesleyans are the only branch of Methodists in England that have busied themselves with primary education. The success that has followed them in this is apparent in their annual Government grant-in-aid, which amounted in 1879 to 96,700*l*. They have training colleges for their teachers, and have expended much pains upon them. At the last change in the educational policy of the country Wesleyans showed much division of feeling. On the one hand they had never subscribed to the doctrine that the State acted beyond its legitimate powers in dealing with education; but, on the other, they were alarmed and irritated at the growth of Ritualistic intolerance in national schools, but could not embrace the theory dissolving the alliance between religious instruction and secular knowledge for fear of playing into the hands of the secularists. Mr. Forster’s proposals afforded a ground for compromise, and Wesleyans, while retaining denominational schools, have generally used all their influence to secure Board schools with Biblical instruction. In the course of the controversy, a marked hostility was exhibited towards the High Church party, and the old traditional policy of Methodism was much strained. Middle-class schools are to receive more attention at the hands of Wesleyans, who have recently apportioned 10,000*l*. to this

purpose. The higher class of the laity have a Methodist education provided for them in two colleges affiliated with the London University, and in a recently erected High School at Cambridge. The Primitive Methodists are showing much activity in education, and are proud of the successes achieved by their pupils. In America and Canada, Methodists have been behind no religious community in similar efforts. The removal of religious disabilities in the English Universities has thrown them open to Methodist parents. We find a few Oxford and Cambridge graduates entering the Wesleyan ministry, while those who remain among the laity show a preference for more ornate services, and for the alteration of various points of the ancient discipline; but, on the whole, it is yet too early to say what the influence of University culture will be on Methodism.

It may be an object of curiosity with some as to what amount of learning can have been obtained by Wesleyan ministers since the Universities were closed to them, and they had not even theological schools till a late period of their history. But in this respect they owed much to Wesley, who was a man of varied attainments and endeavoured to impress his people and the preachers with a genuine love of learning. He consulted with the most eminent Nonconformist minister of his time, and drew up a course of theological reading which has been well kept in view by these hard-working preachers and evangelists. On the Old and New Testament revision committees, Wesleyan representatives have won the hearty recognition of competent scholars. In the lists of missionaries are to be found names better recognised by Germans as masters of Eastern idolatries and mysticism than by Englishmen. Some of the grammars of barbarous dialects compiled by them have been highly praised by philologists, but as a rule they have excelled only in pietist literature. The *forte* of the Methodist minister has long been held to be in his preaching: and yet there is no Methodist preacher to rival Spurgeon; there is no pulpit orator to emulate Farrar or to vie with Liddon; nor is there the memory of one to compare with Robert Hall. Methodist chapels are often crowded to hear popular preachers, but the audience is almost exclusively Methodist. Popular literature has caricatured the average Methodist preacher; but the accompanying sketch of a Wesleyan minister of the highest type is said to be drawn from real life:—

‘He is a man of devout and earnest piety. He loves supremely his proper work of preaching and of spiritual intercourse with his people.

He is generally bookish and studious, can find food for his public and private ministrations in other's libraries, while his own is select, but various and extensive; bright with the presence of the fathers and saints of all ages, and of the thinkers, not always saints, of all schools. His tastes, too, are in constant cultivation; they win the sympathy of spirits similarly constituted; they tell insensibly, but surely, upon the coarser humanity which generally surrounds him. He is frank, open, unreserved, natural; never concealing the man, never forgetting the minister. He studies human nature—human nature as it is to begin with, and as Divine grace develops, modifies, and sanctifies it. He is loving, and tender, and forbearing; but with no counterfeit amiabilities of demeanour and address. He belongs in spirit to all Christian communities. He takes pains to understand them. He mingles largely in their society. He reads their books and records. He construes favourably their avowed opinions. He is a politician too; not a busy, fussy politician, seen and heard, so often as he can get a hearing, at every gathering of partisans; but a calm watcher and patient helper of the sure processes by which the kingdoms of this world are becoming the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ; roused now and then—when some intolerable evil threatens—to fearless speech and action; always standing up for the wronged and wretched; never courting, never shirking, a contest for the truth.*

It must be confessed that there is often as great a contrast between this sketch and reality, as between the ideal curate of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Charlotte Brontë's 'Mallone;' but it is pleasant to see a faultless picture of what is fitting.

From a list in the 'Methodist Almanac' published at New York, we find that an immense stream of periodical literature pours from the united bodies of Methodists. Four quarterlies are published in England and America, and one hundred and fifty periodicals in English, French, Italian, German, Swedish, Dutch, and some other non-European languages. The oldest of these is the 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' commenced by John Wesley, under the title of the 'Arminian Magazine,' in 1777; the most recent is entitled 'Experience,' apparently an expiring effort to represent early Methodist asceticism. The number of Methodist biographies is enormous, commencing with 'Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, principally written by themselves,' containing some most *naïve* revelations of earnest, simple, and frequently quaintly credulous piety, but rising occasionally into passages of description that Defoe would have been proud to write. If the religious history of the English people is ever written, some of these

* Memorials of Rev. W. M. Bunting, p. 22.

biographies will be invaluable for the light they will throw upon religious feeling in these circles.

Without any attempt to sit in judgment upon Methodism, we leave it to speak for itself. The religious martinet may condemn it, because its drill is not conducted according to certain regulations. The professed theologian may declare himself unable to find its *raison d'être* in its tenets: but the fact of its existence, its organisation, its adaptation to practical ends remains. The heyday of its enthusiasm is over, but it will perpetuate itself by education and the working of its system. It will increase the distance between itself and other Christian communities. It will, in all probability, never see the days when it will be invited to share the editorial councils of a new 'Eclectic Review,' nor will it throw open its chapels to the formation of a new Evangelical Alliance. The gentler spirits in its borders will continue to entertain hopes of a Church of the Future with the disciples sitting at the Great Master's feet in unbroken accord; but they will sadly acknowledge that the distinctiveness of Wesleyanism must be sacrificed before that consummation can be obtained. The liberal theologian will sorrowfully confess that Wesley's dream of a Christianity which dwells more upon the most excellent gift of charity than the forms of polity, has gone away from men by the ivory gate; and, while he cannot but regret the share that Wesleyans have in this dislimning of the vision, will more deeply reproach those religionists who survey every prospect through the perplexing medium of a cathedral window, and can endure nothing unless traced with the mediæval pattern that meanders round all their sacred things.

What doctrinal conflicts await Methodism it is impossible to tell. Whether its theology of the heart can withstand the assaults of the time, or whether it must change its front, are questions of the future. But Methodism is plainly a middle-class form of faith. It has not held its first conquests achieved amongst the upper classes. Lady Huntingdon's Connexion has proved a successful rival in that respect. And we are not aware that any persons belonging to the higher ranks of the nation, either in station or in celebrity, belong to this persuasion. Nor has it held the poorest classes in its meshes. The long and fierce contests against popular control have weakened it. Wesleyanism has never surmounted the difficulties thrown in its way when the tide of revolutionary ideas, which in 1848 swept over Europe, invaded its sanctuaries. The working-classes fell away from it then, and have never returned to their allegiance. The increased activity of the

Church, coupled with its resources, and the undoubted devotion of the majority of the clergy in large towns to the interests of their flocks, has seriously crippled Methodism. The lowest strata of English society are barely touched by it, either in rural or urban parishes. The poor, the unfortunate, the miserable, and the vicious are the unquestioned objects of the clergyman's care: the prosperous mechanic, the well-to-do tradesman, the manufacturer, for one or two generations, are the chief supporters of Methodism. But Methodism has in its constitution a principle of strength and authority far surpassing the more lax and tolerant rule of the Anglican Church; it is one of the great bulwarks of the faith amongst the middle classes of this country, opposed alike to the secularism of one party and the Romanising tendencies of another party; and we are thankful that a movement which has so impressed the religious life of the country, is true to the fundamentals of Christian conduct, renders valuable services to the cause of virtue at considerable personal sacrifices, and deserves well of the commonwealth from its loyal adherence to counsels of justice and moderation in times of national disturbance.

ART. II.—1. *The Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar*, with replies to the remarks of the Astronomer Royal and of the late Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford. By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq., M.A. 2nd edition. London: 1862.

2. *Caius Julius Cæsar's British Expeditions from Boulogne to the Bay of Appledore, and subsequent Formation geologically of Romney Marsh*. By FRANCIS HOBSON APPACH, M.A. London: 1868.

FEW events in history have given rise to so much comment and to such various opinions as Cæsar's campaigns in Britain. The figure which the General occupies in the world's history, the renown and skill of the soldiers he commanded, the fact that he was the first great conqueror who is recorded to have invaded these islands, and that with his invasion the history of Britain emerges from chaotic darkness into a definite and consistent shape, have all assisted to enhance the natural romance of the story. The first mention made of Britain by any Roman writer is in a well-known passage in which, speaking of the Suessiones, who gave its name to the diocese of Soissons, and whose country was of great extent and very fruitful, Cæsar says: 'Within our memory' (i.e. probably

during the previous ten or fifteen years), 'their king, Divitiacus, was the most powerful of any in Gaul, and had authority over all these districts' (i.e. the districts of the Belgæ), 'and also secured the dominion of Britain. Now,' he says, 'Galba is king, to whom, on account of his prudence and fairness, all the rest concede the conduct of war.'* The mention of Britain in this sentence is certainly a very curious and interesting notice. The Belgæ, as we know from other sources, had large colonies in Britain, and the Celtic clans, although mutually quarrelsome, had, as their descendants have, the element of clannishness largely developed, and they easily submitted to joint action under a common commander. Yet it is strange to find that the ruler of a tribe at Soissons in Gaul, who was also the Emperor, or General-in-chief of the Belgic tribes there, was likewise obeyed on this side of the Channel. It proves a closer and more intimate intercourse between Britain and the Continent than has generally been suspected; and this view is strengthened when a few paragraphs further on we find Divitiacus the Æduan, who is pleading for this clemency, telling Cæsar that the leaders who had incited the Bellovaci to attack the Romans had fled to Britain.† We may take it, therefore, that at this period the Belgæ of Gaul were closely united both politically and ethnically with their relatives north of the Channel. Strabo, in fact, tells us there were four passages commonly used from the Continent to the Island—from the mouths of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. This will suffice to show, what is *à priori* most reasonable, that the intercourse between Gaul and Britain was continuous and along well-known and frequented routes long before the conquest of Northern Gaul by Cæsar.

Cæsar tells us that there having been a dearth of corn in the year 57 B.C., he had sent commissaries among the various towns of the Armoricans to collect grain. The Veneti were the chief tribe of the confederacy. They not only had many ships which were wont to cross over to Britain, but they were also well skilled in navigation; and as they held the few ports which were alone available on this exposed coast, they levied black mail or dues upon all who crossed their seas. They seized the Roman commissaries and imprisoned them, an example which was followed by the other tribes of the confederacy. They speedily formed a close alliance, swore to act together and to share a common fortune, *and asked for*

* Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, ii. 4.

† Cæsar, ii. 14.

aid from Britain, which lay over against their country. This general gathering together of the northern tribes of Gaul, which threatened to spread into a general conflagration, necessitated sharp measures, and the campaign was one fitted to try the skill of Cæsar; but he won a brilliant victory, and the Armoricans were finally and completely subjugated.

Next spring Cæsar had to turn elsewhere to repel the Germans, who had crossed the Rhine and were laying waste Eastern Gaul. He utterly defeated them and then crossed the river; and having made a demonstration on the other side and strengthened the hands of his friends, he once more returned, because, according to his own statement, the work he had determined upon was complete: but we may suppose that another reason was that he meditated a more showy exploit. As Florus says: ‘*Omni- bus terra marique captis respexit oceanum; et quasi hic Romanus orbis non sufficeret, alterum cogitavit.*’*

Let us try to follow his steps. After the defeat of the Germans he recrossed the Rhine at or near Bonn. He then goes on to say, that ‘although only a small part of the summer remained, inasmuch as in the latitudes of Northern Gaul the winters were early, nevertheless he had determined to go to Britain, inasmuch as he understood that in nearly all the Gallic wars the Britons had sent assistance to his enemies; and if the season proved too late for active operations, nevertheless it would be very useful to visit the island and learn what manner of men lived there, and to explore its ports and approaches, which were for the most part unknown to the Gauls, for no one went thither but traders, nor did even these know anything but the maritime district.’† This last sentence seems to contain an exaggeration. A more potent reason doubtless for Cæsar’s new campaign than any small assistance the Britons may have given his enemies was the desire to do something heroic—something which should attract the applause and stir the imagination of men. To discover a new world and to plant the Roman eagles there would be to do what Pompey could not do. He might rival the Gallic wars, and his campaign against Mithridates was certainly more romantic than those of Cæsar had been; but to transplant his legions to the famous tin country, and thence to bring home trophies for his triumph, would indeed draw down the applause of the Roman mob and win the respect of the masters of the Great Republic. The invasion of Britain

* M. H. B. xlviii.

† Cæsar, iv. 20.

resembles in the career of Cæsar the design of the expedition to Egypt in the career of Napoleon. Yet if it were true that the Britons were wont to send assistance to their Gallic friends in time of war, it follows, even from Cæsar's own words, that there was a good deal more intercourse between the two sides of the Channel than the visits of occasional traders. Having summoned such traders from all sides, he tells us he could not learn from them what was the size of the island, nor what nor how many tribes inhabited it, nor what was their practice in war, nor what their institutions were, nor which of their ports were most suited to harbour a large fleet. The very fact of his receiving an unsatisfactory answer to such queries shows that the information was withheld not from want of knowledge but from an unwillingness to impart it. The monopoly of these traders was threatened, and Strabo expressly says the Veneti were ready to obstruct his passage into Britain, which they used as a mart.* Besides the mere trader's instinct, they were probably also closely allied in blood and traditions with the Britons; and why should they lend a hand to enslave them as the Gauls had already been enslaved? As he could not learn what he wanted from the traders, he despatched Caius Volusenus with a long ship or war galley to explore, and ordered him to return as soon as possible. Caius Volusenus was a military tribune, and is described by Cæsar as a man of great sagacity and valour.†

Meanwhile he marched with his troops from the Rhine to the country of the Morini, 'whence the passage to Britain was the 'shortest.' There he ordered ships to assemble from all the neighbouring districts, as well as the fleet which he had prepared the previous year for his war against the Veneti. We are told that, his design having become disclosed to the Britons by the merchants, envoys came to him from many of the insular tribes, promising to give hostages and to recognise the authority of the Roman people. Cæsar received these promises affably, exhorted the envoys to abide by them, and then sent them home again, and with them a certain Commius or Comm, whom he had appointed King of the Atrebates when he had conquered them.‡ Cæsar says that he approved of the courage and prudence of Commius, and that he deemed him to be faithful to himself. He also had great influence among the Britons. He ordered him to visit as many of the tribes as possible, and to persuade them to confide in the Roman people

* Strabo, lib. iv.

† Cæsar, iii. 5.

‡ Id. iv. 21.

and submit to him, and to tell them that he himself would shortly pay them a visit in person.

Volusenus was sent rather to find a convenient landing-place for the army than to pioneer a route across, and returned after as close an examination as a man could make who had to explore from his ship, and dared not land nor trust himself among the natives. He returned after an absence of five days. He had probably run along the coasts of Sussex and Kent, and was able to report to his master that there was no place between Beachy Head and the South Foreland where an army could venture to land in the face of the enemy; while the only convenient strand where, if unopposed, he could run his flotilla ashore was in the reach where Folkestone now stands or in the narrower inlet at Dover.* While Cæsar was living at Boulogne awaiting the equipment of the ships, envoys came to him from the greater part of the Morini, who promised in future to do as Cæsar should command. Their submission was well-timed and very grateful, for, as he says, 'he did not want to leave an enemy in his rear, nor was the season a convenient one for fighting them; nor, again, did he wish that such trifling matters should interfere with his plans regarding Britain.'

He had collected and impounded or pressed into his service about eighty trading ships or transports, which number, as Mr. Long suggests, proves that the people in these parts had a considerable trade by sea. These he deemed enough to carry over two legions, which, with the necessary camp followers, &c., probably numbered from 10,000 to 12,000 men,† showing they were vessels of some bulk. Besides these transports, he had a certain number of galleys or war-ships, doubtless to act as a convoy, which he distributed among the quæstor or head of the commissariat, the lieutenants or commanders of the legions, and the præfects, i.e. among his staff and field officers.‡ Mr. Long suggests that they were perhaps used for the auxiliaries, the slingers, &c., who are mentioned later on.

Besides these there were eighteen other transports, containing the cavalry, calculated to carry from 400 to 500 horses. There was no room for luxuries, and no doubt the 'impedimenta' or baggage was cut down to the smallest possible amount, so as to accommodate the greater number of soldiers; and we find Athenæus reporting, on the authority of Cotta,

* Napoleon's 'Cæsar,' ii. 189, note.

† Cæsar, iv. 22.

‡ Appian, op. cit. 53.

one of Cæsar's companions, that the Imperator himself only took three servants with him.*

Few matters have given rise to so much learned and ingenious controversy as the route followed by Cæsar in his expeditions against Britain. Nor do there seem to be materials for an absolute conclusion. Cæsar tells us the rendezvous he chose for his troops and ships was in the land of the Morini, for thence was the shortest passage to Britain.† The Morini, as is well known, occupied the modern department of the Pas de Calais, which includes the great promontory known as Cape Grisnez, and which is the nearest part of Gaul to Britain. The land of the Morini extended northward probably as far as the village of Mark, which, no doubt, means a march or frontier, and which bounded the later Saxon settlements in Neustria on the north, and probably represented in earlier times the limits of the Morini and the Menapii. On the south it probably extended to the Cauche or the Authie, which separated it from the Ambiani.

We must look for Cæsar's port of embarkation, therefore, somewhere between these limits. In the account of his second journey he tells us the place whence he sailed was called the 'Portus Itius,' and those who are captivated by superficial etymologies have argued that this name survives in Wissant;‡ but to this view there are two fatal objections. Wissant is a corruption of White Sand, and is a Teutonic name not earlier probably than the Saxon settlement here. Wissant, again, cannot be described as a port; it is a mere open beach. Nor is there any port eight miles north of Wissant answering to Cæsar's northern port. Sangatte, which has been suggested, is not eight but six Roman miles distant, while Calais is eleven. We may, therefore, put it aside altogether. Now, further south than this, and at the head of the old harbour of Boulogne, we have a name surviving which, as has been pointed out, has every claim to be a form of Itius, and this is 'Isques,' which, like Itius, is doubtless a corruption of the Celtic uisk, 'water.' The survival of the name at this spot

* Ath. Deip. vi. 21; M. II. B. xciv.

† Cæsar, op. cit. iv. 21.

Mr. Bunbury in his elaborate and exhaustive 'History of Ancient Geography,' a work which does honour to the scholarship of our age and country, states his reasons for giving the preference to Wissant—mainly because it is the *nearest* point to Dover, and only three miles from Cape Grisnez; but this does not rebut the facts that Wissant is not a port at all, and that it could not have sheltered Cæsar's expedition.

is in accord with all the other facts mentioned by Cæsar, and which have decided the great balance of weighty opinion to conclude that the port he referred to was, in fact, Boulogne, which has ever been the chief port of departure from Gaul to Britain. It was called Gesoriacum in early times. Mela cites Gesoriacum as the port of the Morini which was best known, and Florus tells us Cæsar sailed from *the* port of the Morini. Mr. Appach appositely quotes the ease with which in 1803 Napoleon collected no less than 1,300 vessels here, 'all of which were accommodated in the harbour and river, and yet were so conveniently arranged, that on a rehearsal of the embarkation by way of experiment the whole of the troops destined for the intended invasion were put on board in the course of an hour and a half.'* It is curious to contrast with Cæsar's narrative the account given by M. Thiers of the preparations made by Cæsar's historical heir in so many respects, the great Napoleon, for his venture against Britain:—

'There were needed,' he says, 'boats which when laden would not draw more than seven or eight feet of water, which would go with oars so as to pass either in calm or fog, and could be stranded, without breaking, on the flat English shores. The great gun boats carried four pieces of large bore, and were rigged like brigs—that is, with two masts, manœuvred by twenty-four sailors, and capable of carrying a company of a hundred men with its staff and its arms and munitions. . . . These boats offered a vexatious inconvenience, that of falling to leeward—that is, yielding to the currents. This was the result of their clumsy build, which presented more hold to the water than their masts to the wind.'†

Cæsar's boats in his second expedition had precisely the same fault. Boulogne being fixed upon for the port of departure, we have no difficulty in settling what Cæsar meant by the northern port, which he tells us was eight miles distant. This could be no other than the little haven of Ambleteuse, which, as Mr. Appach says, is just $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or 13,200 yards, from Boulogne, which agrees very closely with the statement of Cæsar; for eight Roman miles, calculated at 1,630 yards to a mile, would make the distance 13,040 yards.‡

Let us return once more to Cæsar. He tells us that, all being ready, he took advantage of some favourable weather and set sail a little before the third watch, that is about midnight; no

* Appach, op. cit. 51.

† Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire, etc. iv. 17. Napoleon's 'Cæsar,' ii. 207.

‡ Appach, op. cit. 51.

doubt so that he would arrive on the following morning and have full daylight for the arduous task of landing. As there was a full moon on the fourth day after he arrived in Britain, it has been agreed that the actual date of his setting sail was Saturday, August 26, B.C. 55.* As we shall see presently, he set out with a south-west wind, which would be partially on his beam as he sailed along; this accounts for the slowness of the passage. His ships were country-built and were clumsy sailers. Dr. Guest has compared them in this respect to Chinese junks, which make good way before a wind, but with the wind abeam are little better than logs on the water,† and their general rate of sailing was little more than two miles an hour.

Cæsar tells us that on his arrival on the other side all the hills were occupied by the armed troops of the enemy. The nature of the place was such, he adds, that the cliffs rose abruptly from the sea, so that those on their summits could throw their spears on to the beach below.‡ This description applies to the neighbourhood of Dover, and that only. It would seem the fleet was moored in Dover Wick, the roadstead which lies between Dover and the South Foreland, and is commanded by the guns of the castle.§ Cæsar goes on to say that, seeing the place was not a convenient one for landing, he anchored his ships until the whole of his fleet came up. He remained at anchor till the ninth hour, i.e. till about three in the afternoon. During this interval he called a council of war of the legates and military tribunes, before which the information collected by Volusenus was laid, and Cæsar pointed out what he wished to be done. He warned his officers that as they would have to move rapidly and on an unstable surface, they must be careful to observe the signal and to be punctual. Having dismissed them, the tide and wind being both favourable, he gave the signal. The anchors were weighed, and when he had advanced some 7,000 paces from that place he brought his ships to, on an open and flat shore. This last clause has given rise to a vast mass of controversy. It will be noted that Cæsar does not say whether he went to the east or the west, but merely that he advanced 7,000 paces, so that there has been ample opportunity for the champions of Sussex and Kent to dispute the matter. Cæsar says he sailed with wind and tide in his favour. Let us first consider the wind. What does Cæsar mean by a favourable wind

* Appach, op. cit. 60.

† Cæsar, iv. 23.

‡ Arch. Journ. xxi. 231.

§ Guest, loc. cit.

for a voyage to Britain? This he explains in the account of his second voyage, when he tells us that he was prevented from sailing by the blowing of the wind Corus, which blew, as we know, from the north-west, while he set sail with the wind Africus, which blew from the south-west. This was the wind, therefore, with which he set sail, and which had been blowing for some time before and had detained the eighteen transports at the northern port, and prevented them joining him at Boulogne. These same ships were afterwards apparently wind-bound, for they did not reach the British coast till four days after his arrival; and if the wind continued from the south-west it would probably prevent them from rounding Cape Grisnez from Ambleteuse. Nor have we the smallest hint in Cæsar that the wind changed its course after he set sail. Thus, if there had been no mention of the tide, there could hardly have been a doubt as to Cæsar's meaning that after his delay he proceeded eastwards. When we turn to the question of the tide we are met by a crucial difficulty. Halley and Airy have both made an elaborate examination of the problem as a general question of the tides. The former concluded that the tide was running to the east when Cæsar again set sail, and the latter that it was running to the west. Practical navigators have differed as completely. Looked at in every way, the question of the tide is surrounded with difficulties, and after all it is but one factor in the problem, a factor to which paramount weight has been attached by many to the exclusion of others of equal importance. Let us consider one or two of these. Cæsar tells us that after being anchored for some time, he advanced ('progressus') seven or eight miles from his anchorage. As Mr. Long has said, to advance ('progredi'), as Cæsar uses the word, and as it should be used, means to continue in a given direction, and as he came from the south to the north the continuance of his course would be in the same direction; to go westward would be to go back.* Although Dion Cassius is an authority of secondary importance in the controversy, it is curious that he tells us that Cæsar not being able to land where he ought to have done, sailed round a promontory and went to the other side. This can only mean that he sailed round the South Foreland and landed beyond, and is of value as showing what the tradition was in the days of Dion. Again: *Unless he pursued the usual track, how could the Britons have known where to encounter the debarcation?* † Again, Cæsar says that the place of landing

* Long's 'Cæsar,' 283.

† Lewin, 31.

was 7,000 paces from where he first halted. This brings us to Deal, while Hythe or Lympne on the borders of Romney Marsh—which are the alternative suggestions—are much too far off. Lastly, we know that Cæsar landed at the same place on both his journeys, and the most natural explanation of his description of the second voyage is that he landed near Deal.*

As we have said, Cæsar halted some seven or eight miles from his former anchorage, opposite an open and flat shore, wherever that may have been. The Britons meanwhile had forestalled him, and sent on their chariots and cavalry, as the Russians did their Cossacks in the Crimean War, and followed these up by the rest of their forces so as to oppose the landing. This was a difficult operation, because, as he says, the ships could not, on account of their size, be beached, and could only anchor in tolerably deep water, whence it was difficult for those on board to wade on to *terra firma*. The soldiers again were unacquainted with the locality, and besides the weight of their weapons they were encumbered with heavy armour, and they had to disembark, to keep their footing in the water, and fight the enemy all at once.† While the Romans were thus embarrassed, the Britons either fought on dry land, or advanced a short distance into the water with their limbs free, and knowing the locality threw in a shower of spears, and urged forward their horses trained to go into the water. Cæsar confesses that his men shrank from the contest, and that under these conditions they did not show the same alacrity and zeal which they usually showed in fighting on shore. Presently the standard-bearer of the famous Tenth Legion, having invoked the gods to favour his project, shouted out, ‘Fellow-soldiers, unless you wish to lose the eagles, follow me; I will do my duty in the presence of the Commander-in-chief and the Republic.’ He then jumped into the water and moved towards the enemy. His companions, having encouraged each other, and afraid that the disgrace of losing their eagles might overtake them, followed his example. They at length gained

* But we put forward this suggestion with great diffidence and uncertainty, having regard to the correspondence on this subject which was published by the Society of Antiquaries in the thirty-ninth volume of ‘Archæologia,’ p. 277. The result of the hydrographic survey undertaken by the Admiralty establishes the fact that the tide was running *westward* at the time mentioned by Cæsar. This conclusion is a mathematical certainty established by Admiral Smyth and the Astronomer Royal, and it is fatal to the *eastward* theory.

† Cæsar, op. cit. iv. 24.

a footing on the beach, and crowding forward charged the enemy and put them to flight. It was impossible to pursue; for the cavalry in the eighteen transports, as we have mentioned, was unable to keep its course and reach the island. This alone prevented the victory from being a decisive one.* After landing, the Romans as usual established a camp. This was no doubt near the sea and their ships, and possibly, as the Emperor Napoleon suggests, on the heights of Walmer. The galleys were hauled on shore and the transports anchored in the roadstead.

The Britons now sent envoys to treat for peace, promising to surrender hostages, and to do what Cæsar wished. The envoys were accompanied by Commius, who had been sent to try to reconcile the British chiefs to his visit. Their answer had been to detain and imprison him. They now excused themselves for this act of treachery, throwing the blame on the mob, and asked him to forgive their imprudence. Cæsar read them a homily on their infidelity, and then with lordly magnanimity pardoned them and demanded hostages. Some of these were handed over at once, but others, who had to come from a distance and doubtless to be sureties for remoter tribes, they promised should be sent in a few days. Meanwhile the fighting men were disbanded and sent back to their homes, while the chiefs came together from all sides, and commended themselves and their tribes to the conqueror.

On the fourth day after his arrival, the eighteen transports with the cavalry, which had been wind-bound at the northern port, set sail with a gentle breeze. As they approached the coast of Britain and were in full view of the camp, so violent a hurricane came on suddenly that none of them could hold their course. Some were constrained to put back, while others were driven to the lower part of the island towards the west, and were knocked about with great danger. They cast anchor, but as they began to fill with water and the night was likely to prove more disastrous to them, they weighed once more, put to sea, and set out for the continent again.

The same night, says Cæsar, it was full moon and spring tide, a phenomenon unknown to the Romans; so that the galleys which had been beached were filled with water, the transports which were riding at anchor became unmanageable, and there was no way of assisting them. Many of them foundered, others lost their anchors and equipment and were rendered useless. This disaster naturally caused much un-

* Cæsar, *op. cit.* iv. 26.

easiness in the army, for they had neither other ships in which to return, nor appliances for refitting those which had been broken, and as it had been quite decided to winter in Gaul no provisions had been laid up in Britain for the winter.*

The misfortune of the Romans was a favourable opportunity for the recently submissive chiefs, who accordingly withdrew gradually from the camp and again summoned their retainers to their standards. Cæsar proceeded to refit his fleet, which he accomplished with only the loss of twelve ships. Meanwhile, as one of the two legions, namely the seventh, was as usual employed in harvesting, and when nothing had happened to make the Romans suspect a sudden attack, those who were on guard at the gate of the camp reported to Cæsar that a larger dust than usual arose from the quarter where the foragers had gone. The latter, suspecting some treachery, marched with the four cohorts on guard. When he had marched a short distance, he noticed that his men were being hard pressed, and that the enemy were throwing a shower of weapons into their closed ranks. It would appear that the soldiers had cut down the grain in the whole field except a portion which was near a wood. There the Britons had concealed themselves during the night, and when the Romans, having laid aside their arms, were scattered about reaping, they were suddenly attacked. Some of them were killed and the rest were thrown into confusion; meanwhile the cavalry and charioteers of the enemy assailed them mercilessly. The arrival of Cæsar with assistance was very opportune. The Britons paused, while the legionaries took fresh heart.† The escape had been a narrow one, and matters were critical. Cæsar acknowledges that he did not deem it prudent to risk a general engagement, and Dion says that there was a heavy loss. Having held his ground for a while he led his legions back to the camp. By the Britons this retreat for strategic purposes was doubtless interpreted, as similar retreats have been since, as a confession of weakness; and while the Romans were busy, in tending their wounded and strengthening their intrenchments,‡ the peasants in the country round left their occupations and joined their brothers.

For several days, says Cæsar, the weather was so bad that his men were confined to their camp, nor would the enemy venture on a fight. They employed the interval in sending round messengers to summon a general levy, urging that the

* Cæsar, op. cit. iv. 29.

† Cæsar, op. cit. iv. 34.

‡ Long, op. cit. 211, note.

Romans were weak, that the booty they would capture was tempting, and that if they drove the foreigner from his camp they would secure perpetual freedom for their country. This summons was promptly obeyed, and a large force of infantry and cavalry was brought together. Cæsar foresaw that they would behave as they did before, and if defeated would speedily fly. He therefore determined to bring on a general engagement, and drew out his legions in battle array in front of the camp, together with thirty horsemen, who had been brought over by Commius. They doubtless accompanied him as an escort when he went as Cæsar's plenipotentiary. The battle having commenced, the Britons did not long withstand the onset of the legions, but turned and fled. The heavily weighted legionaries could only pursue a short distance, and as they had no cavalry, only a comparatively small number of the enemy fell, and the Romans had to be content with firing the buildings far and wide, and then returned to their camp. The same day envoys again went to treat for peace. Cæsar did not insist on the immediate delivery of the hostages, but ordered them to be sent after him to the Continent. He wanted to withdraw because, as he says, the equinox was at hand, and he did not care to risk his shattered vessels during that boisterous season.

A favourable wind having sprung up, he took advantage of it, and set sail again a little after midnight, a time perhaps chosen, as Mr. Lewin suggests, to suit the exigencies of the tidal harbour of Boulogne. If his fleet occupied the same time in returning as it had done on its voyage out, it would arrive about 3 P.M. next day. On September 19 it was high tide at Boulogne about four, and this date, which would precede the equinox, which occurred in that year about September 24, suits the account of Cæsar very well.* So that the whole of his excursion barely occupied a month.

Cæsar closes his fourth book by stating that only two of the British tribes actually sent him hostages, the others failing to do so. In consequence of his despatches, the Senate decreed that on his return he should have a 'supplicatio' or religious festival and thanksgiving to the gods for twenty days—a most unusual honour, that decreed to Pompey for his famous victory over Mithridates having lasted only for ten days.† As Mr. Long pithily says, 'If his despatches told no more than his commentaries, there was little matter for rejoicing, but a new world was opened to the Romans, and they expected to

* Lewin, op. cit. 67.

† Long, op. cit. ii. 35, note.

‘find more in the island than they did.’* This was, in fact, the sum of the whole exploit, and the more independent Roman historians are candid enough in admitting it. Livy says that the success of Cæsar’s first venture in Britain was marred by tempests.†

When he had put his legions into winter-quarters he returned to Italy, as was his custom. Whatever glories he won in Gaul and elsewhere were to him but secondary matters to keeping up his influence there. It was Rome and not Gaul of which he was ambitious to be the master. On his departure he instructed the legionary commanders to employ the utmost diligence during the winter in building new ships and refitting the old ones, for he was determined to visit Britain again, and this time to secure a more complete success. Making use of his experience of the year before, he planned his new vessels on a different model. In order that they might be laden more quickly, and might also be more easily hauled up on the beach, he ordered them to be made lower than those used in the Mediterranean; while, as he contemplated taking over a large quantity of sumpter cattle, his object being a campaign and not a mere excursion, he had them made wider in the beam and flatter-bottomed. They were to be fitted out for rowing as well as sailing, for which their low sides made them well adapted. He tells us that he ordered those articles which were needed for equipping ships, i.e. the anchors, ropes, sails, &c., to be sent for from Spain. Strabo states that Spain then furnished ropes and iron, while Pliny describes the Spanish spartum of which ropes were made; and it is a strange proof of the great conservatism of customs in the Peninsula that the Spaniards still make cordage of what they call esparto, a kind of grass now much used in this country. On leaving the winter-quarters of the army he repaired to Cisalpine Gaul, where he held his courts for the administration of the province, and on his return to Gaul he was accompanied by Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator.

‘It was of great importance,’ says Mr. Lewin, ‘for Cæsar at this time to keep Mark Tully his friend, and with this view he offered Quintus Cicero the command of one of his legions.‡ Both Cæsar and Quintus wrote to Cicero from Lodi, and it is amusing to see how the ambitious and politic general humours the innocent vanity of the simple-minded orator. Cæsar even went so far as to commend Cicero’s verses, and complimentary language could not be carried further. Both Cæsar

* Long, op. cit. iv. 38.

† Liv. Epit. 105; M. H. B. xlix.

‡ Cæsar, B. G. v. 21.

and Quintus were at this time full of the intended expedition against Britain, and Quintus, at the instance of Cæsar, suggests that Tully should employ his pen in painting the approaching triumphs. "Give me only Britain," says Tully, "and I will paint it in your colours but with *my brush*. But what am I saying? What leisure can I have, especially if, as Cæsar wishes, I remain at Rome? *But we shall see.*" As we hear nothing of any panegyric by Cicero upon Cæsar's British campaign, we may conclude that the result did not exactly answer to the flattering picture which hope had foreshadowed.*

Cæsar, having returned to his legions, made an inspection of their winter-quarters, and found that by the zeal of his officers 600 transports and twenty-eight long ships were nearly ready and would all be launched in a few days—a good proof of the extraordinary vigour and practical ability of the Romans. For this vast fleet, with all its appliances, had in effect been prepared in little more than six months, in a strange country only recently conquered, and with the means of locomotion much more limited than at present. Having commended the soldiers and those who had had charge of the business, he ordered the whole to rendezvous at the Portus Itius, i.e. Boulogne, 'which was by far the most convenient port of departure for Britain.' Having left a sufficient garrison to secure this port and to convoy the expedition thither, he marched with four legions and 800 cavalry to the country of the Treviri, where he allayed a pending civil strife. This tedious business off his hands, he again marched his legions to the Portus Itius. There he learned that sixty ships, which had been built among the Meldi, had been prevented by a storm from joining the rendezvous and had put back to whence they had come. The Meldi, or, according to the Emperor Napoleon, the Meldæ, lived on the Marne, in the country about Meaux.†

Cæsar, who knew what a critical matter it was to leave a country like Gaul but half subdued behind him, and how it would embarrass him if a general insurrection took place there, summoned the chiefs of its various clans. He determined to take them with him as hostages, save a very few upon whose fidelity he could rely. For twenty-five days his departure was delayed by the blowing of Corus, or the north-west wind (which he says was the prevailing wind in those parts). At length, a lull having supervened, he ordered the embarkation to proceed. He left Labienus behind on the Continent with three legions and 2,000 cavalry, to guard the Port, to look after the commissariat, and generally to superintend affairs in his

* Lewin, op. cit. 77 and 78.

† Op. cit. 222, note.

absence, and set sail himself with five legions and a fitting complement of cavalry. Calculating 4,200 men to each legion, this would give 21,000 infantry. The cavalry, as we learn from his narrative, numbered 2,000. It was about sunset when Cæsar at length set sail with a gentle south-west wind blowing. Towards midnight the breeze died away, and not being able to hold on his course, he tells us he was carried a long way by the tide, so that at sunrise he found he had drifted far away to the east and had left Britain on his left hand; that is, if words have meaning, he passed out to the east of the South Foreland. The tide then turned, upon which he ordered the rowers to their work, which was hardly needed if he was to land at Hythe, but very much needed if he was to go to Deal. He did this, as he says, in order that he might reach that part of the coast which he had the previous year found to be most convenient for landing. He praises the energy and zeal of his men, who by dint of hard rowing enabled the transports and heavier craft to keep pace with the galleys. He reached the shore about mid-day. From a letter addressed by M. Cicero to Atticus, and dated July 28, which contains the phrase: 'From the letters of my brother Quintus I conjecture *that he is by this time in* Britain,' it would seem that the expedition sailed in the latter part of July; and Mr. Lewin, from the fact of Cæsar having made a long march on the very night of his arrival, which makes it probable that there was a strong moonlight, fixes it on or soon after the full moon, which was on July 18. The enemy was nowhere to be seen. As Cæsar afterwards learnt from his prisoners, the Britons had collected a considerable levy, but on seeing the imposing Roman fleet which, with the vessels of the year before and those belonging to private individuals who accompanied him, numbered 800 vessels, they were disconcerted and retired from the beach towards the upper ground.

Having chosen a suitable position for his camp and learned from his prisoners where the enemy had retired to, he assigned ten cohorts and three hundred cavalry to guard the ships, under the command of Q. Atrius, and determined to march in pursuit at once, knowing well the moral effect of a quickly delivered blow. He accordingly gave his men but a short rest, and set out about the third watch, that is, at midnight. He tells us he started with the greater confidence since his ships were anchored on a sandy open coast, and he, therefore, had little cause to fear any disaster. He tells us that when he had advanced twelve miles he came up to where the enemy

was posted. This was on a river, and it must have been either the Great or Little Stour. We are told the British chariots and cavalry advanced to the river and posted themselves on the high ground to prevent the Roman advance, and the battle then began.

Defeated by the Roman cavalry, the Britons sought shelter in the woods, 'in a position strong by nature, but made stronger 'by art;' doubtless one of those stockaded fortresses of earth of which remains are to be found in many parts. In this case, Cæsar tells us, it seemed that the position had been previously fortified in view of some domestic foe, for every approach to it was barred by a rampart formed of felled timber which would no doubt take some time to make. From behind their vantage the Britons delivered their weapons at the Romans, and prevented them entering the stockade. At length the soldiers of the Seventh Legion raised their shields above their heads in a close mass, and, thus protected from impending weapons, proceeded to build up a mound of earth against the barricade, and then scaled it,* driving the defenders from the wood with small loss to themselves. Cæsar refrained from pursuit, inasmuch as the country before him was not known to him and as the greater part of the day was already spent, and he wished, in the soldierly Roman fashion, to fortify his camp for the night. The following day he sent three divisions of cavalry and infantry in pursuit. They had gone but a short distance, and the rear ranks were still in view, when some horsemen despatched by Q. Atrius reported that the previous night a terrible hurricane had swept over the coast and had driven nearly all the transports from their anchorage and cast them upon the beach. This disaster was a very serious one indeed, and Cæsar promptly recalled his men and once more returned to the landing-place, where he found matters very much as they had been reported to him. He concluded, however, that by a sacrifice of about forty ships he could with some trouble repair and refit the remainder. The pioneers and smiths' carpenters in the army were told off for this duty, while others were sent for from the Continent. Orders were also despatched to Labienus, who was in command at Boulogne, that he should, with the legions he had with him, get ready as many ships as he could. To prevent further calamity of the same kind, although the work was one of vast labour, he deemed it most prudent to haul the whole of the fleet ashore and to protect it by a continuous rampart, as was

* Cæsar, v. 9; Lewin, op. cit. 90.

the practice with the Romans.* We must remember that the legionaries were pioneers as well as fighting men, and carried entrenching tools with them. The army was continuously occupied in refitting the fleet for ten days, i.e. probably till about July 31. Having sheltered his newly fitted ships in a naval camp, Cæsar entrusted them to the same garrison he had previously left behind. It was probably, as Mr. Lewin suggests, during the delay caused by these precautionary measures that we find Quintus Cicero again writing to his brother at Rome. This letter was probably written about the end of July. Mark's reply is extant, and we gladly adopt Mr. Lewin's vigorous translation of it:—

'Now,' he says, 'I come last to that which should perhaps have stood first. O that delightful letter of yours from Britain! I had been so fearful of the ocean, so fearful of the coasts of the island. I do not speak slightly of all the rest, but the rest carries more of hope than of fear, and I am rather upon the tiptoe of expectation than under serious alarm. But I see that you have a brave subject for composition. What sites! What descriptions of places and things! What manners! What nations! What battles! And above all, what a commander-in-chief! I will gladly assist you, as you asked me, in what you wish. I will forward you the verses you desire, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας. But, I say, you seem to have forgotten me! For, tell me, my brother, what thought Cæsar of my verses? for he wrote me word before that he had read the first book, and that, taking the commencement as a sample, he had never read anything finer, not even of the Greeks. The rest he had reserved till he was more at leisure (ῥαθυμότερα), for I use his very word. But tell me candidly whether either the subject or the style fails to please. No need to fear, for I shall not think a whit the worse of myself. Out with it, and write like a true brother as you are.' †

Having reached his former position on the Stour, Cæsar found the Britons had again assembled there, and had nominated as their chief, Cassivellaunus, whose dominions were separated from the maritime states by the Thames. As was usual among the Celts, and, in fact, as is almost necessarily a rule among all disintegrated communities, he had been selected in a time of great critical danger, no doubt from his known vigour and skill, to superintend the means of resistance, and had been given the authority of a dictator. On his march inland, Cæsar relates that his cavalry had to sustain a sharp struggle with the charioteers of the enemy, in which his people were, however, everywhere successful,

* Livy, xxiii. 28, and xxxvi. 45; Long, op. cit. v. 11, note.

† Lewin, op. cit. 94 and 95.

and compelled the latter to find shelter in the woods and hills. Many of them were killed; but the Romans, pursuing too eagerly and in turn, lost several of their men. After a short interval, the latter were even more severely punished, for being off their guard and engaged in fortifying their camp, a number of the enemy made a rush and surprised the pickets who were keeping guard. Cæsar sent two cohorts of picked men to the rescue. They were, however, disconcerted by the unusual kind of fighting, and the Britons succeeded in cutting their way through the space which intervened between them. The fight was evidently a sharp one. On the same day, Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, was killed. Mr. Lewin says that on the southern bank of the Stour, a little to the east of the Wye, and opposite Chilham, there is a tumulus called Julliber's grave, which is traditionally connected with the death of Cæsar's general. He adds, if his name had been Julius Laberius, and not Quintus, there would have been at least a curious coincidence, as the locality is not an improbable one. On the defeat of his men, Cæsar had to send up a large relay of reinforcements, when the Britons were at length repulsed.*

The following day, i.e. about August 2, the Britons showed themselves on the neighbouring hills, and began the same skirmishing tactics as before. About noon, Cæsar had sent three legions, with the whole of his cavalry (constituting a considerable army), under Caius Trebonius, for foraging purposes. As the foragers were engaged in collecting supplies, the Britons rushed in from all sides, so bravely and persistently that they followed them up to the standards and the legions. Cæsar says that his men opposed a stubborn front, and repelled the enemy, who were then attacked by the cavalry, encouraged by the legions behind, and were so routed that they never dared to cross arms again.†

After the battle the Britons retreated *en masse*, and Cæsar, knowing their plans, marched his troops to the river Thames, to the borders of the kingdom of Cassivellaunus, to the only spot where the river was fordable on foot, and this with difficulty. The fixing of this ford, and consequently of Cæsar's route from the Stour, has been much debated; nor have we materials for arriving at anything but a probable solution. Cæsar tells us the dominions of Cassivellaunus were separated from the maritime states by the Thames, and adds the ambiguous phrase, 'a mari circiter milia passuum

* Cæsar, Comm. v. 15.

† Id. 17.

‘lxxx,’ ‘about eighty miles from the sea.’ It is reasonable to suppose that he estimated this distance by his march from the coast to where he crossed the river.

This makes it probable that the ford was somewhere near Kingston, as was argued long ago by Horsley. The first place where the Thames is easily fordable, and where there has been a regular route across from early times, is at Kingston. The town of Kingston probably arose and derived its early importance from this ford. The importance of the passage there may be gathered from the fact that Kingston bridge is reported to be the oldest on the Thames except London Bridge, while coins, urns, and other Roman antiquities have been found at Combe, which is close by. All these facts combine with the distance as given by Cæsar to make it exceedingly probable that he crossed the Thames at Kingston. There is only one other place which can seriously dispute with it, and that is Coway Stakes, near Walton, to which we shall revert presently. Having fixed this point, we may roughly map out the course of Cæsar’s march from the Stour. As he does not mention crossing the Medway, it is pretty certain that he followed the route through the middle of Kent, and did not cling to the Thames. On leaving the neighbourhood of Durovernum or Canterbury he probably got into the old route which passes through Charing. This old road follows for the most part the high ground, and is said to have been in later times used by the pilgrims who went to Canterbury from the west country, and its course is still marked by lines of Kentish yews.* It led westward to Oldberry Hill, on Ightham Common. Thence the road passes westward to Holwood Hill, generally recognised as the site of Noviomagus. The large fortification here is still called ‘Cæsar’s Camp,’ a name it bears with many similar sites which have little enough to do with Cæsar. Thence it seems the invaders made for the ford at Kingston. It is probable that it was while the Romans were on their march from the Stour to the Thames that Quintus Cicero again wrote to his brother Mark. His letter does not appear to have been a very confident one, for in his reply Mark says: ‘I learn from your letter that, in regard to matters in Britain, there is neither matter for fear nor for congratulation.’† Cæsar’s narrative tells us that when he reached the river he found the opposite bank occupied by large bodies of the enemy’s troops, who had also fixed sharp stakes along their bank, while others were submerged in the bed of

Murray’s ‘Kent,’ 201.

† M. H. B. lxxxviii.

the river. Having ascertained these facts from the prisoners and deserters who were with him, he ordered the cavalry to force a passage, and the infantry to follow in support immediately behind. This was done with such spirit and *élan* that, although the legionaries were up to their necks in the water, they carried everything before them, and the Britons fled precipitately.*

The mention of the stakes in the river has been the source of a great deal of fertile archæological surmising, which began as early at least as the days of Bede, who, in speaking of Cæsar's campaign, says: 'Traces of the piles are still to be seen, and some of them, as thick as a man's thigh and coated with lead, are immovably fixed in the bed of the river.'† The only place, apparently, where such stakes were recently to be found, was about a furlong to the west of Walton Bridge, in the parish of Shepperton, where there is a ford. These stakes are known as Coway Stakes; Camden, in 1607, fixed upon them as undoubtedly the very stakes named by Cæsar; and since his day the contest about them has been long and ingenious. Bray, the editor of Manning's 'Surrey,' was told in 1807 by a fisherman named Simmons that he had fished up several of the stakes, which were about six feet long and shod with iron. He described them as being ranged in two rows, about nine feet asunder, athwart the river, each stake being about four feet from its neighbour.‡ On this Mr. Lewin says very aptly: 'How could stakes in two rows, nine feet asunder one way, viz. in the course of the stream, and four feet another, viz. across the stream, be intended as a barricade against an enemy, when a foot soldier—not to say a trooper—could pass through them in every direction? How, again, is it credible that the stakes, which must have been prepared in a hurry, should have been shod with iron in a systematic way, as in times of peace for the foundations of a bridge?'§ One of these stakes may be examined at the British Museum. The ford at Coway, again, is said to be nearly six feet deep, an impossible place, therefore, for soldiers to wade across. Putting these facts together, we cannot think there is any good ground for connecting the Coway Stakes with those recorded by Cæsar.

After the attempt to prevent the Romans crossing the river had failed, Cassivellaunus (the greater part of his army having dispersed) was left, according to Cæsar, with about four thousand

* Commentaries, v. 18.

† Manning's 'Surrey,' ii. 759.

‡ Eccl. Hist. i. 2.

§ Lewin, op. cit. 107 and 108.

charioteers—a number which seems exaggerated, unless we are to understand, as the Emperor Napoleon does, that there were several charioteers in each chariot. With these he furtively assailed the Romans on their march, and knowing the route by which they must advance, he drove the cattle and people from their fields on the line of march into the woods, so as to prevent them getting supplies. This compelled the cavalry to range more widely in order to supply the commissariat; and, as the country was well known to his men, they had ample opportunity of falling with their chariots on the scattered foragers. Cæsar accordingly forbade them to scour the country far away from the line of march, while he revenged himself by destroying and ravaging whatever was within reach of his legionaries; a form of tactics which no doubt caused much misery. ‘Who would not,’ Cæsar is reported by Dion Cassius to have said, ‘lament at seeing Italy laid waste as Britain was?’

On the other hand, the new military arm, of which the Romans began to have experience in this war, namely, the *essedons* or chariots of the Britons, apparently produced a great moral effect upon them, and they began to be used by the rhetoricians and poets to point their epigrams. We find them thus used in Cicero’s letters. A young, unsuccessful lawyer, Trebatius, who, like many others of the briefless brotherhood, was anxious for distinction elsewhere, had been recommended by his friend and patron, Mark Tully, to Julius Cæsar. Cicero was a useful and powerful friend, and it was prudent to conciliate him. He therefore offered Trebatius a tribuneship with nothing to do—a berth in the commissariat department, in fact; but this was declined. It is interesting to turn to some of the playful letters Cicero wrote to him. In one he bids him beware lest, his duty being to cater for others, he should be captured by the *essedarii*. In another he says, ‘I hear there is nothing in Britain, neither gold nor silver. If this be so, I advise you to capture an *essedon*, and to return to us as quickly as possible.’ These jokes, or a general sense of prudence, seem to have worked upon Trebatius’ mind, for instead of being in Britain, as his friend supposed, he had not crossed the Channel; and presently we find Cicero again bantering him. ‘I have read your letters,’ he says, ‘from which I learn that you are regarded as a very good jurisconsult by Cæsar. . . . If you had gone to Britain no one would have excelled you in the island; but to have my joke, as you invite me, you seem much less forward in the camp than the forum. You who were so fond of swimming, had you no stomach for swimming on the ocean? You who were

‘so cunning of fence, could you not face the *essedarii*?’ Marcus Cicero, in another letter to Quintus, mentions having on September 27 received a letter from Cæsar himself, dated the first of the same month, and which he says reported matters in Britain as going on satisfactorily.

We have described Cæsar’s crossing the Thames and subsequent advance. Meanwhile the Trinobantes, who lived in Essex, sent envoys to him to offer him their submission. Their king, Imanuentius, had been killed by Cassivellaunus, and his son, Mandubratius, had sought shelter with Cæsar in Gaul. He was now apparently in his camp, and probably acted as his guide. The Trinobantes prayed that Cæsar would send Mandubratius to them to rule over them, and that he would protect him from Cassivellaunus. Cæsar, having demanded forty hostages from them as a guarantee of good faith, and also asked for a supply of provisions, sent Mandubratius as they desired.

Seeing how the Trinobantes had succeeded by their submission in protecting themselves from being harried, other tribes deemed it prudent also to submit. The Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci and Cassi are mentioned as doing so. From the envoys sent by these tribes Cæsar learnt that the capital of Cassivellaunus was not far off. It was protected by woods and marshes and contained a large number of men and cattle. Such towns, he tells us, were fortified by ramparts and ditches, and this particular fortress was well protected both by art and nature. He determined to attack it on two sides; but the Britons dared not sustain a siege, and accordingly, after a short delay, escaped from the town, and he captured a large number of cattle, a welcome supply to the commissariat. He nowhere tells us the name of the capital of Cassivellaunus. Chiefly because Ptolemy makes Verulamium one of the chief towns of the Catuellani, and because in the next generation Verulamium was a very important city, it has been almost universally agreed that this was the capital of Cassivellaunus which Cæsar captured. But this may be disputed. Among the tribes who obeyed Cassivellaunus Cæsar mentions the Cassi, and there is every reason for believing that this tribe occupied Hertfordshire and has left its name in the hundred of Cashio and the well-known park of Cassiobury. Verulamium is almost in the centre of the hundred of Cashio, and was in all probability the chief town of the Cassi. The Cassi were apparently, however, not the people of Cassivellaunus, for they went over to Cæsar against him and informed the Roman invader

of the situation and surroundings of the British capital. As Mr. Lewin says, it is improbable that the Cassi should have stimulated Cæsar to march against their own chief city,* nor can one well understand, after seeing St. Albans and looking over the site of ancient Verulamium, how it could ever have answered to Cæsar's description as 'silvis paludibusque munitum,' 'protected by woods and marshes.' On the other hand, Cæsar tells us expressly that the Thames separated the kingdom of Cassivellaunus from the maritime states, so that his dominions extended to the Thames, and he in fact entered them when he crossed that river. This makes it almost certain that London, Londinium, was within his borders. Londinium was unquestionably a British settlement, as its name implies, and about a hundred years after this, in fact almost immediately that Britain became again known to the Romans, it is referred to by Tacitus as one of the first if not the very first city in Britain.† Its position again suits admirably the description in Cæsar: 'Originally an immense forest extended to the river side, and even as late as the reign of Henry II. covered the northern neighbourhood of the city. It was defended naturally by fosses: one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet Ditch (west), and the other afterwards known by that of Wallbrook (east). The south side was guarded by the Thames, and the north doubtless by the forest.'‡ Mr. Lewin has remitted his ingenious conjectures to a note, but it seems to us that he has accumulated very convincing arguments in favour of London as against Verulamium. We believe in fact that at this first dawn of our history London was the senior city and metropolis of Britain and the capital of its Vergobretus or Imperator.

While the Romans were assailing his capital, Cassivellaunus determined to make a diversion in their rear, which was very tempting, since the Thames now separated their main army from its ships, and consequently from its only means of retreat from the island, while these very ships were being guarded by only a weak division, and the men of Kent had only been punished and not subdued. They were subject, we are told, to four kings, i.e. to four leaders of clans, namely, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax. Cassivellaunus sent them messengers to unite their forces, and to attack the naval camp. When they approached the enemy the Romans made

* *Op. cit.* 117, note.

† Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 33; *M. H. B.* xxxviii.

‡ *Encyc. Lond.*, art. 'London;' Lewin, *op. cit.* 117, note.

a sortie, killed a great number of them, captured one of their renowned chiefs, and returned safe and sound.

This chief's name has come down in a corrupted form. Mr. Long reads it Lugotorix, but he says the MSS. only agree in the last syllable. We think that Horsley is right in reading Cingetorix, thus making him one of the four chiefs of the maritime district. When Cassivellaunus heard of the disaster, having been so severely handled himself, and moved even more by the defection of the other tribes, he made overtures for terms through Commius, the Atrebatian chief, who on this occasion, as before, accompanied Cæsar, and who, as he tells us, had great influence in, and probably close connexions with, the island. Cæsar welcomed these signs of submission with alacrity. He apprehended that there might be risings in Gaul, and had therefore determined to return once more to the Continent before the winter, which was now at hand.

He accordingly wrote to his friend Cicero at Rome, as Mr. Lewin says, with a view of preparing the Roman public, which was not accustomed to hear of its officers drawing back after they had planted their foot anywhere, for the abandonment of the expedition.

'I learn from my brother's letter,' writes Cicero to Atticus, in the latter half of October, 'some extraordinary instances of Cæsar's regard for me, and this is confirmed by a very full letter from Cæsar himself. They are now looking forward to a termination of the war in Britain, for it is plain that the approaches to the island are defended by stupendous masses (*mirificis molibus*). It is also well known that there is not a scrap of money (*argenti*) in that island, nor any prospect of booty except from slaves, and among these it will be vain to expect any skilled in letters or music.'

There is a confession of disenchantment about these phrases which is perhaps not altogether sincere, and Britain certainly had a very different reputation in the Roman world at a later day. Now, however, that it was to be abandoned, it was prudent to minimise its worth. It is a rude reminder to the men of books that we get in the closing sentence of the above extract; the men of iron and of war valuing the servile class for proficiency in the arts and letters has a sound of grim comedy about it. To the Romans Britain was still as sterile and onerous a conquest as Afghanistan has been to ourselves.

Cæsar, however, ordered hostages to be sent him, and fixed the amount of annual tribute the Britons were to pay. He also forbade Cassivellaunus to interfere with Mandubratius and the Trinobantes. His return was hastened by the news which reached him at this time of the death of his beloved

daughter, Julia, the wife of Pompey—‘the disruption,’ says Mr. Lewin, ‘of the last frail tie which held the two ambitious chiefs together.’ Their rivalry now speedily grew fiercer, until its issue was decided on the famous field of Pharsalia. Cæsar does not tell us by which route he returned. He merely says he led his army back to the sea, where he found the ships all safe in the naval camp, and hauled up high and dry. Having launched them, inasmuch as he had a large number of prisoners with him, and had lost several of his ships in the storm, he determined to transport his army across in two relays; and so fortunate was he, that neither in this year nor in the previous one, although there had been several voyages to and fro, had any of the ships carrying soldiers hitherto been lost.

The ships which had transported the first division now returned for the remainder of the army, together with sixty additional vessels which Labienus had had built; but few of these succeeded in reaching Britain, and they were almost all driven back. Having waited for them for some time in vain, as the autumn equinox was at hand (it being then a few days before September 24, and probably, as Mr. Lewin argues, on the 21st), he determined at all hazards to cross. It was probably while he was waiting for the return of his ships that Cæsar again wrote to his confidant, Marcus Cicero, as also did his brother Quintus. These letters reached Cicero on October 24, dated from the shores of Britain, September 26. They reported that Britain was disposed of, and that hostages had been received; that although no booty had been captured, a tribute had been imposed on the island, and that the writers were transporting the army to the Continent. As we have seen, another storm had scattered his transports, so Cæsar had to make special provision for the journey. He tells us he packed his men very closely together, and that, favoured by a great calm, he set sail about nine o'clock at night (*secunda vigilia*), and reached the mainland safe and sound at dawn. Having beached his ships, probably in a permanent naval camp at Boulogne, he proceeded to regulate the affairs of Gaul once more with his usual energy.

The results of Cæsar's campaigns have been minimised and watered down by more than one generation of historians, who have endeavoured to flatter the national vanity of Englishmen by exaggerating the martial virtues of those who occupied their country at a very early date, and whose relationship to the modern Englishmen is, to say the least, a remote one. On the other hand, more than one writer who has been dazzled by,

or who has had other motives for enlarging upon, the wonderful career of Cæsar, has pointed the moral of his story with no stinted hand by the qualities he showed and the obstacles he overcame in this very British campaign.

Let us remember what Cæsar's invasion of Britain really meant. Until he began this conquest but three years before, all Gaul, except the Provincia, was in the hands of its primitive inhabitants, a race so brave and martial that 2,000,000 lives are supposed to have been sacrificed in subduing it, and yet so effectually subdued, that the Romans in subsequent days had nowhere a more submissive province. It was in the very midst of his conquests in Gaul, with the population still hostile or uncertain, far away from Italy, far away from his proper base in the Rhone valley, that Cæsar determined to attempt a maritime campaign of which the dangers and difficulties were indeed immense. He had to build his transports, to prepare a new commissariat, and to secure workmen and materials in the very country where he had just fought a succession of critical campaigns. He had then to launch out into unknown waters, where the navigation was complicated by tides such as were quite unknown in the Mediterranean, and by weather which in those latitudes is generally uncertain. All this would have been more or less practicable to a seafaring and nautical race; to the English or Dutch, for example, whose folk along the seaboard are mostly mariners by profession; but the Romans at this time were not a nautical race, they had had but small experience of the sea. It was on land and with their famous legionaries that they had won their way. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, Cæsar, on two occasions, succeeded in landing a large force in Britain and in taking it back again, apparently without any casualties among his men. This alone was assuredly a wonderful feat of naval capacity.

Again, the resistance he met with from the islanders has been much exaggerated. It is true he confesses that his men were thrown somewhat into confusion by the very arduous forcing of a landing when weighed down by heavy armour and waist-deep in the water; it is true also that when scattered over the fields reaping and in fancied safety some of them suffered the natural losses which follow from a sudden surprise under such circumstances; and further that the unusual tactics of the British charioteers seem to have greatly disconcerted the efforts of his cavalry; but all these are mere minor incidents of a campaign in which candour must allow there never was any doubt about the result. It is futile to suppose that the tactics and weapons of the Britons could avail at all

against the magnificent infantry which Rome commanded after the civil wars; that defeat brought much shame to the vanquished, or victory much glory to the conquerors in such an unequal fight. The real victories of Cæsar were not over the Britons but over the elements, and his most critical dangers arose not from British spears but from the north-east wind. It was this that broke his transports to pieces and dispersed his fleet on two occasions, and which enabled him to show his extraordinary vigour by refitting it again in the enemy's country; and it was this double disaster, proving how dangerous the navigation was and how easily a sudden catastrophe might overwhelm an army, that doubtless had much to do with his eventual abandonment of the island and with the postponement of any active campaign there until the days of Claudius. Lucan, in a passage which has been quoted more than once, has put his finger on the real issue:—

‘Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi
Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.’ *

Even as a feat of military engineering it was surely no slight matter to march through the whole length of Kent, force the passage of the Thames, capture the metropolis of the country, and compel a peace from its Imperator in little more than two months. The rapidity and completeness of the victory remind one of the recent campaigns of Prussia (whose infantry is in many respects so like that of the Romans) in France.

Lastly, a great deal of rhetoric has been wasted upon the small gains of Cæsar's campaigns in Britain. What writers like Strabo and Plutarch mean when they speak of there being small results is, no doubt, small tangible results in the shape of booty or conquest. Strabo says he twice passed over to the island, but quickly returned, having effected nothing of consequence nor proceeded far into the country. Nevertheless, he adds, he gained two or three victories over the Britons, although he had transported thither only two legions of his army, and brought away hostages and slaves, and much other booty. Plutarch sums up the results in very fair and judicial language: ‘Cæsar's expedition against the Britons,’ he says, ‘was one of singular boldness, for he was the first who proceeded with a fleet to the Western Ocean and sailed over the Atlantic Sea, conducting an army to war, and being desirous of possessing an island, for its size hardly believed in, and giving occasion for much controversy to various writers, as if a

‘ name and a tale had been invented of a place which never had
‘ been nor was yet in existence ; he advanced the dominion of
‘ the Romans beyond the limits of the known world, and having
‘ twice sailed over to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul,
‘ *and having rather worsted his enemies in many battles than*
‘ *advantaged his own soldiers, for there was nothing worth taking*
‘ *from men who had a bare subsistence and were poor*, he termi-
‘ nated the war, not in the way he wished, but taking hostages
‘ from the king, and appointing tributes, he departed from the
‘ island.’ The actual booty was doubtless small. Cæsar would
no doubt take back with him some of those essedons which had
so embarrassed his men, to be exhibited, as Zulu assegais and
Ghoorka knives are exhibited by our soldiers on their return.
He perhaps carried away some tin, one of the few valuable
commodities produced on the island, and some of the orna-
ments and weapons decorated with the so-called late Celtic
scrolls, which still move the enthusiasm of archæologists ;
while of the British pearls, which Suetonius tells us were one
of the main inducements for the journey, we are expressly told
by Pliny that he dedicated a corslet which he would have men
believe was made from British pearls in the temple of Venus
Genetrix at Rome.* Solinus, who mentions the same fact, adds
that it was attested by an inscription on the thing itself, ‘ Sub-
‘ jecta inscriptione testatus est.’ Cæsar tells us that he imposed
a tribute upon the Britons. It has very generally been argued
that this is a mere rhetorical expression, and that no tribute
was actually paid. We confess we see no grounds for this view.
Those who will study the condition of Britain between the
time when Cæsar was here and the time of Aulus Plautius will
see reason to confess that the influence of Rome during this
period was very marked and wide-felt in the island ; and it
seems very likely that tribute was actually paid, and that it
was the intermission of its payment which led to the more than
once threatened invasion of the island by Augustus. Those
who argue that on Cæsar’s departure he had no means of en-
forcing his will, and that the Britons might laugh at him
behind their wide ditch, the Channel, forget that the Roman
practice, like the practice of the Russians in their dealings
with the tribes of Central Asia in our own day, was to exact
hostages from their beaten neighbours. When the eldest son
of the chief and the sons of his principal men are held as a
gage for good behaviour, and remorselessly hanged if there is

* Pliny, ix. 57.

treachery, there is not much room for ambiguous dealings except by running great risks. Cæsar expressly tells us he carried off hostages from Britain. The result of a fair examination is to show that his campaigns on this side of the Channel were conducted with his usual skill, foresight, and perseverance; that, as a feat of engineering and of soldiering, they were eminently successful; and that, if the immediate fruits were not very valuable, it was due to the comparative poverty of the Britons rather than to any lack of good fortune or skill on the part of the invaders.

ART. III.—*Gustave III. et la Cour de France.* Par
A. GEFROY. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1867.

IT has often been said that the average Englishman learns the history of his own country from Shakespeare or Scott, and that of France from Dumas. It might, perhaps, with greater truth be alleged that what knowledge he has of the modern history of Sweden has been conveyed to him in the melody of Verdi. He may indeed owe to the governess of his childhood some acquaintance with the career of Charles XII.; and a schoolboy fondness for the romance of war may have introduced him to Gustavus Adolphus; but beyond these narrow limits, his idea of Swedish kings is apt to be that they are in the habit of dying to slow music. This might seem the more singular, as the Swedish character and the Swedish constitution, with very great differences, have yet, in many respects, a resemblance to our own, almost as marked as that of feature or complexion; still more so, even, when we remember that 250 years ago it was the Swedish army that upheld on many a bloody and victorious battle-field the great cause of civil and religious liberty, that large numbers of Englishmen and Scotchmen fought in its ranks, and that they brought back with them the political principles as well as the party colours which it has been the glory of this Journal to profess, the pride of this Journal to wear.

But the fact is that from the days when Charles V. waged war with France and threatened the German provinces of Sweden, these two countries had entertained friendly relations with each other, which were strengthened during the continuance of the Thirty Years' War. Whilst Roundheads and Cavaliers were here settling their own differences in their own way, the Protestant armies in Germany found assistance

from France, and the policy of Richelieu cemented the old alliance. There was thus in England, as years rolled on, and war with France assumed an almost chronic form, a possible distrust of the friends of our enemies; whilst the exertions of the great regenerator of the Russian power, which drew large numbers of English into his service, and utilised their naval skill in the capture of Swedish ports or in the destruction of Swedish fleets, did not tend to promote feelings of love amongst the Swedes. And in this way the intercourse—social, political, or diplomatic—between England and Sweden, during the eighteenth century, was extremely slight; what little there was was neither cordial nor friendly; and the restraint has extended into the nineteenth century, not perhaps unmixed with a semi-contemptuous idea that the history of a country now of such little weight in the councils of Europe is not worth the reading, is certainly not worth the studying.

This estimate is, we conceive, altogether erroneous. The recent visit of the King and Queen of Sweden to this country has revived and strengthened our interest in the Swedish Court, and constitutional questions have been raised in Sweden not very unlike some that have excited stormy passions even here. The danger of anarchy has been exemplified with nearly as fatal effect in Sweden as in Poland; and the proof that, in a critical period, a country has derived safety from the simple fact of having a king born to the title, may convey a lesson to the most enthusiastic republican. We think, therefore, that we shall be doing yeoman service to the cause of constitutional government in bringing more prominently to the notice of an English public some important passages in the constitutional history of Sweden, as illustrated by the recent investigations of French writers, and more especially of M. Gœffroy, whose work has in France already taken the high position to which, by its author's industry, judgment, and literary skill, it is properly entitled.

When the evil fortunes of Charles XII. culminated in his death, the Swedish nobles, seizing on the opportunity presented by the want of a direct heir to the throne, claimed the old right of election; and Charles's sister, Ulrica, was declared queen only after renouncing the prerogatives which, during the last two reigns, had made the king absolute in all except the name. They thus imposed on her and on the kingdom a constitution which, nominally liberal, secured the Government for the special advantage of the aristocracy. The mere form of it was, indeed, sufficiently plausible. There were the Crown, the Senate, and the Diet, in which last, the popular

body, the whole power was theoretically vested. The Diet, consisting of the four estates of the realm—nobility, clergy, citizens, and peasants—was absolute master of the Government, the arbiter of peace or war, the director of foreign diplomacy or home judicature. It met every three years, was dissolved only by itself, and in its dissolution bequeathed its power, not to the Crown, but to the Senate, nominated by itself for the period of three years, and responsible to it alone. In the earliest times, some similar government by the four orders, under an elected king, had prevailed; but many centuries before it had been proved to be impracticable, and after long years of foreign and domestic war, of bloodshed, cruelty, and oppression, had been happily modified by Gustavus Vasa. It was now rehabilitated by the opponents of an absolute monarchy, who were keenly sensitive of the evils incidental to such a form of government in the hands of a man like Charles XII., and who, falling into the opposite extreme, established what was, in the spirit of the constitution, a republic, in which the king was a president without power.

In practice, however, the republic speedily degenerated into an oligarchy. The ignorant paupers who represented the peasants were, according to their nature, overawed, cajoled, or bribed; the citizens were of but little more importance; the clergy cast in their lot with the nobility, and the nobility were poor. The old historic families had been broken up in the struggle forty years before, when Charles XI. had attained the mastery; the new nobility, raised from the desk to the coronet, had neither the grandeur, nor the dignity, nor the wealth of their rank, and corruption of the most unblushing character became, amongst them, a substitute for political principle, a determining factor in the conduct of political party. The heads of each family had a seat in the Diet; but if these were unable or unwilling to incur the expense of the journey to Stockholm or of residence there, they were permitted to attend by proxy; and it was soon found that there were always men ready not only to accept the trust, but to pay for it, so that the necessary powers became simply matters of merchandise. Many of the nobles were dependent on office, which they held at the discretion of the Senate; and many of the senators had no other income than the pay attached to their dignity, the continuance of which was determined by the Diet. Hence, on the one side, a body of needy place-holders interested in keeping together a friendly Senate; on the other, a body of impoverished senators, whose seats were their subsistence; and on both, the strongest inducement to obtain

the command of votes. These, the equally poor but less energetic holders were eager to sell, and the whole power of the Government was thus at the disposal of whoever had a sufficiency of ready cash. That was the only thing asked for. Honour, policy, patriotism were of no account, not having any market value. Foreign ministers were not slow to find out the possibilities which such a form of government opened to them, and during a great part of the eighteenth century Sweden was virtually ruled by the intrigues set on foot and maintained by one or other of the foreign embassies.

The worst effects of the constitution of 1720 did not, however, immediately show themselves. The leader of the nobility, Count Arfved Horn, a man of old family, distinguished both as a soldier and as a politician, was, according to his lights, a patriot, and honestly believed that in making his order dominant he was strengthening the Government and the country. He had full experience of the weakness of Sweden as opposed to the growing might of Russia, and so long as his power lasted he maintained peaceful, if not friendly, relations with the neighbouring States. But in the course of years his rule was contested by Count Gyllenborg, the representative of a new family and a younger generation, entering more into the spirit of the age and of the political system which Horn had introduced. Being Horn's opponent, he inveighed against Horn's peaceful policy, as shameful to the nation which had so many injuries to avenge, such a disgraceful treaty to wipe out; and in this he was supported, if not instigated, by France, who had already learned to feel and to dread the influence of Russia. There is no reason to suppose that Gyllenborg's real motives were other than personal, probably pecuniary. His poverty, his vanity, his youthful love of war, his perfervid enthusiasm were all gratified by the allurements of the French Minister and the hopes which he knew how to excite. Turkey was engaging Russia on the South; it was Sweden's opportunity to recover the provinces which had been torn from her.

Personal interest rendered Horn adverse to Gyllenborg's interference in State affairs; and we may well believe that purer motives rendered him adverse to the entanglement of the French policy. In his opposition to this, he was of course supported by all the influence which the Russian ambassador could win by his blandishments, or purchase with his money. The quarrel became more and more bitter; and all Stockholm ranged itself in one or other of the parties, which might properly have been called the parties of war and peace, of Gyllen-

borg and Horn, of France and Russia ; but which—whether in reference to the head-dresses peculiar to these nations ; or to those of the younger, more fashionable men, the swells, in contradistinction to those of the older men, the fogies ; or by the mere wonted caprice of nicknames—became known as the Hats and Caps. But whatever the origin of the names, the parties divided the town. The division began at Court : one lady of honour to the queen gave a toast in favour of war ; another replied by a toast in favour of peace : the toasts spread as watchwords, and were drunk in every family, in every tavern ; whilst those who could not afford to drink, engaged in fisticuffs with any equally impoverished opponent. Eventually the more energetic party carried their point. It seemed as though the spirit of Charles XII. still infested his kingdom. Horn was driven from office and died in retirement ; whilst the triumphant Hats, irrespective of the will of their sovereign, formed a close alliance with France, and without adequate, without any preparation, plunged the country into war with Russia. The result might have been foretold. The Swedish fortresses were captured ; 17,000 men laid down their arms : the cession of part of Finland followed ; and the unfortunate generals, on their return to Stockholm, expiated with their lives the crime of serving a Government at once weak, ignorant, and rapacious.

In imposing peace, Russia demanded the acknowledgment of Adolphus Frederick, Bishop of Lübeck, and Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, as heir to the crown, to which he succeeded on the death of Frederick I. in 1751. Of an easy, yielding temper, without either talent or energy, he was unable to contend for the regal authority or dignity against the turbulent nobles, supported in their conduct by the intrigues and the gold of the French or the Russian ambassador. The insults which he meekly endured invited others, which were unsparingly offered. He was forbidden to receive the foreign ambassadors without permission. The queen was accused of endeavouring to corrupt the Diet, and of having raised the requisite funds by pawning the crown diamonds : she, the sister of the great Frederick of Prussia, was compelled to show her jewels, in proof that she had not feloniously made away with them. From insult, the Assembly went on to usurpation. They demanded and obtained a stamp bearing the king's signature ; it being, they declared, ' their humble opinion that, for the future, ' in all affairs without exception, which had hitherto required ' the sign manual of the king, his Majesty's name might be ' affixed by a stamp, whenever the signing did not follow the

‘ first or second request of the Senate:’ a degradation of the royal prerogative which was avowedly nothing more than a faint deference to public opinion; or, as they phrased it, ‘ because the king’s high name rendered the orders more respected, and the regulations more easily carried out.’

For the bulk of the nation was far from wishing the monarchical constitution to be subverted. The Caps, who, in their degree, were as much humiliated as the Crown, hoped, by allying themselves with it, to raise their credit: the peasants, indignant at the obliteration which their order had suffered in the Diet, took the same part; and the Dalecarlians, ever foremost in war or rebellion, appeared in arms at the very gates of the capital, and forbade the proclamation of a republic. The king was an amiable nonentity; but the queen, with much of the force of character which rendered her brother famous, was ready to enter into any engagements which might tend to crush the insolent Hats. A conspiracy was formed with the purpose of arresting their most prominent members on the night of June 21, 1756, and of bringing such a pressure on the Diet as would compel it to vote a new constitution giving real power to the Crown. A corporal of the guards, who was in the secret, sold it to the dominant faction: the conspirators were forestalled; the streets were patrolled; the gathering groups were dispersed; the aristocratic leaders of the movement were beheaded; others were tortured, imprisoned, pilloried, fined; and a deputation of the clergy forced itself into the royal presence, and, after a tedious lecture on the evils of sedition, compelled the queen to sign a declaration in which she disavowed the conspiracy and expressed her entire satisfaction with the course of events. She was a woman of ability and character, but the weakness of her husband and the victory of the Hats overpowered her; and she could offer no resistance to the determination of the Diet the next year, September 22, 1757, to conclude an alliance with France and Austria against her brother, the King of Prussia.

Meantime, the internal administration of the country was in extreme disorder. The finances were in the hands of a secret committee, which in turn appointed a most secret sub-committee; and under the cloak of this doubly masked secrecy the grossest abuses found a favouring shelter. The bank poured out floods of paper money: luxury exhausted the narrow incomes of the nobles: the high price of provisions caused great distress amongst those of lower rank: whilst unblushing corruption and the fluctuations of public credit drained the resources of the country, and caused general ruin and misery.

The diets were nothing better than public markets; and each vote was sold by auction, in which the ministers of Russia, Prussia, England, and France bade against each other. For many years France had the upper hand, but at a great and still increasing cost. The proceedings of the Diet which closed in June, 1766, had been most unsatisfactory to her, although she had lavished on it no less than 1,830,000 livres, or say 73,200*l.*; and the French Government began to weary of an expense to which there seemed no end, the advantages gained by which were extremely precarious. In the preceding January their ambassador had written:—

‘My two principal adversaries, the English and Prussian ministers, scatter their money broadcast, in a way which the funds at my disposal do not permit me to equal. All I can do is to endeavour to neutralise the effects of it. I am engaged in a negotiation with the principal clergy and citizens of the secret committee, and endeavouring to form engagements payable only when they have been carried into execution. This plan has its own difficulties; but, since the commencement of the Diet, I have been deceived too often to be ready now to risk any large sums.’

And in the end of February:—

‘The Caps have contested the memoir of Count Fersen, the leader of the Hats. In the meeting of the 25th there was a very warm discussion, frequently interrupted by furious shouts. A hundred and fifty of his friends had sworn not to leave the chamber of the nobles with a drop of blood in their veins, if they had not a majority. The evening before he had written to me, and I had put what money I could at his service. . . . The citizens, notwithstanding their promises and all I have done for them, have again failed me in the most rascally manner. I will have nothing more to do with the three lower orders, but will attach myself to the nobles.’

The Court of Versailles thought that even the nobles might be too dearly paid. The subsidies or pensions to the Hats were therefore, in great measure, stopped; the French endeavoured rather to strengthen the Crown; and the factions were left to settle their quarrels in such manner as they themselves chose, or the ambassadors of other nations directed. And of two of these, the determination was that the quarrels should not be settled at all; but that each party, supported in turn, should hold its ground against the other, and both against the king, for whose faint semblance of governing power not so much an oligarchy as an unreasoning and utterly irresponsible anarchy was substituted. The Empress of Russia and the King of Prussia, who, at this period, had already determined on the partition of Poland, had equally made up their minds

to the partition of Sweden. In this scheme, they associated with themselves the King of Denmark: and these three, in solemn treaty, arranged to enter forcibly into their neighbour's territory and to parcel it amongst them, with an understanding as clear, and in language as conventional, as when three burglars, in a boozing ken, agree to crack a crib and go snacks in the swag. Russia, as the reward of industry, was to have Finland; to Prussia was allotted Swedish Pomerania; and Denmark was to take such of the southern provinces of Sweden proper as lay convenient to her.

The part which Frederick played, even in the division of Poland, has been doubted. It has suited some of his historians or biographers, blinded perhaps by his military genius, to represent him as a man, hard indeed, and somewhat unscrupulous, but still, in the main, honest, and anxious only to maintain his kingdom against greedy and aggressive neighbours. How little this view of his character is a correct one, has not, perhaps, been clearly proved until of recent years, when the archives of Paris, Berlin, Copenhagen, and Stockholm have given up some of their secrets, and have shown us that the fate of Poland was first suggested and planned by him; and that, if not the first, he was at least a ready second in the plot against Sweden. An extract from a secret article of the treaty between Prussia and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg on October 12, 1769, will put this in a clearer light.

‘The high contracting powers, having already agreed by one of the secret articles of the treaty of alliance signed on March 31, 1764, on the necessity of maintaining the form of government confirmed by the four states of the kingdom of Sweden, and of opposing the re-establishment of the sovereignty, his Majesty the King of Prussia, and her Majesty the Empress, confirm in the most solemn manner, by the present article, all the engagements which they then contracted, and pledge themselves to give their ambassadors at Stockholm express instructions to work in concert, in order to prevent any alteration being made in the constitution of Sweden. . . . If, however, the co-operation of these ministers should not suffice to attain the desired end, and, despite all the efforts of the contracting parties, it should happen that Russia should be attacked by Sweden, or that a dominant faction in that kingdom should overthrow the form of government agreed on in 1720, and should grant the king absolute power to make laws, declare war, levy taxes, convoke the states, or appoint to offices, without the consent of the Senate, their Majesties are agreed that both these cases shall be considered a *casus fœderis*; and his Majesty the King of Prussia engages, under such circumstances, and when called on by her Majesty the Empress of Russia, to make a diversion in Swedish Pomerania, by entering it with a considerable body of troops.’

The treaty between Russia and Denmark, of December 13, 1769, is almost more explicit.

‘The two high contracting powers, being equally convinced that the immediate interest of their crowns requires the maintenance of the Swedish form of government, and wishing to define the step by which that interest would be essentially hurt, agree that the overthrow of the Constitution of 1720, wholly or even in part . . . shall be considered by the Crowns as an aggression on the part of Sweden, and, without further explanation or discussion, shall constitute the *casus* of their alliance. In case of war with Sweden, in which his Danish Majesty shall participate, according to the tenor of this treaty, her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias guarantees to his Majesty all the conquests which may be made from the Swedes on the side of Norway . . . and promises and engages that she will not lay down her arms until an indemnity for the expenses of the war, or an equivalent increase of territory by the cession of all or part of the said conquests, has been secured to his Majesty.’

Omitting the diplomatic forms and phrases, the very secret articles stand out in their naked dishonesty as a simple combination of the three powers to remove their neighbour’s landmark; the first step towards which was the maintenance, by intrigue or force, of the anarchy, the so-called constitution of Sweden, in much the same way as they maintained in Poland that utterly ruinous pretence of a constitution, of which, even in this day of exaggerated views and vamped-up reputations, no one has been able to say anything good.

But the master mind of the conspiracy would not trust entirely even to such diplomacy, backed up by a force of 20,000 men on each threatened frontier. It was not his way to leave to chance any point that could be ensured by care and trouble; and his relationship to the Queen of Sweden gave him a powerful lever for regulating the course of events. She had written to him in the beginning of 1768, describing, as to a brother, the state of things in Stockholm, and showing that now, having a better understanding with the nobles, she hoped to be able to make common cause with France against Russia: to which Frederick replied at great length, warning her that a proud demeanour might be most laudable in time of war, but, in respect of politics, was a capital offence: that as their Swedish Majesties had no army worth speaking of, they ought to yield to the circumstances of their existing position, and not by gross imprudence run into dangers from which an escape would be almost impossible: the queen would incur even personal risk, if she continued to place herself in opposition to Russia, as she had been doing for the last two years:

she ought rather to strive to win the empress's good will and affection. 'You will understand, my dear sister,' he went on, 'how grieved I should be to see you, with all your family, reduced to seek an asylum at Berlin, in consequence of your having neglected the advice which my tender friendship and disinterested desire for your happiness and honour have now dictated.'

There seems little reason to doubt that the dismemberment of Sweden, thus agreed on between the three neighbouring States, would have been carried into execution, and probably in the course of 1769 or 1770, if the attention of the empress had not been engaged by the Turks, who—influenced by the prof-fers of French assistance, by the very evident designs of Russia on Poland, and by their constitutional hatred of the Muscovite—confined the Russian ambassador in the Seven Towers, and prepared to invade the Russian territory. The war so commenced ended disastrously for Turkey; but before Russia was free from the embarrassment of it and her spoliation of Poland, the conditions of Sweden had altered. The king, Adolphus Frederick, had died; and under the rule of his son, the anarchy which offered the kingdom a ready prey to her neighbours had been summarily ended. To this timely death and consequent revolution it is beyond question due that the name of Sweden, equally with that of Poland, was not then blotted out of the map of Europe, or permitted to remain attached only to some small corner of her former possessions: and though, in the course of years, the confusion attendant on the French wars of the beginning of the present century, and the readjustment of claims at the Peace of Vienna, the territory of Sweden was much changed; though Prussia obtained the coveted Pomerania, and Russia held fast to Finland; the loss fell not so much on Sweden as on Denmark, and the Scandinavian peninsula became, politically as well as geographically, one kingdom. It is thus, then, that the accession of Gustavus III. to the throne marks a period of very real importance, and that the development of his character has a very peculiar interest.

Gustavus, though belonging to the royal family only by a genealogical fiction and the will of Russia, which, in 1743, had foisted his episcopal father on the kingdom, had, nevertheless, the advantage over both his predecessors of being born in the country, and able therefore to call himself a Swede, in the same sense as was our George III., to the disgust of Mr. Wilkes, to glory in the name of a Briton: certainly in no

other sense ; for his descent was German and his education French.*

He was born in 1746, and at a very early age was, by order of the dominant party, handed over to the tutelage of Count Tessin, a leader of the Hats, which for him, more distinctly even than for most, was the party of France ; for to it he was bound by family and personal ties, and in it he had spent a great part of his youth and manhood. He was now an old man, and his memory was wont fondly to recur to the brilliant time he had passed at Paris or Versailles. His journal, much of which is written in French, abounds in anecdotes of the old Court ; in his letters to the young prince, he adduces, as models of heroic and regal virtue, St. Louis, Henri IV., Turenne or Condé, at least as often as Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, or Charles XII. ; and the authors of his choice are Molière, Mme. de Sévigné, or Boileau.

With such a tutor, the infant mind of Gustavus was trained in French books, in French maxims, in French habits of thought ; and when, in 1756, Tessin was succeeded by Count Scheffer, the change, though one in name and in person, was scarcely so in nationality ; for Scheffer was, if possible, more French than Tessin. and had been also, and more recently, ambassador at the Court of Versailles. But beyond the French bias which they concurred in giving to the prince, of sound education there was none. The programme of his studies is described as embracing—somewhat ambitiously for a child of ten years old—religion, history, law of nations, moral philosophy, logic, metaphysics, arithmetic, agriculture, commerce, Latin, and of course French : but, at the same time, his governor had to report to the committee of the States that ‘ the Crown Prince is very backward in his writing, spelling, and grammar ; he knows scarcely anything of geography ; his dislike for work is invincible ; he is capable of neither serious thought nor religious feeling ; and his heart is as void as his mind.’ The disorders of the kingdom, which had made the office of governor a political rather than an educational appointment, had thus allowed the prince to grow from infancy to ten years old, and from ten years old to sixteen, without any real education, without moral training or scholarly instruction. What his inclination, backed by good natural abilities, prompted

* Catherine, daughter of Charles IX., and half-sister of Gustavus Adolphus, married the Prince Palatine of Zweibrücken. Of her daughter’s daughter, by German marriages, was born Adolphus Frederick, the father of Gustavus.

him to pick up, he picked up; what he disliked, he avoided; and thus, as he grew to man's estate, was as empty-headed and frivolous a young prince as a ready wit, sprightly nature, and handsome person permitted or encouraged.

Whilst still a child, the ruling Hats, with the view of detaching Denmark from the Russian alliance, had betrothed him to Sophia Madeline, the daughter of Frederick V. and sister of that Christian whose unhappy marriage with an English princess brought his filthy name into our history. In 1766, they were married, without any consent of the King of Sweden, who was scarcely consulted, or of the queen, who was bitterly opposed to it. The young Gustavus felt all the force of his mother's will; but his masters would not permit him to draw back from an alliance which he contemplated only with disgust. The bride is described as lovely, gentle, and amiable; but her native sweetness could not remove the prejudices with which her mother-in-law had filled her husband; and for nearly ten years she remained a wife only in name. Her eldest son, afterwards Gustavus IV., was not born till 1778; and then under circumstances which permitted or even suggested great doubt as to the genuineness of his descent.

At the age of twenty, then, the Crown Prince, escaping from his ignorant, though severe governors, found himself in the hands of a weak and indolent father, a peevish and domineering mother, and a spouse whom he disdained, if not detested; without the resources of a liberal education, without the restraints of an exact moral discipline. Is it to be wondered at that his character developed in the most unequal manner? that he conceived a taste for splendour? that he indulged in the wildest debauchery? or that his quick intelligence, grasping the political situation, led him to contemplate the possibility of rescuing the royal prerogative from the bonds by which it was strangled, and to cultivate that one resource of the weak and the slave—the faculty of dissimulation? M. Geffroy describes him as

‘able to pass suddenly from a state of effeminate sloth to vigorous action; from a melancholy indifference to noble sentiments; from an icy coldness to warm affection; from a sulky ill-humour to friendliness, and even to kindness, when his pale blue eyes and inexpressive countenance would become animated.* Inconsistent and unequal, at

Many contemporary writers speak of Gustavus as singularly handsome. The most trustworthy of his published portraits—such, for instance, as that prefixed to M. Geffroy's first volume, or to his collective works in five volumes—represent him as having prominent, rat-like eyes, which would sadly interfere with the ideal of manly beauty.

once a dreamer and opinionated, capable of dissimulation, but also of intimate confidence and guilelessness—at one time energetic and ambitious, at another devoted to trifles and pleasures—he had, being a prince, a character thoroughly well adapted to cause public or private misfortune, to call forth ingratitude or hatred, to stir up diplomatic entanglements or terrible wars; but also by some splendid deeds to attain to a certain degree of greatness, and, in an enlightened age, to deserve sympathy, and even admiration.’

To which we may add the estimate given by an Englishman who, a few years later, was well acquainted with the ill-natured scandal of Swedish political life. ‘In native talents,’ he said, ‘and acquirements, in presence of mind and undaunted courage, Gustavus equalled the most accomplished men in Sweden; but in *hypocrisy* he had no equal; he towered above them all, as the flight of the imperial eagle stretches into regions beyond the reach of birds of humbler wing’*—a rider which many passages in Gustavus’s life and reign fully justify.

But meantime, unhappy in his private life, and seeing no opening as a politician or a prince, his thoughts turned to that France with which were associated his earliest ideas of luxury or pleasure, and whose language he spoke at least as well as that of his mother country. Count Creutz, the Swedish ambassador at Paris—a man, too, of some repute as a writer of verses—constituted himself purveyor of literary news and social gossip to his Royal Highness, who was thus able to correspond with Voltaire, the Encyclopædists, and others whose names enlightened the otherwise shady years towards the end of the reign of Louis XV. Creutz had, indeed, devoted himself to his prince in a manner resembling rather the custom of France than of Sweden, and especially of Sweden during the anarchy. Not only did he send him all the newest literature, the newest gossip, the newest music, but even superintended his orders to the Parisian tailors. ‘Your Royal Highness,’ he wrote on July 14, 1766, ‘may depend on having a charming dress in exquisite taste. But you must permit me to vary a little from your written instructions. Rich stuffs of embroidered velvet are no longer the fashion: they are worn powdered with gold and silver, which is lighter and more graceful.’ But amidst poetical and literary correspondence, plans of operas, tragedies, and velvet coats, Gustavus was nurturing a profound distrust of the designs of his neighbours, and, in secret, studying the

great constitutional problem which the circumstances of the kingdom put before him. He was impressed with the idea that his only hope of withstanding the contemplated aggression lay in France; and as early as 1768 he closely allied himself with the French ambassador at Stockholm, and discussed with him the plans and possibilities of a political revolution. Whilst his mind was still in a ferment with these, he received a despatch from Creutz, dated February 9, 1769, with a postscript, which ran:—

‘ M. de Choiseul implores your Royal Highness to make a journey to France to see the king. “ I assure you,” he said to me, “ it will be worth his while, and will lead to great advantages in Sweden; they will do more in a personal interview in one day, than at a distance in a century. But there is no time to lose. If the Crown Prince would be willing to make the journey incognito, attended only by the senator Scheffer, for whom the King of France has a liking, it would be better. He ought to set out at once, with as little publicity as possible.” ’

The prince would gladly have answered the invitation in person; but diplomatic or constitutional difficulties stood in the way, and he could not leave Sweden without formal permission, which the Diet was slow to give, mistrusting the visit which might well have some hidden political object. Nearly two years slipped away before the difficulties could be overcome; and it was not till November 8, 1770, that he was able to leave Stockholm, under the travelling name of Count of Gothland, accompanied by his youngest brother, Frederick, as Count of Oeland, by Count Scheffer, and a very limited suite.

Visiting on the way Copenhagen, Hamburg, Brunswick, and several of the petty Courts of Germany, he arrived in Paris on February 4, 1771. The time seemed unfavourable, for the Ministry of Choiseul had just been broken down by the intrigues of the Duke d’Aiguillon and the fair face of Madame Dubarry; and it was far from certain that the new minister, representing more distinctly the party of peace or non-interference, would be equally friendly to the cause of Sweden and Gustavus. It happened, however, that Count Scheffer had been, in the days of his youth, a favoured admirer of the Duke d’Aiguillon’s mother, who now received him with tender recollections of the past; and Gustavus, on his side, won the heart of the Dubarry by the present of a rich collar to her dog! after which his reception at Court was assured. And in Parisian society he at once became a favourite; the more so, as within a few weeks his father died, and he succeeded to the

crown. When the news came, Louis XV. desired to know how the new King of Sweden wished to be treated, offering to visit him in state, and, in turn, to receive him with due honour. Gustavus, however, judged it better still to wear his incognito; but none the less, when his short mourning* was over, he was everywhere, except at Court, welcomed as a king; and made love, cultivated friendship, discussed literature, or talked politics, all at the proper time, all, it would seem, in the proper manner and with satisfactory success. Politics more especially. Choiseul's views as to Swedish affairs and the balance of power in the north of Europe were accepted by his successor; and in order to strengthen the hands of the Swedish king, the French Government determined to support him in such administrative reforms as were necessary, and even in such changes in the constitution as would almost amount to a revolution. Gustavus left Paris on March 18, and a few days later wrote to the king:—

‘I cannot quit your Majesty's dominions without again assuring you of my deep gratitude for all the marks you have given me of a friendship which no one knows the value of better than I. If God permits me to return safely to my own country, I will employ myself most earnestly in strengthening the bonds which my personal sentiments would wish to render indissoluble. I shall take especial pleasure in cultivating the personal correspondence which you permit me, and which will give me opportunities to recall the tender affection with which I am always your Majesty's humble brother and cousin.’

The inner meaning of this must be sought in the previous negotiations and the following actions: but the knowledge of these, together with that of the schemes he had long entertained, enables us to judge of a letter which, on March 15, he had addressed to the Senate at Stockholm, and which, so considered, is sufficient to bear out all that even Mr. Brown has said as to his powers of dissimulation, to call it by no harsher name.

‘Being called (he says in it) by right of hereditary succession to the crown, and having views directly opposed to arbitrary power, I declare by this solemn act that I am thoroughly resolved to govern my kingdom in accordance with what is prescribed by the laws of Sweden, and particularly by the Constitution of 1720, to which I have already sworn; and I will regard as avowed enemies of myself, and as traitors towards

* Very short; six days at most. He received the news of his father's death on March 1, and on the 7th he had a supper party, which Mme. du Deffand, who was one of the guests, describes as ‘très-gai; rien de si aimable que le roi de Suède.’

the state, all who, openly or secretly, or under any pretext whatever, shall seek to re-establish the sovereignty. . . . So help me God !'

He preserved the same tone during a visit which, on his way home, he paid to his uncle, the King of Prussia, who, on his part, impressed on him the duty of maintaining the constitution to which he had sworn, and which was in a manner guaranteed by Russia and Denmark in concert with Prussia. Frederick was by nature, by early training, and long practice a most accomplished dissimulator ; but in this respect Gustavus was considerably more than his equal. He utterly repudiated the idea of entertaining any designs against the constitution, and positively denied having entered into any new agreement with France. His dearest wish, he assured his uncle, was to re-establish his government in accordance with the laws of 1720. Frederick would seem to have been completely deceived. In presence of the youth and ingenuous manner of Gustavus, his own suspicious temper was lulled to rest, and he parted from his nephew with the most friendly assurances, which in his letters he continued to repeat, and of which he supposed the King of Sweden to be the dupe.

Gustavus arrived at Stockholm on May 30, 1771, and was joined a few days later by the Count de Vergennes, the new representative of France, with whom, as had been already arranged, he was to concert future measures. Vergennes's instructions were sufficiently definite : he was to exert himself to root out the party feeling which had so weakened the country, and thus to restore the ancient renown of the kingdom, and its high consideration both at home and abroad. He was especially to endeavour to unite Sweden and Denmark in a close alliance, which might maintain the balance of power in the north, and serve as a bridle to the ambitious and despotic projects of Russia ; from which it is clear that, whatever they might suspect, neither Gustavus nor the French Ministry had any exact knowledge of the extent to which Denmark was already pledged, or of the conspiracy which was only waiting for a favourable moment.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of Sweden was daily changing for the worse ; the confusion arising from want of rule was extreme ; and not only the nobles, but each of the four estates, were quarrelling amongst themselves and with the others as to the division of the spoil. The peasants on the one hand, the nobles on the other, claimed the crown lands as theirs. The citizens claimed a monopoly of manufacture and commerce ; they insisted that nothing whatever, even for

daily needs, should be bought, except through their guilds ; and, with the insolence of superior wealth, they urged the necessity of a law prohibiting their daughters from lowering themselves by marrying the sons of the nobility. And, indeed, as against the nobility, all the three lower orders sank their own disputes. All longed to revolt against the traditional prerogatives of the upper class ; for the influence of the French School of Philosophy had already spread ; and the Stockholm press was forward in inculcating the doctrine of political and civil equality. Such a disturbed state of public feeling rendered great caution necessary ; for any undue haste or want of care might plunge the country into civil war, the effect of which on its neighbours' plans would probably be immediate.

But Gustavus was quite equal to the situation. He won general applause from his opening speech to the Diet ; the more so as, after fifty years of German, he delivered it in Swedish as a Swede. And, for the rest, he posed before them as a good-natured, easy-tempered prince ; intent on his pleasures, ceremonies, *fêtes*, theatres ; occupied with trifles, and glad to find somebody to take all regal trouble or worry off his shoulders ; whilst, in point of fact, he was hard at work writing or directing pamphlets which, published not in Sweden only, but in France and Germany, might control public feeling and sway popular opinion. And, as opportunity offered, he spoke to the Diet with the same purpose. ' He could not,' he said, ' witness the prevailing confusion and anarchy without the deepest distress. The representatives of the people were responsible for the misery which such a state of things produced. He could urge this the more strongly as, free from all personal interest, he wished only to re-establish the old feeling of trust between the king and his subjects.' But to the King of France he wrote on October 24, 1771:--

' If I have been able to show any courage in the very difficult situation in which I find myself, it is only because I am persuaded that, having a good cause, and such an ally as your Majesty, I must, in the end, triumph over all obstacles. If I succeed in doing so, it will be much to the advantage of our public business ; but to myself the satisfaction will be still greater, from feeling all the obligation I shall be under to you. As to the state of affairs at the present moment, I must refer you to the reports of your Majesty's ambassador, whose wisdom and prudence I cannot sufficiently praise.'

One very great difficulty in the way of Gustavus was his want of money, a want which Sweden could not supply. The French Minister had promised him a subsidy of 1,500,000

francs, but, failing any immediate prospect of a change in the Government, was unwilling to pay it. In January 1772 Creutz, who remained at Paris as Swedish ambassador, wrote to his king:—

‘ M. d’Aiguillon assures me that it is impossible to grant what your Majesty asks; that there is absolutely no money, and that whatever is sent to Sweden serves only to perpetuate corruption, to destroy the national spirit, and to excite cupidity. He insists on the necessity of putting an end to this miserable Diet; he implores your Majesty to use all possible means to do so. He has even said that, if you can close it at once, the King of France will advance the first quarter of the subsidy. In this difficult position I would suggest to your Majesty, in sending back the courier, to write a very touching letter to the king, a very flattering one to Mme. Dubarry, and one overflowing with confidence and friendship to the Duke d’Aiguillon. And also, in case these should produce no effect, to send me one for M. de Laborde, the banker, reminding him of his offers of service, and asking him to advance, for some limited time, the sum of 375,000 francs, equal to a quarter of the subsidy.’

This was done, and on the 16th he was able to write again that Gustavus’s letters had had all the effect that could be desired; that ‘ the lady who enjoys the king’s confidence ’ takes the most lively interest in all that concerns the King of Sweden. ‘ She is everlastingly talking of him,’ he says, ‘ and ‘ has charged me to express her good wishes to your Majesty.’ Having, however, so far yielded, the French Minister became more urgent as to the necessity for immediate action. On February 23 he wrote to Vergennes:—

‘ Affairs are in such a critical position that probably nothing but violent measures can remedy them. You have said enough to the King of Sweden to make him sensible of the disadvantages to which he would expose himself by acting too hastily, and you cannot be too careful or circumspect. You should continue, from time to time, to offer counsels of moderation; but without gainsaying such measures as you may learn he proposes to adopt, in order to attain his end.’

Gustavus was, in fact, in frequent communication with Vergennes, who wrote to his Government:—

‘ The king is most energetic. He has not concealed from me that his inclination is in favour of bold measures. . . . He does not aim at the absolute power of Charles XI. or Charles XII.; what he wants is to have, like the King of England, his hands bound for evil, free for good. . . . He is very cleverly winning the affections of the army.’

We thus have now the clearest possible evidence that for three years before his father’s death, and more distinctly from the date of that event, Gustavus had been secretly and craftily

meditating on, planning, and preparing for a subversion of the existing reign of misrule, the consequent strengthening of the country, and the defeat of the nefarious scheme of his neighbours. The Danish tragedy, which began on January 17, 1772, with the arrest of Struensee—who, so far as he had any foreign policy, inclined rather to the French alliance—was favourable to the policy of Russia and Prussia, and warned Gustavus that the crisis might be near at hand; a warning that was daily enforced by the attitude of the two Powers with respect to Poland. And all true Swedes—those who preferred the safety of their country to the miserable advantage of their party—were ready to support him. Early in the year a leading journal proclaimed:—

‘It is high time for us to look to our future. We are threatened with the same fate as the Poles, but we may perhaps find a Gustavus Adolphus. What is it that has caused the misfortune of Poland? The instability of the laws, the continued abasement of the regal authority, and the consequently inevitable intervention of the neighbouring Powers in her domestic affairs. Sweden is protected from such a fate, so long as we shall not deny our king and our country. Fellow citizens! if the memory of Gustavus Adolphus still lives in your hearts, turn towards his tomb. From his ashes, covered by the trophies of civil and of foreign war, issues a voice which calls to every one of you that the hour is at last come.’

Whether this article was directly or indirectly inspired by Gustavus himself may perhaps be doubted: it is quite certain that it expressed his views in the most favourable manner, and that, as early as May 21, he had not only matured his plans, but had laid them in detail before M. de Vergennes, who lost no time in transmitting the important information to the Duke d’Aiguillon.

‘Within these last few days (he wrote) the king has revealed to me an extremely bold project; and, though I promised him the most profound secrecy, my duty compels me to acquaint you with it. The fortress of Sveaborg in Finland has a garrison of 1,500 men, all foreigners; and these, officers and soldiers, whom the parsimony of the Diet threatens with disbanding, are very discontented, and ready for any enterprise. It is arranged that they should revolt, and, by means of the boats with which they are furnished, arrive unexpectedly at Stockholm. This will be possible enough, provided the prevalent east wind is favourable. The consequent surprise will be taken advantage of to secure the most obnoxious members of the Assembly; afterwards, the king will propose a very moderate plan of constitutional reform, which, reserving to the different orders their civil liberty and all their rights, will take away from them the power of doing evil and of betraying the public interest. It is expected that their fright will make them accept

everything; and as soon as they have done this, they will be dissolved, not to meet again for the next four years. If the Sveaborg mutineers should be prevented or delayed by the fickleness of the weather, the king is to pretend to march against them, at the head of the regiment of the Guards. He will add to it several bodies of troops posted some distance from Stockholm and won over beforehand; and with them, will return in force to the capital, where he will put the finishing touch to his enterprise.'

It was further arranged for another revolt to take place at the same time as that of the garrison of Sveaborg. The commandant of Christianstadt—a fortress important as guarding the approaches from Denmark—undertook that the soldiers of his garrison should rise, and should be joined by the people of his province, who attributed the prevailing misery and famine to the misgovernment of the Diet. The king's brothers—Charles in Scania, Frederick in East Gothland—were to collect what troops they could, under the pretence of leading them against the insurgents—a measure which the law did not permit, but which the exigency of the public service might seem to justify. They would thus have at their disposal a force with which to help the king, should events at Stockholm turn out unfavourably, and the probable reprisals lend support to the rumour of a design on the part of the Diet to subvert the monarchy.

It was this last part of the scheme which was carried out in the month of August. The garrison of Christianstadt revolted on the 12th, and the commandant issued a proclamation repudiating allegiance to the self-called States of the kingdom, who were guilty towards the country which they had ruined and towards the king whose lawful rights they had usurped. The news was promptly conveyed to Stockholm; and, though no evidence connected Gustavus with the insurrection, the Senate and the States felt such a degree of certainty that it was proposed to place him at once under arrest. Gustavus, however, with his wonderful command of manner and language, succeeded in convincing even the most prejudiced that he knew nothing whatever about the movement, and was in heart hostile to it. It was not till two days later—August 18—that he received confidential news from his brother Charles, telling him that he had under his orders five regiments, the support of which was necessary before anything could be attempted in Stockholm. The States, meantime, had taken energetic measures. Troops were hastily sent against the insurgents of Christianstadt; others were summoned to Stockholm; the king's brothers were recalled; the king was requested not to leave the town. Time was everything: the advantage would

remain with whichever party was the first in definite action. Gustavus, maintaining to the last his profound dissimulation—visiting the theatre, afterwards being present at a jovial supper-party, and winning a large sum from the wife of one of the most dangerous of his opponents—retired only to write a number of notes arranging every detail for the next morning. And on August 19, by carefully concerted and simultaneous action all over the town, the principal posts were seized, resistance was rendered impossible, the Senate was imprisoned in the council chamber, and the leading members of the Diet were arrested. Without uproar, confusion, or struggle, in less than an hour everything had been settled, and perfect quiet prevailed. This was confirmed on the 20th, and on the 21st the king, in his royal robes, met the States in the great hall of the palace. He had prepared three different schemes of a constitution, more or less liberal, the choice of which was to depend on the course of events. The one which he read was accepted with acclamation, and signed by the officers of the Diet; after which, taking off his crown and pulling his prayer-book out of his pocket, he struck up the *Te Deum*, himself acting as precentor. The whole assembly joined, and the proceedings terminated with the members kissing the king's hand. The provinces unhesitatingly acquiesced in the decision of the Diet and the capital; and the revolution, from beginning to end, was accomplished without the shedding of one drop of blood.*

But, notwithstanding the complete success of the revolution as far as Sweden herself was concerned, it was still far from improbable that Russia and Prussia might consider it as giving an opportunity for their violent interference, or—as we now know they themselves called it—a *casus fœderis*. It is very certain that they felt themselves sorely aggrieved by the suppression of the anarchy on which they had counted, and the relegation to the distant future of their schemes of spoliation, unless they could give effect to them on the very spur of the moment. But they were for the time impotent, the forces of Russia being just then occupied in Poland and in the south. Still, they could not refrain from showing their disappoint-

* The principal, if not the only, published authority for the history of these events has been 'A History of the late Revolution in Sweden,' by Charles Francis Sheridan, Secretary to the British Envoy in Sweden at the Time of the late Revolution. 8vo. 1778. Mr. Sheridan's position enabled him to know and understand what was actually done; but of the secret policy and diplomacy of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and France, he seems to have been altogether ignorant.

ment—Catherine in her insolent civility to the Swedish ambassador, in her hopes ‘that it would be possible to maintain ‘peace;’ and Frederick in a series of hypocritical letters, more especially to his sister, the queen-mother.

‘How can I help (he wrote) being in a bad humour at hearing of this most rash and stupid action, by which your sons compel me to arm against them? Do not imagine that my ambition is tempted by this fag-end of Pomerania, which, at most, is only capable of exciting the cupidity of some younger son; but the welfare of my kingdom requires me to maintain my alliance with Russia; and I should justly be blamed by posterity if I permitted my personal affection to influence me, to the detriment of the people who are entitled to my sole care.’

Or, again, on September 21:—

‘As a brother, I counsel you entire submission to Russia. More than ever I counsel it; for, in spite of all the French may tell you, the fate of the King of Sweden is really in the hands of the Empress of Russia; and a vengeance deferred is not extinguished.’

And a great deal more to the same effect passed from Frederick or his brother Henry to their sister Louisa Ulrica or their nephew Gustavus. The latter, however, had quite made up his mind beforehand, and rested himself on the alliance with France which he had secured. But, on her part, France felt some difficulty as to how her active support was to be offered. She was quite ready to put 12,000 men at the disposal of Gustavus, but the question was how to get them to Stockholm. The English Cabinet, though it viewed the seizure of Poland with disapprobation, had not felt such interest in the matter as to induce it to take any more active measure than a protestation, worth, under the existing Government, little more than the paper on which it was written. The feeling would probably be very much stronger if any attempt should be made to subject Sweden to a similar spoliation and to bring its maritime strength into subservience to Powers so aggressive as Russia and Prussia were showing themselves. But this was a contingency which the English might be inclined to treat as improbable; and it was beyond all doubt that they would look with extreme jealousy, if not with actual hostility, on the presence of a French fleet and a French army in the Channel or the North Sea. This was a difficulty not to be overcome, although a special messenger was sent over to London to try and arrange it. The idea of conveying troops to Sweden had unwillingly to be given up, and D’Aiguillon resolved to content himself with affording assistance in money. To Louis XV., however, it was a new opportunity of stultifying his own

Government; and he commissioned Dumouriez to go secretly to Hamburg, to levy men, and to take them, by Lübeck, to Sweden. The only effect of this was to stimulate D'Aiguillon's curiosity. He had Dumouriez kidnapped and sent to Paris, where he was provided with lodgings in the Bastile. The whole story of his captivity and examination, and the alarm of Louis lest his share in the business should come to light, forms an amusing pendant to the story of the king's secret diplomacy, and, as such, has been related at length by Dumouriez himself in his '*Mémoires*,' and more recently by the Duke de Broglie in the '*Secret du Roi*;' but its connexion with the Swedish revolution is slight, and it may be passed over here with a bare mention.

After all, the active support of France was not needed; for Catherine had no troops to spare from the Turkish war, and Frederick, who had meant to march into 'that fag-end of Pomerania' unopposed, whilst the Russians in Finland were quelling such resistance as the Swedes were capable of offering, had no force ready. He contented himself, therefore, with uttering a diplomatic malediction, which after-events curiously fulfilled. It was written to Gustavus, and bears date January 23, 1773.*

'I have no doubt that your Majesty has powerful allies; but they are at a great distance from Sweden, and therefore little able to assist it. You tell me that you are satisfied with the testimonies of friendship which your neighbours have given you. I have no wish to disturb the happy security you enjoy; and, far from finding pleasure in prophesying misfortunes, I would much rather be the augur of prosperity. I declare to your Majesty that I have never believed myself prophet, seer, or inspired; I can only calculate the future from known data; and my conclusions may sometimes be false, but are more frequently correct. And I might remind you of the answer of that soothsayer who had foretold the misfortunes which threatened Cæsar on the ides of March. . . . Your Majesty knows the rest. . . . If the glimpse of the future is disagreeable to you, I, as well as another, can veil the precipices with flowers, so as to hide them from your eyes. You may, however, be sure that if there is any one who is anxious to shelter you from coming dangers, it is I, and that, if things take a different turn, it shall not be my fault.'

It was thus, then, that by good fortune and good management the anarchy in Sweden was ended, the danger from its powerful neighbours was tided over, and a possible future bright with the blessings of peace and plenty dawned for the

* In M. Geffroy's work this date appears as 1778; a very evident misprint.

impoverished and sorely tried country. And though the mind and temper of Gustavus were but ill-adapted for the routine of government, for the narrow necessities of economical administration and financial reform, and though his eager zeal hurried him on beyond the limits of prudence, still much was accomplished. Legislative corruption was severely checked, religious toleration was introduced, justice was no longer a saleable commodity, increased liberty was given to the press, the penal laws were rendered milder, public granaries were instituted, corn was distributed to the needy, and mendicity was put a stop to. An Agricultural Commission was appointed to examine into the capabilities of each province, and the trade in grain was declared free. Commerce and manufacture were encouraged: and not only these, but letters and the fine arts. The king himself wrote well, whether in Swedish or in French. He established the Academy of Sweden on a basis similar to that of France, and received one of its earliest medals for an essay on, or rather a eulogium of, Torstenson. He promoted the national drama, sketched several plays—mostly on subjects of Swedish history—and planted or grafted that school of Swedish opera which, even in our own time, has borne such excellent fruit. Painting, sculpture, and architecture were equally encouraged; and several of the public buildings of Stockholm still bear witness to the almost feverish activity of the nascent taste. But all this, though tending to soften the manners of the people, who preserved a great deal of their mediæval ruggedness, involved a large expenditure, and thus gave opportunity for much and ever-growing discontent.

Another softening influence was of very doubtful advantage. The close alliance between Sweden and France, as well as the partiality which the king openly showed for French customs, fashions, and language, sent numbers of the young nobles to Paris, not only to spend their time, but to seek service under the French Government, and to push their fortunes at Court or in the camp, with the talent, the versatility, the energy, the courage of the Northmen of old. The names of some of these thus became mixed up with our own history. One, Count Stedingk, who years afterwards commanded the Swedish contingent in the very general coalition of 1813, served under D'Estaing in the West Indies in 1779, when, in July, he headed the column of attack on the Hospital Hill at Grenada; or in October was severely wounded in covering the repulse at Savannah. Another, Count Fersen, served in America on the staff of Rochambeau, and in that capacity was present when Lord Cornwallis surrendered at York in October 1781.

Later events inseparably linked the name of 'Le Beau Fersen' with that of the Queen of France, who, in the opinion of many, entertained for him a guilty passion. The scandal was not a child of the Revolution. True or false, it was of long standing, and was very distinctly spoken of in a letter from Cienteux to Gustavus, dated April 10, 1779.

'I ought to tell your Majesty that young Count Fersen has been so well received by the queen, that it has given offence to many persons. I must say I cannot hinder myself from believing that she has an inclination for him. I have seen such proofs of it that I cannot doubt it. The count has, in respect of this, behaved admirably both in his modesty and reserve, and especially in taking the resolution to go to America. By this departure he avoids the danger; though to overcome the seduction demands a firmness beyond his age. During these last days the queen was not able to keep her eyes off him, and whilst gazing at him they filled with tears. I implore your Majesty to keep this secret, both for her sake and that of senator Fersen. When the approaching departure of the count was known, all the courtiers were charmed. The Duchess of Fitz-James said to him, "What, sir! you can abandon your conquest in this way?" "If I had made one," he answered, "I should not abandon it. I leave this a free man, and unfortunately my departure will not awaken any regrets." Your Majesty will admit that this reply was of a wisdom and prudence beyond his years.'*

The King of Sweden had as much inclination towards the gaiety and brilliance of the French Court as any of his subjects, and in the cold north longed for the delights which he had once just tasted. In the summer of 1780 he spent some months at Aix-la-Chapelle, Spa, Brussels, and the Hague; but a hint from the French Government prevented his going to Paris. In the autumn of 1783 he determined to take a longer holiday, intending, after a tour in Italy, to return by France, which he hoped he might be permitted to visit, now that the very general European war was ended. He, therefore, under the incognito of Count Haga, set out from Stock-

* Count Axel Fersen was at this time twenty-four. On his return from America he again established himself in Paris, and has been more especially known by his devotion to Marie Antoinette during her last three years. After her death, he attached himself to the service of his own country; and in a popular tumult, June 20, 1810, was horribly torn to pieces by the mob. His correspondence during the years 1790-93 has been recently published under the title of '*Le Comte de Fersen et la Cour de France.*' 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1878. An engraved portrait, prefixed to the first volume, singularly bears out his right, at the age of twenty-eight, to the distinguishing name of 'Le Beau Fersen.'

holm on September 28, and, passing by easy stages through Germany, he entered Italy in the end of October. One of his adventures on the way, suggested probably by his dramatic studies, might itself furnish a hint to the dramatist. It is thus described by M. Geffroy, from the letters of the Saxon ambassador at Stockholm:—

‘Gustavus had long ago promised a visit to the little Court of Schwerin. Accordingly, as soon as the Duchess of Mecklenburg heard of his having landed in Germany, she prepared two *fêtes* in his honour—one in her capital, the other at Ludwigslust; but Gustavus, who rather disclaimed these petty German Courts, thought it a good joke, instead of going himself to Schwerin, to send two of his attendants—a page named Peyron, and Desvouges, a *valet-de-chambre*, who had formerly been an actor. These two personated Count Haga and his minister, Baron Sparre, and sustained the characters throughout; accepted all the homage meant for their master, danced with all the Mecklenburg ladies who were presented to them, and Peyron went even so far as to ask one of them for her portrait. Meantime Gustavus, in a real incognito, was taking his pleasure at Ludwigslust; and the mistake lasted long enough for him fully to enjoy the mystification.’

We are not told how it ended, but the concluding sentence would imply that in some way or other the mystification was explained away as a mistake or a mis-understanding. To Italy he seems to have carried the same ideas of frolic, more in the taste of a schoolboy out for a holiday, than of a king, nearly forty years old, studying peoples and governments. At Florence he met the Emperor Joseph II., also incognito as Count Falkenstein. As a first visit, the emperor and his brother, the grand duke, called on the King of Sweden. It was nine o'clock in the morning, and Gustavus was still in bed; but, jumping up, he threw on a dressing-gown, fastened on the grand cross of the Pole Star, and in such guise received his astonished guests. The two men had little in common; and though whilst at Florence they were necessarily thrown together, each seems to have disliked or despised the other; Gustavus making a jest of the emperor's church-going habits, and Joseph, on his return to Vienna, putting the hero of an operatic farce on the stage in a dressing-gown and grand cross.

The Count d'Albany was another whose personal acquaintance Gustavus made at Florence. The misery which clouded the last days of this unfortunate prince has often been described, but it is still interesting to note the actual observations of an unprejudiced eye-witness, Baron Adlerbeth, one of the king's staff.

‘Count d'Albany (he writes) took some pains to attract the attention of Count Haga. This personage lives at Florence, in a style quite

beyond his resources. He gave some large dinners, to which we were invited. Though only sixty-three years old, he is decrepit, bent, does not walk without difficulty, and has so little memory that he repeats the same thing within a quarter of an hour. He never fails to wear the blue ribbon over his shabby every-day dress; and, on occasions of ceremony, the mantle of the Garter, with the ribbon at the knee. On the front of his house is displayed the shield of England, surmounted by a royal crown. He speaks with fire of the episodes of his youth, with firmness of his misfortunes, with resentment of the conduct of France.'

The representations of Gustavus to the King of France and to the Pope succeeded in alleviating, to some extent, the misery of his old age; from the one he obtained a formal divorce from the countess, and from the other, some addition to his very slender pension, which, however, his death put a stop to some four years later.

At Rome Gustavus postured not only as the patron of art, but more especially as the friend of religious liberty. On Christmas Day, in company with Count Falkenstein, he attended high mass at St. Peter's, and directly afterwards he visited the Pope. The interview, though not without a certain comic aspect, was ably conceived. The king, as head of an independent Church, put himself on a religious as well as on a political equality with the Sovereign Pontiff, and, as he had attended a Roman Catholic communion, invited the Pope to attend a Lutheran. His Holiness evaded the proposal; but Gustavus did eventually succeed in getting permission to open a Lutheran chapel in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Peter's; and that very day the Protestant service was performed in Rome, as publicly as the Catholic in Stockholm.

It was Gustavus's desire to go from Rome to France; but the Minister for Foreign Affairs, his old ally M. de Vergennes, was doubtful how far it would be prudent to receive him. The reports from the Cardinal de Bernis, then ambassador at Rome, taught the French Government how much Gustavus was bent on the visit; and as they knew that before his departure from Sweden, he had been coquetting with the Empress of Russia, they were not without fear lest he should be induced to enter into closer alliance with her, to the prejudice of France. They therefore judged it advisable to win him entirely to themselves by the fascinations and seductions of the French Court. He was invited to return by Paris, and that, not only formally but by a special letter from Marie Antoinette. He accordingly arrived there on June 7, 1784, and went on the same evening to Versailles. Louis had been hunting, and was at supper at

Rambouillet, when a courier from Vergennes brought him the news. He returned at once to Versailles, but, being unexpected, could find neither *valets-de-chambre* nor keys. He was reduced to dress as best he could, and finally appeared before his guest in two odd shoes—one with a red, the other with a black heel—with odd buckles—one gold, one silver—and the rest of his dress in similar confusion.

It is unnecessary to speak at any length of the occurrences during Count Haga's stay in Paris and Versailles, of the theatres that he visited, of the novelties or wonders that he saw; the Montgolfier balloon, then only a few months old; Mesmer's celebrated *baquet*, at the height of its fame; or the magnificent *fête—une vraie féerie*, as he described it—which the queen gave at Trianon in his honour. But amongst these distractions he was still able to attend to serious business. On July 1, in exchange for partly opening Gottenborg as a free port to the French, he obtained for Sweden the isle of St. Bartholomew, in the West Indies—a possession which it still holds; and a few days later a formal engagement that, if Sweden should be attacked—with an understood reference to Russia or Denmark—France would support her with 12,000 infantry, a corresponding force of artillery, twelve ships of the line and six frigates: or, if Great Britain should prevent this, then with a determined equivalent in money. Gustavus would have much preferred some immediate payment; and eventually, though not without a personal appeal to the king, he did obtain a subsidy of 1,200,000 francs yearly, beginning from July 1; in consideration of which, a clause was added to the treaty to the effect that, if France should require it, Sweden was to put twelve ships of the line at her disposal. This was signed on July 19; and on the next day Gustavus set out for Stockholm, where he arrived on August 2. A month afterwards he wrote to Louis describing his explanation of the treaty to the Senate, in which, however, he had spoken only of the article affecting Gottenborg and St. Bartholomew. He concluded:—

‘I can assure your Majesty that you may count on Sweden being able to put to sea, in this coming spring, a fleet of twenty-two ships of the line—almost all new—and fifteen frigates. The artillery has not been neglected; and you already know, by the disquietude it has given my neighbours, that it has been distributed wherever it ought to be, either for defence, or for prompt transport in case of need. We have also an entirely new equipment of muskets and arms, both for infantry and cavalry.’

From which it appeared that, strengthened by the French alliance, Gustavus was preparing to bring the outstanding

quarrel with Russia and Denmark at once to a crisis. Louis was quick to take alarm, and replied immediately:—

‘Nothing could be better than the way in which your Majesty has announced to the Senate the commercial agreement between the two nations. It is fortunate that they have no idea of the more important convention, the secret of which cannot be too carefully confined to the small number of persons whom we have been obliged to entrust with it. I have read with interest the detail your Majesty has been so good as to give concerning the progress of the reforms which you have undertaken; and I congratulate you on the satisfactory footing on which you have already placed your land and sea forces: it cannot fail to ensure you the respect of your neighbours, and the tranquillity of your people. Being well acquainted with your Majesty’s prudence and judgment, I feel sure that, content with providing for the security of your realm, you will avoid every demonstration which might be a cause of, or even a pretext for, uneasiness on the part of anyone.’

And on such a footing the understanding remained: neither of the contracting Powers having assuredly the least suspicion that it would be Louis, not Gustavus, who would first need assistance; or that, victims of a revolutionary fury, the two kings would suffer a violent death within a few months of each other.

But for both nations the signing of the treaty may be said to mark the period at which the seemingly prosperous commencement of each king’s reign changed to gloom, rebellion, and revolution. In France, the mischievous scandal of the necklace in 1785 was as the first gust of the coming storm; and in Sweden, the destitution of the people caused by the failure of three consecutive harvests, and by the excessive taxation necessary to support the king’s expenditure, reached its climax, and found vent in dangerous disturbances. Not very many years afterwards, and whilst the suffering was still a living memory, Mr. Brown wrote:—

‘Whilst revelry and pageantry, in constantly varying shapes, distinguished the effeminate and luxurious Court of Gustavus III., misery and famine extended themselves rapidly amongst the labouring poor, from one extremity of Sweden to another. The groans of the wretches who perished of want, the curses of the degraded paupers who were reduced to seek for such food as the king’s well-fed hounds would have turned from with loathing, produced not the least retrenchment. This cruel prince continued his guilty magnificence, brimful of sympathy and condescension, but as indifferent to the misery that was greatly aggravated, if not caused, by his wasteful magnificence, as the cold rocks on which his subjects perished.’

And M. Geffroy, though with less virulence of manner and language, is scarcely less severe in his condemnation of

the dissolute and extravagant habits of the Court. These had caused not only grinding taxation, but also the infringement of many privileges which each of the four classes claimed ; and when the Diet assembled in 1786, it was in a temper little likely to lead to a harmonious session. They rejected, one after the other, all the measures submitted to them by the Government. The king, in turn, refused to consider the statement of their grievances, and in his closing speech let slip the expression of a hope that he might be able to dispense with a new meeting of the Diet for many years. Such a relation between king and subjects augured ill for the future. ' It would be most lamentable,' wrote M. de Vergennes to the ambassador at Stockholm, ' if the King of Sweden should ' preserve a too vivid remembrance of his disagreeable experiences during this last Diet. A man cannot govern well those whom he no longer loves.' This was a correct view of the position ; for the king's ill humour and embarrassed circumstances goaded him on to absolutism, and a war with Russia seemed the most likely means of attaining it.

It was in vain that the French ambassador and the French Government protested against such a step. Gustavus had resolved on war as the one measure that could free him from the difficulties by which he was surrounded. Still, it was necessary that he should not be the aggressor ; for Denmark was bound by treaty to assist Russia if attacked ; and the King of Sweden had no constitutional power to wage an offensive war without the sanction of the States. Catherine was well aware of this ; and having also a sure, even if venal, majority in the Diet, considered herself safe, and had denuded the north of troops, in order the more effectively to carry on the war against the Turks. Gustavus was not to be balked. He had no wish to assemble a Diet which would certainly refuse his demands ; as little did he wish to draw down on himself the hostility of Denmark, which, in a personal visit to Copenhagen, he had vainly endeavoured to detach from the Russian alliance. He resolved, therefore, that Russia should appear the aggressor ; and his theatrical experience was again called into play. He had a number of peasants disguised as Russian soldiers, and ordered to ravage the frontier of Finland. Some shots were fired, when they hastily retreated ; but Gustavus, loudly indignant at the insult thus offered to Swedish territory, sent in an *ultimatum* to the empress, demanding the punishment of the Russian ambassador, the restitution of the provinces ceded forty-five years before, and a favourable peace to the Turks. This being rejected, he declared war.

St. Petersburg was almost defenceless, and Gustavus knew it. Could he have at once struck home, he might have obtained signal advantages ; but the Swedish fleet, commanded by the king's brother Charles, was checked by the Russian in a hard-fought engagement off Hogland, July 17, 1788 ; and when, a few days later, the king himself prepared to assault Frederikshamn, the officers of the army and the men with them flatly refused to obey the command, alleging that the king had no legal right to order an act of offensive war without the consent of the States. The excuse was undoubtedly true ; but the mutiny had its origin in the rebellious inclination of the Swedish nobility and the intrigues of the Russian empress, whose capital was thus saved from an imminent danger. Gustavus was in despair ; nor was he sure that the mutineers would not complete their treachery, and hand him over a prisoner to the Russians. He was, however, allowed to depart from the camp, and, hastening to Sweden and to Dalecarlia, he roused the peasants of that warlike province to march against the Danes, who, true to their alliance, were preparing to besiege Gottenborg. Gustavus himself hurried on to Carlstadt, where he met Mr. Elliot, the English ambassador at Copenhagen, and, having concerted measures by which pressure from England was to be brought to bear on Denmark, he rode absolutely alone to Gottenborg, which he reached just as the governor, through possible cowardice or more probable treachery, was preparing to evacuate the town. The presence of the king gave a new aspect to affairs. The governor was ignominiously superseded from his command, the bridge over the Gotha was destroyed, batteries were thrown up to command the fords, and the inhabitants, kindled to enthusiasm, laboured to put the place in a state of defence. And meantime the English and Prussian ambassadors had peremptorily insisted on the Danes agreeing to an armistice, preparatory to withdrawing from Swedish territory ; in default of immediate compliance, a Prussian army would enter Holstein, an English fleet would anchor before Copenhagen. Sweden was thus freed from that danger ; and Gustavus returned in triumph to Stockholm, to find that public opinion was running strongly against the nobles, as the authors of the mutiny in Finland. He at once took advantage of this favourable turn, and summoned the Diet ; it met on February 2, 1789.

As a first step, the three lower orders voted an address thanking the king for having secured the safety of the kingdom by the war with Russia. The highest order was compelled to subscribe it ; and the question as to whether he ought

to have convoked the Diet before engaging in hostilities was never even mooted. Pushing his advantage, on February 17, Gustavus called the Assembly together unexpectedly; and, arrayed in royal robes, delivered an harangue, in which, addressing himself to the nobles, he rebuked them as the authors of every trouble that had befallen the country for the last seventy years. He utterly repudiated the charge of aiming at despotic power; but, as head of the kingdom, it was his first duty to take care that those who had raised their audacious hands against his father's crown should not insult him. He accused them of having, in their recent deliberations, spoken of the royal authority in an unbecoming manner; and he now ordered them to make fitting reparation. 'You will go at once,' he said, 'to your chamber, and will there appoint a deputation, which the premier Count of the kingdom will head. You, Count Fersen,* and you, Baron Greer, will make part of this deputation, and will accompany the marshal of the Diet to the chair, where he will cause the register of these factious debates to be expunged.' Fersen rose to speak; but Gustavus imperiously desired him to be silent: so also to Greer: and, striking the sceptre on the table, ordered the nobles to leave the hall forthwith. There was a moment's hesitation; but the more prudent reflected that the king had chosen his own time, and would not speak so boldly if he had not force at hand to support him; so that when Fersen said, in a loud voice, 'Let us go, gentlemen!' and led the way out, they all followed.

In their own chamber, however, the nobles refused to make the apology which was demanded, and formally protested against the king's conduct. The lower orders, conciliated by new privileges, were at one with the king, and ready to support him in everything. During the 18th and 19th, the town was overawed by the army; on the 20th, Fersen, Greer, and many others were arrested; the Diet assembled again on the 21st, and the king read out an 'Act of Security and Union,' an amendment of the Constitution of 1772, which largely augmented the royal prerogative, conferred on the king the right to declare war or make peace, deprived the Senate of all power, and restricted the Diet from debating on any measures not introduced by the king's orders. 'Its "security,"' says Mr. Brown, 'consisted in lifting the king above the constitution; and its "union" in concentrating all manner of political power in the hands of the monarch.' Immediately after the

* The father of 'Le Beau Fersen.'

reading of the Act, the king, without giving time or opportunity for any discussion, commanded the Diet to accept it. Only the peasants obeyed. The nobles, in a body, rejected it. The intermediate orders were divided; but Gustavus, assuming that they assented, and having obtained the signatures of their several speakers, insisted on the marshal signing it also, having the constitutional pretext that the assent of three of the orders entailed that of the fourth. The nobles protested; and the 'Act of Security and Union' was not entered in the official minutes of the Diet, but was published, after the close of the session, as a simple edict. This irregular and arbitrary proceeding had however stirred up much angry opposition, and the important question of finance still remained unsettled. The lower orders voted the 'supply' until the meeting of the next Diet. The nobles would not extend it beyond two years. By armed force, Gustavus overawed their assembly; and by his absolute will, and the consent of the lower orders, affirmed the resolution. 'Thus,' wrote the French ambassador, 'has Gustavus III. obtained the guarantee of his debts, and the freedom from any term for the readjustment of taxation. . . . He has ruined his country. He has burdened it with a debt of twenty-one millions of rix-dollars—about four and a half millions sterling. He has seized on absolute power by force; and by force alone can he keep it.'

Gustavus had now overcome his domestic opponents, and was as much as ever resolved to push the war against his foreign enemies, hoping, in concert with Turkey, to break the power of Russia. But the opportunity which he might have had in July, 1788, no longer existed in 1789; and this and the following summer passed away without his being able to effect anything of moment; whilst, on her side, Catherine contented herself with repelling his attacks, and winning her great successes in the south. It was then that Pitt was compelled, by public feeling in England, to draw back from his intended intervention in favour of Turkey; and that Catherine added to the Russian Empire the fortress of Otchakof, and the stretch of country from the Bug to the Dniester. And meantime, events in France were every day becoming more and more serious. Gustavus was, at first, disposed to look on the violence of the mob and the behaviour of the king as alike contemptible; nor is it improbable that he complacently contrasted his own strong action with the weak and vacillating conduct of his 'brother and cousin.' But as time passed on, and the disturbance became a revolution, his affection for France and for Louis impelled him to take some decided line,

and to bear him what support might be possible. To do this, not only peace, but alliance with Russia, was necessary. A cessation of hostilities had been agreed on in August 1790; and Gustavus was anxious to convert it into a definite treaty. He was eager to be at the head of a combined Swedo-Russian army, and to win military glory, at the same time that he upheld the failing cause of monarchy in France. But Catherine carefully distinguished between the empress and the woman, and in State policy permitted no trace of sentimentality. She saw no particular reason for entangling herself in support of the King of France; but by keeping open the quarrel with Sweden, until that with Turkey was settled, she might hope to reap some distinct advantage. Count Stedingk, who was appointed envoy extraordinary to conduct the negotiations at St. Petersburg, was put off, from day to day, on pretexts more or less frivolous; and weeks, months even, dragged along, without the treaty being any nearer a conclusion.

Gustavus, however, buoyed up with hope, and convinced that he would eventually have some 22,000 Swedes and Russians under his command, set out for Aix-la-Chapelle on May 24, and arrived there on June 15, 1791. It was on the 21st that the king and queen of France made their unlucky journey to Varennes. The correspondence relative to this, and to the royal wishes, which for some weeks previously was carried on between Gustavus and his staff on one side, and Marie Antoinette, the younger Fersen, and M. de Breteuil on the other, is of the deepest interest; but it belongs rather to the history of France than of Sweden.

In October, the treaty with Catherine was at last signed; and Gustavus—who had returned to Stockholm in August—immediately forwarded to her the plan of a general coalition; according to which the Empire, Prussia, Switzerland, Sardinia, and Spain, each on a different frontier, were to enter France with an aggregate force of some 90,000 men: he himself, the commander-in-chief of the whole, was to land on the coast of Normandy with 16,000 Swedes and 6,000 Russians. It is difficult to say how much of this scheme was honestly meant, how much was proposed with a view to stage effect. But that it was real to some extent—that he believed in the possibility of restoring the monarchy to France, and of his having the chief command of a combined force—is quite certain. A letter which he wrote to Catherine, almost accompanying the plan of invasion, puts this even more clearly, and fully illustrates his opinions. It runs:—

‘ Although the interest which I take in the royal family of France is very great, that which I take in the general good of Europe, more particularly of Sweden, and the cause of all kings, is still greater. All this depends on the re-establishment of the French monarchy; and provided that is re-established, provided that the monster of the Riding School is crushed, and that the chief subverters of all authority are destroyed along with that infamous assembly, and the as infamous haunt in which it was created, it matters nothing whether Louis XVI., or Louis XVII., or Charles X., occupies the throne. . . . The only remedy is the sword and the cannon. It is possible that at this moment the king and queen are in actual danger; but their danger cannot be equal to that of all crowned heads, whom the French Revolution threatens.’

With a great deal more to the same purport. And not only before the Empress of Russia, but also before the public of Europe, did the King of Sweden stand forward as the main prop or stay of royalty; as eager to support it by war, and to thrust back the monarchy on France, even at the point of the bayonet. It is not to be wondered at if the Legislative Assembly accepted as an enemy the man who so loudly proclaimed his hostility. It was a time when the feeling, afterwards noisily expressed as *Mort aux tyrans!* was uppermost in a large number of French minds: and it is far from inconceivable that the Jacobin party deliberately condemned Gustavus to death, and took measures to carry their sentence into execution. Gustavus’s son and successor believed and maintained that they did; but he was a child at the time, and accepted unquestioningly the principles in which he was educated. And to many others the *Cui bono?* argument suggested the probability, and the probability suggested the certainty; but there is absolutely no evidence.

The bare facts are simple enough. On the evening of March 16, 1792, at a masked ball at the Opera House at Stockholm, Gustavus was mortally wounded by a pistol-shot, and died, after great suffering, on the 29th. The pistol was fired by a man of noble family, Ankarström, formerly a captain in the Guards, who having retired from active service, and holding a half-civil command in the Island of Gothland, had still been—rightly or wrongly—accused of a traitorous understanding with the Finland mutineers in 1788. He had therefore been sentenced by the king to a term of imprisonment, a sentence which was afterwards almost contemptuously remitted. This contempt, this sentence, and the wrongs his order had sustained in the constitutional changes of 1789, may well have wrought a mind, naturally gloomy, into madness: he is also said—with probable truth—to have lost heavily by a sudden de-

preciation of paper money to an extent of 30 per cent. The king, in his eyes, was a tyrant and a robber; and he vowed revenge. With him were joined others—Ribbing, Horn, Liliehorn—all nobles—who had suffered arrest in 1789, or had real or fancied wrongs to avenge; and the king's secretary, Bjelke, who enjoyed much of his master's confidence, persuaded him to go to the ball, and gave timely notice to the conspirators. Oscar, in the opera, may win our affection by beauty of person and sprightliness of music; but if we are to identify him with Bjelke, his *rôle* was more utterly villainous than that even of Horn who attracted the king's attention, or of Ankarström who pulled the trigger.

That these men assassinated their king is certain; but whether influenced solely by a sense of private or political wrong, by some ambitious hopes, or by the money of the Jacobins, never has been, probably never will be, known. But though the Jacobins hesitated at no crime which seemed likely to be useful, there is no necessity for supposing them guilty of this. The king had trodden down the constitution, crushed the nobles in their political rights, annihilated their prerogatives, insulted their pride. Hate and suppressed fury were in every mind; and we have had, even within the last few months, an appalling proof that a sense of civil wrong knows no scruples, has no conscience. Nor was the violent termination of a king's reign an unusual thing in Sweden. Many of Gustavus's predecessors had been dethroned or murdered; and his son who—though a mere child—succeeded him in 1792, was himself driven out by a revolution in 1809, and ended his days in exile and obscurity, a private citizen of Basle.

ART. IV.—*Archæologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity.* Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vols. XLV., XLVI. 1880–81.

THE issue of two new parts of the '*Archæologia*' has been welcomed by the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries with the more satisfaction as some time had elapsed since the publication of the preceding volume. Meanwhile considerable changes have occurred in the *personnel* of this ancient and honourable Society. The late Earl Stanhope, who had for many years taken a very active and useful part as President of the Society, has been succeeded by the Earl of Carnarvon, whose addresses breathe a spirit of vigour and animation much needed in archaeological pursuits, and who has

directed the attention of the Society to several important objects. The accomplished Director of the Society, Mr. Augustus W. Franks, on whom the editorship of the 'Archæologia' devolved, has been succeeded in that office by Mr. H. S. Milman, and is now one of the vice-presidents of the Society; and a fresh impulse has evidently been given to the literary labours of the Society as well as to those archaeological surveys and excavations which it has always sought to promote and encourage. To many of the Fellows as they cut the leaves of the new volumes it must have been a relief to find that the old lines had not been departed from, the old standard of excellence not one whit lowered, nor the old magnificence in type and form and illustration diminished. A certain haughty splendour has been the characteristic of the 'Archæologia' from the first, and we are happy to see that these volumes maintain their wonted dignity. It is clear that the Society of Antiquaries shows no sign of decadence, and still counts among its Fellows accomplished scholars and sagacious students, just as eager and just as able to lift the veil of Isis as their great predecessors were, into whose places they have stepped, and whose traditions they have inherited. We shall briefly notice the contents of these volumes before we proceed to record the earlier history of the Society.

Mr. Nesbitt's paper on 'Wall Decorations in Sectile Work, as used by the Romans,' is not unlikely to exercise an appreciable effect upon our domestic architecture; for our young art students are vigilant and alert, and the demand for new designs is constant; the fashions change from year to year, almost from day to day; Queen Anne's sovereignty in the realms of upholstery is passing, a taste for *classical* patterns and Italian colouring is reviving. We should not be surprised if antique tessellated pavements on a large scale should come in among us again, or if the foundations of some magnificent villa which has been buried for a millennium should be used a second time by a nineteenth-century Dives, or the mural adornments and splendid extravagance of the Roman nobles become the rage. It is significant that no less than five of the papers in this 45th volume are concerned with matters bearing upon Roman Britain—significant as indicating the eagerness with which every clue for arriving at a more certain knowledge of the character and extent of the Roman occupation is being followed, and as showing how rapidly that knowledge has extended itself during the present century. Lieutenant Peck's notes upon the Roman lighthouse at Dover, with its careful sections and measurements, must be pronounced the most

important of these papers. It is the first serious attempt to deal with the obscure problem of how the English coasts were lighted for the guidance and safety of the Roman marine, and the question is one which once started is not likely to be left very long without further examination and probably new discoveries. A careful survey of the Norfolk coast, beginning with the old Pharos at Burgh Castle, of which fragments still remain, would probably lead to our being able to trace the chain of lighthouses, having some sort of communication with one another, which there is strong reason to believe extended from the Thames to the Humber, and which, when the legionaries were too few and too feeble to guard the coast, served as beacons for the Saxon invaders. The other contributions in the volume are of a miscellaneous character; that one to which most readers will first turn being a paper by the Dean of Westminster on the tombs of Richard II. and Henry III.—unless, indeed, Mr. Fowler's account of the excavations at Durham Cathedral, with its tempting ground-plan and illustrations, proves a greater attraction.

Of the sister volume—the 46th of the long series—upwards of two-thirds of the contents are taken up by two papers which have little or nothing in common except that they both treat of persons or things that have passed away. Mr. Fowler's paper is an essay on the Process of Decay in Glass, and on the history of its manufacture. Mr. Peacock's appears under the title of 'Notes on the Life of Thomas Rainborow, 'Officer in the Army and Navy in the service of the Parliament 'of England.' Of Mr. Fowler's elaborate and exhaustive treatise it is sufficient to say that it is the most noteworthy essay on the subject which has yet appeared in our own or any other language, and whatever differences of opinion may arise on some of the minor points of which it treats, it will be regarded for a long time to come as the great authority to which experts and specialists will be content to refer.

Mr. Peacock's extraordinarily minute acquaintance with the period of English history on which he has bestowed so much intelligent labour has almost enabled him in this remarkable paper to raise to the dignity of a hero one of those second-rate adventurers whom stirring times so frequently force into a prominent position. 'Thomas Rainborowe—or, as printed 'books commonly give his name—Rainsborough'—was a soldier of fortune whose father had acquired a reputation as a naval commander, and had served the Crown against the Saltee pirates in 1637. Thomas, the son, also commenced his career as a sailor, and early threw himself into the popular side. He

was a member of the Long Parliament, and by the accident of his being a naval officer was exempted from the Self-denying Ordinance. At the siege of Hull he was serving with the Parliamentary army and was taken prisoner; he recovered his liberty by being exchanged against a notable of the King's side, and from this time he figures chiefly as a dashing cavalry officer, who did good service to the cause he had espoused. He was present at the battle of Naseby and the siege of Bristol, was one of the signatories to the articles of the capitulation of Oxford, and one of the Commissioners for making terms with the King in 1647. Next year he was once more employed at sea, and was Vice-Admiral of the fleet, when the sailors broke out into mutiny in May 1648. During the few months which followed he was engaged in various military duties on shore, but his career came to an abrupt and miserable close in October 1648, when he was murdered in his bedchamber by a band of cut-throats who rode from Pontefract to Doncaster, butchered him in broad daylight, escaped the immediate consequences of their crime, and boasted of it in after years. The detestable assassination of Colonel Rainborow has given an element of romance to his career, and the discrepancies in the accounts of his murder have tempted the critic to reconcile conflicting statements, and to furnish us with a connected narrative. Mr. Peacock has completed his task in a very interesting way. Only a practised expert could succeed as he does in detecting the sly personal allusions in a seventeenth-century newspaper, put his finger upon the weak point in a slanderous insinuation of some obscure scribbler long since forgotten, correct misprints in Rushworth which had run the gauntlet of generations of readers, furnish us with the name of the captain of every ship which happens to be mentioned in a stray letter, and fix the whereabouts of any one of the Parliamentary leaders almost on any day of the week during the long struggle. Yet this is subsidiary work after all; it is the performance of a specialist, meant not for the many, but the few; it is a contribution to scholarship rather than literature; it is antiquarianism, scarcely history: for the antiquary is the microscopist of historical science; by his patient survey of narrow fields of enquiry, his exhaustive analysis of testimony, his laborious registering of facts, his peering into the 'infinitely 'little' history is saved from degenerating into haphazard guess-work and vague theories based upon gossip never duly scrutinised or records never critically interpreted. But as in other sciences so in this, the pioneers of the army of progress who make the ground firm and sure for the steps of those that come

after, receive but scant justice and less than their due meed of gratitude.

It is observable, however, that, even from the early days of English literature, the antiquaries have been treated with a measure of respect rarely accorded to them elsewhere than among ourselves, and when they have spoken, they have been listened to with deference. They can boast of a corporate existence in the days of a Tudor Queen; they narrowly missed being established and endowed as a recognised order; as it is they have acquired a *quasi* professional status. Less fortunate than the Royal Society or the Heralds' College, they have not yet found an historian, but now that exactly a century has passed since they received their first 'state aid' in the shape of a grant of those apartments in Somerset House,* from which they only removed to their present quarters in 1875, it will hardly be deemed inopportune if we treat the Society of Antiquaries as itself a piece of antiquity, and remind our readers that this venerable fraternity has a history of its own.

It was not till late in the sixteenth century that English scholars began to realise how vast a wealth of materials lay stored up in our national archives, and that any lively curiosity arose to arrive at a wider and more accurate knowledge of their contents. Shameful as was the wholesale destruction of books and libraries consequent upon the spoliation of the monasteries, it was not an unmixed evil. It was to a very great extent an unearthing of buried treasures. The learned pundits of the cloisters had gone on for generations in a very narrow groove, and there was little prospect of their ever getting out of it. It is difficult to see how the prodigious outburst of intellectual activity which characterises the Elizabethan age could have been possible without some such violent sweeping out as actually occurred, and the deliverance of men's minds from the narrow and vicious literary taste which it had been the life-work of monks and friars to preserve unchanged. They who set themselves to save some fragments from the general wreck, and who began to collect the MSS. which here and there had escaped the greed of the waster or the flames of the iconoclast, had their attention turned, in many cases for the first time, to subjects of enquiry and original authorities which had long been forgotten, and discovered, to their surprise, that there were sources of information and historical records

* The Society took possession of their apartments in Somerset House in February 1781; they removed to Burlington House in January 1875.

which had been hidden away for ages, documents that might suggest quite new questions to be answered, and solutions of riddles that hitherto had been regarded as inexplicable. Students 'with such ferret and such fiery eyes' that to rummage below the surface of things was a necessity of their being, had become sick of the eternal polemics which led to no result, and the weary scholastic trifling—a Barmecide feast for the hunger of a vigorous mind—and the opening out to them of new and hitherto unsuspected fields of enquiry was like the discovery of another world, a world of promise.

The number of these critical students of English history rapidly grew into what may be called a school, and as they pushed forward their researches into the origin and growth of our institutions the conviction forced itself upon them that the work which required doing necessitated division of labour and concerted action. Accordingly in the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth (1572), an Association of Gentlemen, 'studious in antiquities, framed themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries,' and began to hold meetings at regular intervals for the discussion of questions of historical and archaeological interest, and for the investigation of such problems as the imperfect knowledge of the age rendered it difficult to deal with. Archbishop Parker was still alive, and was a warm friend and supporter of the infant Society. Parker's energy and enthusiasm had given an immense impetus to antiquarianism. He was the first man of his age who strongly advocated the study of Anglo-Saxon, and who had the sagacity to perceive how essential a knowledge of that language is to any who desire to understand our early history or the slow development of our national institutions. Up to his time lawyers had been content with some knowledge of Latin, and of that barbarous jargon in which so much of our legal lore was written, but the England of our Saxon forefathers had become a *terra incognita*, vaguely assumed to be shrouded from our ken by the mists of fable. Parker first proclaimed to his contemporaries that there need be no such insuperable difficulty in studying it, and did his best to show them that there was abundance of light, if men would but open their eyes. His last years were spent in actively helping on historical research, and in carrying through the press such important works as Asser's 'Life of Alfred,' the 'Historia Major' of Matthew Paris, his edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and the 'Historia Brevis' of Thomas of Walsingham. The appearance of works like these was to the England of Queen Elizabeth almost as surprising and quite as disturbing as the opening of the first railway was to

the England of William IV. Young men of active intellect and studious tastes threw themselves into the new literature and the new investigations with all the eager zeal and energy of youth. Rising barristers at Lincoln's and Gray's Inn, college tutors and devout divines, with a career before them, country squires, and even humble tradesmen, were fascinated and on the alert for every fresh discovery that might be made. Robert Cotton, though he lived less than ten miles from Cambridge, gave up the management of his ancestral estate and came to London, that he might devote his whole time and attention to the study of the records and the collecting of an historical library. Spelman turned his back upon his Norfolk home and lived in his chambers at Gray's Inn, till circumstances compelled him to return to banishment in East Anglia; but at the earliest opportunity he came back to his old haunts and the pursuits he loved, and once again in London was true to the old love even to the end. Francis Tate, a Northamptonshire squire of ample means, forsook his family seat of Delapre for chambers in the Temple, and appears as one of the most constant attendants at the meetings of the Antiquaries during the last ten years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Several of his papers or speeches, in a more or less fragmentary form, have been preserved, and twelve or fourteen of them were published during the last century, some by Gutch, and others by Hearne. Tate was a great student of Domesday at a time when so little was known of its contents that one of Camden's most learned correspondents, writing to him in 1618, asks him if this great national record was written in English or Latin. Mr. Tate represented Northampton in the last Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, and was regarded as a great authority upon all matters of constitutional history; D'Ewes's Journal of the House of Commons contains a report of an elaborate speech of his on a question of the privileges of members of the House, which he seems to have prepared for publication some years later. Less famous, but not less absorbed in historical studies, and hardly less diligent as an antiquary—some of his sayings, too, at the meetings of the Society have survived—was Joseph Holland, of Topsham, in Devonshire; he entered at the Inner Temple in 1571, just when Camden first came up to London,* and gave himself up to archaeological studies and historical research. A retired bookworm, he seems

* If the editor of the 'Students admitted to the Inner Temple 1547-1660,' printed at the expense of the Benchers in 1877, be right in his guess, Camden himself entered as a student in November 1571.

to have been careless of success in his profession, and though a briefless barrister he enjoyed a great reputation as a collector of curious scraps of information bearing upon the past of his native county.

These that we have named were all men of some fortune, whose enthusiasm was contagious, but whose devotion of themselves to historical research only few could, and fewer would be inclined to imitate. They occupied a position analogous to that of a patron of the turf who races his horses, but is careless whether racing 'pays.' Occupying a lower social position, and compelled by their narrow resources to seek a maintenance, even while carrying forward the studies that they loved, were those who may be called the professional antiquaries, whom the Society welcomed as authorities in their way, to whom the right hand of fellowship was extended in no grudging spirit. Such men were Camden, Speed, and Stow.

Camden, though master of Westminster School, contrived to make his duties to his scholars subordinate to his antiquarian labours, and nobody grumbled at his neglect when such solid results were forthcoming in another direction. John Speed, the learned tailor, was compiling his Chronicle, and had recently been emancipated from his craft by the liberality of Sir Fulke Greville, who had granted the good man a pension with the express object of enabling him to devote himself to the antiquities of his country; and poor John Stow—strange to say another tailor, but not so lucky a one—had attracted the notice of the Archbishop, and when the Primate died, had found a second patron in Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, though in the end the unhappy old man sank into actual beggary.

These, the leading spirits of the original Society, may almost be said to have been antiquaries by profession—they were 'to the manner born'—but outside this inner circle there was an imposing array of amateurs, the *dilettanti* of the learned body, who were, or who became, no inconsiderable personages in the republic of learning and letters, and whose names are on the roll of fame. Among them was Robert Beale, Clerk of the Council, one of the most accomplished linguists of his time. He served the queen with conspicuous ability in several diplomatic missions, and wherever he travelled he bought books and MSS. regardless of cost. He was believed to possess one of the most valuable historical libraries in England, and his collection of MSS., or a portion of them, has descended to the present Lord Calthorpe. Sir Thomas Lake, French and

Latin secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and a man whose many accomplishments gained him much sympathy when he fell into misfortune in the next reign, was another of the first members of the Society: and so was Arthur Agard, Deputy-Chamberlain of the Exchequer, great in heraldry, and a diligent student of Domesday; and Francis Thynne, the industrious continuator of Holinshed's 'Chronicle,' and the first really critical and scholarly editor of 'Chaucer;' and Sir Francis Leigh, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere's son-in-law, no mean authority on matters archæological, and some of whose utterances before the Antiquaries have been preserved to our own time. Besides these were three rising members of the bar, each of whom was destined to attain to high eminence in their profession: Whitelock, afterwards one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench, whose 'Liber Famelicus' was printed some years ago by the Camden Society; Sir John Doderidge, eventually Chief Justice of the same court, and a man of almost universal genius, according to the testimony of Fuller; and James Ley, better known by the name of First Earl of Marlborough, who closed an honourable career as Lord Treasurer of England in the reign of Charles I. Even in the provinces and far away from 'London's central roar,' there was more than one local antiquary who was *en rapport* with the Society, and who, now and then, when opportunity was favourable, put in an appearance at the meetings: such were Carew, the historian of Cornwall, and Solomon Erdswicke, the great Staffordshire antiquary, who for many years maintained in his house, as a kind of pupil-secretary, William Wyrley, a great authority in matters of heraldry, and who received the appointment of Rouge Croix at last in recognition of the learning and sagacity which he had displayed. It is significant that on all that roll of early members of the Society which has come down to us, there should be such a strange absence of the clerical element; there were, however, two remarkable exceptions. The one was Launcelot Andrews, peerless as scholar, courtier, preacher, or polemic, the first great Anglican divine—for Hooker counts as something more—the first controversialist on the Protestant side, who never forgot that he was a gentleman, and never descended to coarseness, unfairness, or scurrility. The other was Richard Broughton, a Roman Catholic priest, ordained at Douai in 1591, but attending at the meetings of the Antiquaries, and taking part in the discussions, while the penal laws were in full force, and the proscribed Romanists were being racked and butchered in all parts of the country without mercy. Broughton must have had friends in high places, for he lived

for a time at Oxford, and consulted the libraries freely, and found leisure to write a folio ecclesiastical history of England from the Ultramontane point of view, and though denounced as a dangerous papist by John Gee, the informer, in 1618, he managed to escape annoyance, and he died quietly in his bed at last. These were all members of the first Society of Antiquaries, and with them were others of name and fame in their generation—some whom we wot of, while others have passed out of our knowledge.

The impetus given to historical research by the activity of Archbishop Parker received a serious check when he passed away, and in the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign the taste of the rising generation was diverted into other channels. The little Society, however, continued to meet—apparently at irregular intervals—and its first meetings were held at the apartments of Sir William Dethicke, Garter King at Arms in the Heralds' College. It may be that the accident of their assembling in this place suggested more ambitious views. Mary had founded the Heralds' College; why should not Elizabeth be induced to emulate her sister, and found another college on a wider basis and with grander views?

Accordingly, in 1589, the year after the Armada, it was resolved to apply to the Queen for a Charter of Incorporation, and for the grant of some public building where the Antiquaries' meetings might be held. The petitioners were prepared with a magnificent scheme. The college was to consist of a number of Fellows, under a president, who, among other appliances, were to be provided with a library, to be called the Library of Queen Elizabeth, the custody of which was to be committed to *two* librarians. A body of statutes was to be, or actually was, draughted; the Fellows were to take the oath of supremacy (!), and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the great officers of state were to be the visitors. It was suggested that the college should be located in the Savoy or in the dissolved Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell. What reception the petitioners met with is unknown, though there was a tradition current among the Antiquaries of the last century that some grant had actually been made, but that, owing to its discontinuance, it had been forfeited. The story is improbable. The fact seems to be that so ambitious a programme had no chance of being carried out, unless it had been supported by some very powerful advocacy. It is highly probable that the Earl of Leicester was intended to take the Antiquaries under his powerful protection, and plead their cause with his royal mistress; he certainly was the declared patron of Holinshed,

Stow, and others of kindred tastes, and his vanity would have been gratified if his name could have been associated with so magnificent an institution as it was proposed to found. Unhappily, Leicester died exactly at the moment when the petition is said to have been presented, and with his death all hopes of receiving a gracious answer fell to the ground. Charter or no charter, however, the meetings of the Society went on as before; the members gave up assembling at the Heralds' College and met at Sir Robert Cotton's house, where the young bookworm was getting together at a huge cost the beginnings of that glorious collection of MSS. which still bears his name.

So things continued all through Elizabeth's reign, but when James I. came to the throne with his preposterous notions of the royal prerogative, his pedantry, which was the outcome of a system of training already obsolete, he soon began to suspect that the new school were innovators, iconoclasts, irreconcilables, who knew too much. When the Antiquaries were consulted on questions which pressed for answer, the replies were not found to be entirely satisfactory; sometimes indeed they proved entirely the reverse. The king was not prepared for these candid utterances; he began to be alarmed at this audacious prying into the beginning of things. Let men confine their enquiries to 'Cases of Conscience,' or rival claims of the Churches of England and Rome. There was something *uncanny* about this newfangled Anglo-Saxon jargon, with its mysterious δ and p —wicked-looking symbols that might be harmless, but were very like the Runes of Lapland witches or Druidical devices whereby the moon might be dragged from heaven or the devil and his angels tampered with in occult and magical fashion. It looked ill that these Antiquaries were all prone to scepticism. If the words had been invented early enough, the king would have denounced these gentlemen as a pack of revolutionary Radicals.*

So it came to pass that the Antiquaries not only got no charter, but that their meetings came to an end; the Society

* The author of the Life of Richard Carew, prefixed to his 'Survey of Cornwall,' is very indignant at the course adopted by James I. 'But what else,' he says, 'could be expected from a man who never had a relish for polite literature, or any kind of useful learning, and only delighted in pedantic scholastic divinity, and fancied himself the wisest and most glorious prince in the world (a second Solomon, forsooth), if he could but scribble a pamphlet against witches or against tobacco; a man, in short, whose genius and taste were as low and mean as his soul and inclinations?'

broke up, when or how no one seems to know. Again we doubt whether any overt act of tyrannical interference brought this about, for in 1614 we find something like a revival of the former state of things. Spelman came back to London about this time, and was hard at work at his favourite studies and plying a busy pen. Perhaps he revived the taste for archæology, and perhaps the old Antiquaries came out from their retirement. But, as a rule, they were men of advanced views, and Spelman was by nature a Conservative. He soon gained the confidence of the High Church party and the warm friendship of Laud. Of a devout and ecclesiastical turn of mind, he took up the defence of the Church, its rights, and its possessions, and he found that he had solid ground to stand on. Doubtless there was as much prudence as inclination in his avoiding the more dangerous paths of constitutional history. But not even Spelman's Toryism could shield his associates from suspicion, and when Selden was called before the Court of High Commission for his '*History of Tythes*,' and compelled to retract his errors, it was hardly worth while to keep alive an association which, by its continued existence, might bring something more than discomfort upon its members.

In the troublous times that followed concerted action even in literature was hardly possible; the thunder-clouds were gathering, and mutterings were heard of the great storm that was about to burst upon the nation. Men were afraid of one another, held aloof from one another, kept their own counsel, and, if they were students, they worked in solitude and seclusion. But the fascination which antiquarianism exerts over some minds is irrepressible, whatever their surroundings may be, and even when the violence of angry passion was fiercest and most menacing, there were men who were living in the past, and were all the more absorbed in the study of it because the condition of society about them was so little to their liking. All through those twenty years of tearing down old things which immediately preceded the accession of Charles II., those twenty years when the righteous soul of Dryasdusts must have been stirred within them, while their eyes ran down with water, Aubrey was taking notes and collecting gossip, and saving here and there some traditions of bygone men and things, and preserving what he could of the memories of the past that were fading; Elias Ashmole was running up and down the land collecting curiosities, buying books and manuscripts, and making that vast assemblage of miscellanies, the fragments of which alone have survived in the famous Museum at Oxford. Dugdale was writing his '*History of Warwickshire*,' and heaping up

treasures of antiquarian lore, to be given to the world by-and-by in that wonderful work, the '*Monasticon Anglicanum*.' Sir Roger Twysden, too, was amassing his varied learning, his '*Historiæ Anglicanæ decem Scriptores*' having appeared the year before the expulsion of the Long Parliament, after the learned author had been heavily fined and plundered by the malignants for his stubborn loyalty. Spelman died before the evil times had well begun. 'Great Selden,' as Anthony a Wood calls him, survived till 1654. But Thomas Fuller was in his prime. He and Rushworth were born in the same year, 1608; and Rymer, another Cambridge man, and of Fuller's College—Sidney—was a rising light; and the Ryleys, father and son, were Keepers of the Records—a somewhat refractory pair, or, at any rate, Prynne made it out they were so.

It is clear enough that at the time of the Restoration there was no lack of learned and laborious students who were the worthy successors of the earlier Antiquaries; but every man was toiling alone, there was no union—in fact, there was a good deal of jealousy, Peter Heylyn waspishly attacking Fuller, and Nalson attempting to disparage Rushworth, while from the profligate Court little was to be expected. The frivolity and vice of the times were not favourable to learning, and the Antiquaries were laughed at. Libertines, who boasted that they had no hope and no faith, were the last men to have any sympathy with or interest in any condition of society which rebuked the grossness that had invaded the upper classes. Things got worse and worse, and hardly mended till the century closed. The names of Gibson and Stillingfleet and Gale occur to us, but they are the names of poor compilers after all. If they had not been controversialists and politicians, as well as dabblers in other studies, their historical learning would not have made the first two Bishops and the last Dean of York. These were very poor creatures indeed, when compared with the generation that had passed away.

Things had about got to their worst in the domain of English archæology when in the year 1707 certain gentlemen met together at the Bear Tavern in the Strand, and 'agreed to do so every Friday at six in the evening and sit till ten at farthest. The subject of their conversation was to be "The History and Antiquities of Great Britain preceding the reign of James I.," but without excluding any other remarkable antiquities that might be offered to them.' Among the members of this Society were Peter Le Neve, then Norroy King at Arms; Rymer, who, though sorely out at elbows, had already established a high reputation; Browne

Willis, lately returned as M.P. for Bucks; Anstis, the historian of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and that great master and teacher of all who since his time have gained any profound knowledge of our records, Thomas Madox. Happily the Antiquaries had at last found another powerful patron, and they were no longer afraid to assert themselves. Lord Somers had retired from political life, and was now occupying himself in collecting his magnificent library. He resigned the Presidency of the Royal Society in favour of Sir Isaac Newton in 1703, and from that time till the end of his life gave himself almost wholly to the study of English history. England owes to him that grand monument of erudition, 'The Fœdera,' that monument which 'shames the boast so often made that we are wiser than our sires,' and of which the Record Commissioners of our own days, after promising a new edition for fifty years, have succeeded in bringing out just two volumes. In 1702 Madox dedicated his 'Formulare Anglicanum' to Lord Somers, at whose suggestion, and perhaps at whose expense, the work was undertaken, and when this was followed in 1711 by his 'History of the Exchequer,' Lord Somers was again addressed in the learned Prefatory Epistle as if he had been the Mæcenas of his age. How much directly Lord Somers had to do with the resuscitation of the Society of Antiquaries, it is now impossible to discover; but indirectly his encouragement and support were of incalculable service. The Society did not despise the day of small things; the meetings were held at a tavern in the neighbourhood of Temple Bar or Chancery Lane. All pomp and circumstance were dispensed with, but the work which the Fellows contemplated undertaking was gigantic. A sketch of what was proposed to be done for the illustration of our national antiquities has come down to us, and the programme is comprehensive enough to daunt the most ambitious of modern historians. Here are some of the requirements which the Society set forth as amongst prime *desiderata* :—

1. A complete history of Great Britain and Ireland with their most celebrated antiquities; also maps and charts and a chorographical description of the counties.

2. A monasticon enlarged to thirty or forty volumes. A history of the greater abbeys and of the dissolution.

3. An historical account of castles, especially the most ancient and famous, with their privileges, offices, &c.

4. The history of the Knights Templars.

5. The history of the Jews in England.

6. History of music, interludes, masques, and plays in England.

Upwards of a century and a half has passed since this magnificent programme was published; and, if we except Sir Henry Ellis's edition of the 'Monasticon,' it is a literal fact that not one of these grand undertakings has been even attempted up to the present moment. A complete history of England, or anything that could even approximately deserve such a title, is still to seek. Browne Willis's 'History of 'Mitred Abbies' did little more than touch the subject which it was proposed to handle. No historical account of our English castles, on the scale contemplated, has been attempted, nor any comprehensive history of music and the drama. The history of the Knights Templars has been almost utterly neglected, and though large collections have been made for a history of the Jews in England, Mr. Margoliouth's industry received little or no encouragement; and Mr. Davies, the only man living whose familiarity with the Hebrew records at Westminster and elsewhere would go far to qualify him for the task that requires to be carried through, has been compelled by want of means to discontinue his researches. Even Sir Henry Ellis's enlarged edition of the 'Monasticon' is but a small thing compared with the 'thirty or forty volumes' projected by the Antiquaries of a hundred and seventy years ago.

But if this ambitious programme has never been carried out, nor any of its projects worthily attempted, neither has the Society been idle. The little band that met at a tavern 'every Friday at six in the evening for conversation,' increased in numbers and influence, and, as a natural consequence, the meetings became more formal, and admission to them began to be a matter of some difficulty. After going on for about ten years on the *solvitur ambulando* principle, it was at length resolved that the Society should henceforth be limited to one hundred members, 'with no honorary members allowed;' the meetings were to be held every *Wednesday* evening; every member was to pay half a guinea on his admission, and one shilling on the first Wednesday of every month, which covered his annual subscription, and on February 6, 17¹⁷/₁₈ regular minutes of the proceedings began to be kept in due form.

About this time, too, the inconvenience of having no suitable place of assembling made itself felt, and we hear that an attempt was made to get possession of a piece of ground in the White Friars, and to build a house there. The scheme fell through,

and in 1727 they were occupying apartments in Gray's Inn, a little later in the Temple, and then their place of resort was the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street. It was not till 1753 that they procured a house of their own in Chancery Lane. Meanwhile the Society had been rapidly rising in public estimation, and more than one attempt was made to unite it with the Royal Society. It is hardly to be regretted that these were unsuccessful. Each of the two organisations has its own vocation, and quite enough to do to employ its energies. Fusion sometimes means confusion, and union does not always bring about subdivision of labour.

At last, in 1750, the Antiquaries, believing that their opportunity had arrived, resolved upon a petition to George II. for a Charter of Incorporation; and in the following year his Majesty was pleased to declare himself 'Founder and Patron' of the Society. Of the period during which it had existed in an inchoative state no account was taken, and it was not for the Sovereign to know anything of a body which only now received its incorporation. Previous to the granting of the charter, however, the Fellows of the Society had been very much alive. As early as 1717 it became necessary to appoint a *Director*—the successor of the *Registrar* of a century earlier—who was in fact the literary adviser and general man of business. Besides the director there was a secretary, whose remuneration was not extravagant, for on May 1, 1735, it was ordered that the sum of *five shillings* be paid for every night that he attended any meeting of the Society, and when the work increased—i.e. in 1754—it was resolved that at the next annual election of officers for this Society *two* secretaries be chosen.

In nothing has the good fortune of the Antiquaries been more conspicuous—unless, indeed, we must call it by some better name—than in their choice of officers, and especially of their secretaries. A list of them has been preserved from the earliest days, and a very worthy succession it makes out. Of the first—Charles Lailand—we know only his name; he may have been a nephew or otherwise a relative of the author of the 'Collectanea.' In the Ashmolean Museum there are two summonses to attend at meetings of the Society, signed by him as secretary, and addressed, the one to John Stowe, the other to a Mr. Bowyer, who may have been Sir William Bowyer, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, knighted early in the reign of James I. These documents throw some curious light upon the method of procedure adopted by the Society in these early days. It seems that when a question was to be

considered it was not brought before a general meeting till it had been previously ventilated at a preliminary *caucus* of those best qualified to pronounce an opinion upon the subject of enquiry, and that the result of this sectional discussion was subsequently submitted to the whole body. Such a plan must have thrown a good deal of responsibility upon the secretary, and must have entailed some danger of giving offence if the duty of selecting this committee devolved upon him.*

Lailand seems to have filled his post but a short time, and was succeeded by William Hakewill, Prynne's friend and early patron. He was an enthusiastic student of the records, and his publication of a Treatise on the 'Aurum Reginæ' in 1605 is mentioned in one of Donne's letters as a bid for Court favour which had already attracted the notice of Anne of Denmark. Hakewill was in good practice at the bar, but by his marriage with one of the daughters of Sir Henry Woodhouse of Yaxham, a niece of Sir Francis Bacon—then Lord Keeper—and sister-in-law of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, he appears to have been drawn away from legal studies, and he gave his attention to politics and literature. In Coryat's 'Letter from India' a message is sent to Hakewill, who is described as one of 'the Right Worshipful fraternity of Sireniacal gentlemen that meet the first Friday of every month at the signe of the Mermaid in Bread Street in London.' This was after Shakespeare had retired to Stratford; but Ben Jonson was still in his glory, and so were others of that splendid coterie whose 'wit combats' the world has heard of and would gladly know more. When Sir Thomas Bodley died in 1613, Hakewill was one of his executors. He represented Bossiney in the last Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, and Tregony in the

* The summons to Stowe runs thus:—

'SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

'To Mr. Stowe.

'The place appointed for a Conference upon the question followinge, ys att Mr. Garters house on Friday the ii. of this November (1601), being Alsoules day, at ii. of the clooke in thafternoone, where your oppinioun in wrytinge or otherwyse is expected.

'The question is,

'“Of the Antiquitie, Etimologie and priviledges of parishes in Englande.”

'Yt ys desyred, that you give not notice hereof to any, but suche as have the like somons.

'per me CH. LAILAND.'

Parliament of 1620, and was a frequent speaker, always on the Opposition side. He narrowly escaped being thrown into prison for his boldness, and did not appear again in the House till the short-lived Parliament of 1627, when he was returned as member for Amersham, where he had an estate. After this he retired from politics, as he had already done from the bar, and occupied himself exclusively with historical and antiquarian studies. His '*Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*' was for long an authority upon the subject of which it treats, and his Catalogue of the Speakers of the House of Commons was a work of great labour and research in those days when Calendars of State Papers and handy indexes were unknown. With a secretary like Hakewill, the king might suppress the Society of Antiquaries as much as he pleased. It could be a suppression on paper only—the name may have been dropped, the thing continued to exist. Yet the Society as an active organisation did actually come to an end, and Hakewill had no successor in his office till the Antiquaries came together again in the next century.

At the revival in 1707, Hakewill's place was occupied by Dr. William Stukely, then quite a young man. He had been early taken up by Dr. Richard Mead, and through his influence was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Prominent as a man of science, and enjoying a large practice as a physician, he abandoned his lucrative profession, and, receiving holy orders, became rector of St. George's, Queen's Square; yet in the midst of all his other occupations he found time to publish some valuable contributions to the literature of archæology, more than one of which continues to be referred to by the learned. Under the guidance and watchful energy of Dr. Stukely the revived Society made a new start to some purpose, and when he retired, the Antiquaries were some years before they were quite satisfied with the gentlemen who successively filled the office. At last in 1735 Dr. Stukely's mantle fell upon the right shoulders, and Alexander Gordon, a Scotchman of enormous industry, and with a European reputation for antiquarian learning, was appointed to the post. Gordon was a great Egyptologist, and published an essay on *Egyptian Antiquities in England*. His '*Itinerarium Septentrionale*,' which is, in fact, the journal of an antiquary through Scotland, may still be consulted with profit by the curious in such lore. But Europe was too small for Gordon's restless energies, and he emigrated to Carolina in 1741, when Joseph Ames, author of the '*Typographical Antiquities*,' was chosen secretary, being at that time a ship chandler at Wapping,

and a few years afterwards elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

It was not, however, till Mr. Norris became secretary that that series was first set on foot of which the Society has now issued the 46th volume, and which, together with the other magnificent works, published by the Antiquaries from time to time, makes up a not inconsiderable library, and a library, too, which fetches a high price in the book-market. The papers read at the meetings of the Society since its revival had accumulated so much, that it was decided in 1770 to print a collection of them as an experiment, and accordingly, in the autumn of that year, a volume was published with the title which is still preserved, 'Archæologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity.' The volume was got up in a form which must have been very costly, but the edition was rapidly absorbed, and a new issue was soon called for, and appeared eight years after the first. From that time to the present there has never been a break in the regularity with which the volumes have been distributed, and the traditionary splendour in the illustrations has gone *pari passu* with the sustained merit of the contributions. There is scarcely a single volume in the whole series which does not contain some paper worth preserving, and it is no more than the truth that the volumes of the 'Archæologia' not only chronicle the progress of antiquarian discovery in this country, but make it abundantly clear that the Society of Antiquaries have been the great leaders of that progress and its main supporters. Nor does the 'Archæologia' by any means represent the whole of the literary work done by the Antiquaries. The 'Vetusta Monumenta,' begun in 1782, has been carried on with an almost lavish magnificence, at irregular intervals as the funds have been forthcoming—the tables of gold coins, the issue of engraved prints (so numerous as to require a separate catalogue), and of occasional dissertations not included in the volumes of the 'Archæologia,' to say nothing of the 'Proceedings,' which often contain matter that one regrets should be hid away in such an uninviting exterior, testify to the great activity of the Council, and the almost restless energy of secretaries and directors, who have certainly had no sinecure in the offices they have severally filled. It can scarcely be said, even by the most cynical economist, that the Society received more than its due at the hands of the Executive when the new apartments at Burlington House were assigned to it five years ago.

Hitherto, however, the work of the Society has been chiefly, though by no means exclusively, literary: to rescue from

oblivion, sometimes to announce the existence of, documents forgotten or unknown; to obtain for students, by the help of the printing press, access to such unique records as the Domesday Book or the Norman Exchequer Rolls; to stimulate research into the original sources of our history, charters, inscriptions, laws, chronicles, or whatever else may constitute the written memorials of the past; to make the *litera scripta* of bygone ages common property for all who had the taste and the opportunity to investigate the great problems which a patient scrutiny of such muniments can alone enable us to solve. But a new departure has been made in the study of antiquity. We are tending towards the conviction that whatever is based upon written records is to be counted as modern history—that ancient history is concerned with evidence anterior to a time when any knowledge of writing had been arrived at by our early progenitors. In view of the long vista of ages during which it has been demonstrated that man existed upon our planet, it is impossible to accept the Christian era as a landmark from which to trace the development of races and institutions. From the kitchen middens of Scandinavia, the caverns of Dordogne, the lake dwellings of Switzerland, or the barrows of the Yorkshire wolds, strange messages have come to us. As yet inarticulate utterances, they are destined, perhaps, to work as prodigious a revolution in our popular notions even of religion and ethics as the researches of the Elizabethan Antiquaries brought about in the views of political philosophy current in their time. Meanwhile the rage for ‘finding out something’ by the spade and the pickaxe requires anxious watching. Amateurs, however well-meaning, cannot safely be left to their own devices. Some of them have already hidden more than they have disclosed. There is a need to instruct and discipline the free lances of archæology, and it is exactly here that an organisation like that of the Society of Antiquaries may be best utilised in the interest of scientific discovery. Whatever may be thought of the advisability of subsidising a learned corporation by a grant from the Treasury, there can hardly be a doubt that the recognition of the Society as a central board for controlling and systematising archæological research would be a measure which could only produce excellent results. The want of such recognition has acted, and is acting, in the direction of distinctly discouraging research. While things continue as they are, our archaic monuments are rapidly being demolished: the very fact that attention is drawn to them makes them increasingly the prey of the ignorant

sightseer on the one hand or the needy owner of the soil on the other. The first assumes that they belong to no one; the second, while insisting upon his rights of property, forgets that to such proprietary rights there are limits. Neither seems to dream of the duty of protecting a heritage which belongs to the nation, and which in equity no individual should be allowed to claim as his own.

For some years past the Society of Antiquaries has taken the lead in moving for some legislation to protect what remains of our *unwritten records*. Indeed the Society has done more, or at least attempted to do more. As early as 1872 a memorial was addressed to the Government of the day advocating an examination of the tumuli in the Troad, a proposal which might have been easily carried out at a very trifling cost to the country. It was coldly received, and nothing was done. In little more than a year from that time Dr. Schliemann had begun his excavations, and the splendid results which rewarded his enterprise passed from us. Since then the Society has been busy in attempting to obtain some adequate custody for our own archaic treasures. The suggestion has been made that all important ancient monuments should be placed without delay under the protection of the State, and, as a preliminary to such legislation as was contemplated, the Society was ready to undertake the responsibility of drawing up a comprehensive list of such monuments. These views have been supported by the Bills introduced into Parliament by Sir John Lubbock, and by a resolution of the House of Commons carried in the present Session. Under the immediate patronage of the Society Mr. Lukis has recently completed his admirable surveys of the pre-historic monuments of Cornwall and Devon; encouragement has been given to the efforts of the citizens of Bath to unearth the splendid remains of Roman baths recently discovered by Mr. Davis in that city, and we hope that, acting in conjunction with the Wiltshire Archæological Society, means will be found to retain the colossal pillars of Stonehenge in their vertical position. We trust the Society of Antiquaries will persevere in these meritorious pursuits, for we are persuaded that there never was a time when archæological researches excited a more general interest in the country.

ART. V.—1. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. An Account of Travels in the Interior, including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikko and Isé. By ISABELLA L. BIRD. 2 vols., illustrated. London: 1880.

2. *Japan: its History, Traditions, and Religions; with the Narrative of a Visit in 1879*. By Sir E. J. REED. 2 vols., illustrated. London: 1880.

THE last twelve years have witnessed one of the most extraordinary revolutions recorded in the history of the world. The scene is the island, or rather the group of islands, known to us by the name of Japan. And the magic of the change which has been wrought is the more startling to us from the profound ignorance in which, down to comparatively recent times, Western Europe was plunged as regards a country which, for more than 200 years, had jealously excluded the foreigner from its soil.

There have been, we all know, instances of the obliteration of ancient civilisation by the wave of foreign conquest, as when the Gothic tribes replaced the mouldering Latin rule by the sway of their vigorous chieftains. There have been cases, notably in the great outbreak of 1789, when alternations of victory and defeat in the long-smouldering contest of class against class have changed for a time the aspect and the manners of a people. But neither the fate of the Roman Empire nor that of the French monarchy affords a parallel to the Japanese revolution. Foreign influence, no doubt, ranks among the causes of, or it may be more correct to say furnished the occasion for, the political part of the changes. But the re-establishment of the administrative power of the Mikado, the prince who for 2,500 years has been theoretically the supreme ruler of Japan, though in itself a matter well worthy of study, is, from the point of view taken by the historian, one of the least interesting features of the revolution. That which is, so far as we are aware, unique in the recent history of Japan is that as soon as the fence was broken down, and the persistent claims of Europe and of the United States to make good the outposts of a commercial invasion were perforce admitted, the entire habit, spirit, and polity of the empire were suddenly transformed. ‘The first notable use ‘to which this renewal of tranquillity’ (in 1868; we quote Sir E. J. Reed, who gives the day of the month, but omits the month itself)—

‘was put by his Majesty the present Emperor was that of assem-

bling the court nobles and territorial princes, and making oath before them that a deliberative assembly should be formed, and all measures decided on by public opinion; that impartiality and justice should form the basis of his action; and that intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the Empire.' (*Japan*, vol. i. p. 280.)

It is not for the first time, either before or since the signature of Magna Charta, that brilliant promises of this kind have been made by a newly enthroned king. But it is, we think, for the first time in history that the resolve to acquire a full knowledge of the science of the unknown parts of the world has been not only formed, but expressed, and not only expressed, but carried out. From the date of this declaration Japan has steadfastly set herself to learn what the most enlightened nations had to teach. Japanese youths have been sent to study in foreign universities, camps, navies, cities, and rural districts. English, American, French, and German professors have been tempted by large salaries to reside for a while in Japan, and to give to attentive scholars the full benefit of their best abilities. But under all this extraordinary activity has lain concealed the fixed determination to throw away the orange as soon as it was squeezed. The moment the foreign teacher has done his work, and trained native pupils to take his place, he is politely shown the door. No more convincing proof of the sturdy nationality that underlies the Japanese cosmopolitanism can be offered than we cite in the words of Mr. W. F. Potter, C.E., who resided for three years in Japan, as an assistant of Mr. Cargill, the Director of Railways and Telegraphs in that empire. In a paper on railway work in Japan, which was read before the Institution of Civil Engineers on January 14, 1879, Mr. Potter says:—

‘It is impossible to give any reliable information as to the cost of the railways already constructed in Japan, owing to the system adopted by the Government of not allowing foreign engineers to interfere in, or have any control over, money matters. On each engineer’s district a large staff of Japanese officials was appointed, who made all payments and arranged all contracts. Whenever an engineer required materials or labour, he had to indent on these officials, who furnished them without giving information as to their cost. . . . The author, however, must not be understood to make any complaint against the Japanese officials. Nothing could be more kind and courteous than their general bearing towards the members of the foreign staff.’ (*Min. of Proc. of Inst. of Civil Engineers*, vol. lvi. p. 2.)

And Miss Bird informs us that

‘it is no part of the plan of the able men who lead the new

Japanese movement to keep up a permanent foreign staff. To get all they can out of foreigners, and then dispense with their services, is their idea. The telegraph department was passed out of leading strings this week (May, 1878), and other departments will follow as soon as possible. The Naval College has English instructors, the Medical College is under the charge of Germans, the Imperial University has English-speaking teachers, the Engineering College has a British principal, assisted by a large British staff, and a French military commission teaches European drill and tactics to the army. The changes in the teaching staff are frequent, and people talk not only of actual but of possible changes, whose engagement expires next month or next year, the probabilities of its renewal, the reduced salary on which Mr. — is remaining, the certainty that Mr. —'s engagement will not be renewed, and guess what he will do with himself, and what sum he has saved.' (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 40.)

The contributions to our knowledge of Japan which are now before us are the notes of Miss Isabella L. Bird of her solitary journeys of more than 1,400 miles through northern Japan, including a visit to the almost wholly unknown island of Yezo, and the narrative of Sir E. J. Reed of a month spent in Tokio, the eastern capital (better known by its former name of Yedo), and a trip to the inland sea, the western capital of Kioto, the sacred shrines of Isé, and Fuji-Yama, and the Hakoné mountains. Bright and graphic as are many of the sketches of these unknown regions given, especially by the former writer, it is obvious that the opportunities afforded to the hasty tourist are not such as to enable him to form more than fleeting and inadequate ideas of the regions and the people through the midst of which he hurries. Nothing like a philosophical appreciation of the import and the controlling features of so remarkable a national revolution as that to which we have referred is to be expected from the brief notes of a tourist. Neither is it within the competence of the reviewer to test the accuracy or fidelity of such notes as come before him. Except in those few cases where accounts are contradictory, it is only possible to lay before the reader some account of the most striking features described in the volumes in question, leaving on the authors the whole responsibility of the statements which they have made to the public.

The history of Japan possesses the special characteristic of bringing down that mythical era which is common to all ancient legendary histories to comparatively recent times. The first human Emperor of Japan, Sannoo or Zimmou, a descendant of the sun-goddess, acceded to the throne in the year 660 B.C., at a time when the third hereditary dynasty was reigning in China, the eighth in Assyria, and the twenty-sixth in Egypt.

From this personage the present Mi-kado (Mi being an honorary prefix) is said to be the 123rd in direct descent, which would give to the sovereigns of the dynasty the unusually long average reign of twenty years. In A.D. 1185 Minamoto no Yoritomo, a son of the Mikado Yo-toba, established a power which may be compared to that of the mayor of the palace under the later Merovingian kings, or to that which the Dukes of Burgundy strove to attain under Louis XI. Originally only the first of the great provincial peers of Japan, the Sioguns or Taicoons, as this line of princes was called, became the virtual rulers of the country, the nominal supremacy of the Mikado still being maintained. Forty-six Sioguns are enumerated from 1185 to 1868, when Hi Stotsbashi, Prince Gosankio, abdicated his power into the hands of the Mikado, and the history of feudal Japan closes after a duration of 683 years.

An abstract of the history of this period, and an account of the events which immediately led to the revolution, occupy the first of Sir E. Reed's two volumes, being taken from sources indicated in the preface. The account, however, is so far from being readable, even as condensed by this writer, that no end could be attained by now giving more than the one or two facts that we have stated. An abbreviated history of an unknown land, of which the recurrence of names utterly barbarous to the English ear is the chief feature, requires to be sketched by the hand of a master of the literary art to make it anything but intolerably tedious. The great point at which to aim in such abstracts of history is the adoption of a scale of detail proportionate to the size of the volumes to be written; and the omission of names that are little more than shadowy, and of incidents that have no essential bearing on the march of events, is demanded for the sake of historic perspective. The reader who wishes to acquaint himself with what is known of Japan before her last revolution cannot do better than study the superbly illustrated work of M. Aimé Humbert, called '*Le Japon illustré*,' which was published by Messrs. Hachette in 1870.

While many of the illustrations of that beautiful book might be transferred with great fitness to the pages of Miss Bird, there are some of them that are now almost as much out of date as if they referred to the time when the Crusaders brought back mail from the Holy Land. We refer to the state and circumstance of the two-sworded nobles of Japan and their feudal retinue. They are gone, like the snow of the winter; replaced, if we may trust our latest informants,

by very small, very civil policemen in European-cut alpaca coats and white duck trousers, before whom, however, the peasants and lower classes bow with much of the abject terror with which they formerly prostrated themselves before the nobles.

‘The mystery of a “spiritual Emperor,” secluded in Kiôto, and a “temporal Emperor” reigning in Yedo, no longer exists; the Shôgunate (of which each writer adopts a different mode of spelling) is abolished; Yedo has become Tôkiyô; the *daimyô*, shorn of their power and titles, have retired into private life; the “two-sworded men” are extinct, and the Mi-kado, a modern-looking man in European dress, reigns by divine right in Tôkiyô, with European appliances of ironclads, Armstrong and needle guns, and the *prestige* of being the one hundred and twenty-third in descent from the sun-goddess, the chief deity in the Pantheon of the national religion. His government is a modified despotism, with tendencies at times in a constitutional direction. Slavery is unknown, and class disabilities no longer exist. . . . Politically, old Japan is no more. The grandeur of its rulers, its antique chivalry, its stately etiquette, its ceremonial costumes, its punctilious suicides, and its codes of honour, only exist on the stage. Its traditional customs, its rigid social order, its formal politeness, its measured courtesies, its innumerable and enslaving superstitions, linger still in the interior, specially in the regions where a debased and corrupt form of Buddhism holds sway. Over great districts of country which I traversed, from Nikkô to Ao-mori, the rumble of the wheels of progress is scarcely yet heard, and the Japanese peasant lives and thinks as his fathers lived and thought before him.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 8.)

Progress, we must however hint, is not necessarily identical with change. Japan at this moment presents a scene more instructive than almost any other to be found on the surface of the world, if only we were in a position thoroughly to understand the changes that have recently occurred and those which are still in progress. For that, however, details are wanting, and are, we fear, likely to be wanting. As far as the interior is concerned, the great feature of the recent revolution is the abolition of the territorial aristocracy—a movement which a large number of ignorant persons in Europe regard as a sort of commencement of the millennium. Of the actual effect of that great change on the teeming peasantry of Japan we have not the means of forming an opinion. But as to their present material condition, so far as can be gathered from the observations of the tourist, no evidence is forthcoming to show that it is in any way whatever an improvement upon the past.

An otherwise inexplicable anomaly we feel disposed to ex-

plain rather by the failure of the traveller to get at the kernel of the matter than in any more elaborate way. We refer to the contrast presented between the extreme poverty and misery attributed to the people on the one hand, and their marvellous industry, their unquestionable ingenuity, the fertility of the soil, the advanced condition of the processes of agriculture, and the light incidence of the taxes on the other hand. The public revenue of Japan for the financial year 1879-80 is given us from official sources at 11,130,000*l.* The population of the empire is stated at 34,358,404 souls, or about 230 to the square mile. Thus the incidence of taxation in the gross is but 6*s.* 6*d.* per head; and if we deduct export and import duties, profits of industrial works, receipts from government property, and refunding of advances, this is reduced to about 5*s.* 10*d.* The bulk of the income of the State is derived from the land tax, amounting to 8,250,000*l.*, being at the rate of about 1*s.* 9*d.* an acre. In this, however, account has to be taken of untilled and waste land on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of the fact that there is nothing in the way of house or assessed taxes. The tax on alcoholic liquors amounts to little more than 10 per cent. of the land tax, and that on tobacco does not amount to 4*d.* per head per annum. These cannot be regarded as heavy imposts. As to the wages of the people, a scale was formed, for the service of the railway contractors, of from 8*d.* to 11*d.* per day for the three classes of common labourers, and from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* per day for those of skilled workmen. Thus little more than three days of the work of a carpenter, out of the 365, would be enough to pay his proportion of taxes, if a bachelor; and a fortnight out of the twenty-six would be enough if he had four other persons to support. When we learn then that to the two-tenths of the area of Japan which is under tillage a garden cultivation is applied, that the variety of climate affords produce ranging from wheat and grapes to banana and sugar cane, that rice affords an abundant supply of food, and that fish is everywhere accessible as a cheap article of diet, we feel sure that there must be something which has not yet been told if the Japanese peasant is anything but extremely well off, according to his own peculiar notions of comfort.

Under the rule of the Siogoms or Shoguns, the 3,850 islands and islets which form the empire of Japan were divided into ten provinces, each of which contained one or more lordships belonging to feudal princes, who enjoyed a large amount of independence, and received considerable revenues. Thus the prince of Ksiou had a patrimonial revenue amount-

ing to 355,200*l.*; the prince of Aki, a revenue of 279,040*l.*; the prince of Nagato, 236,160*l.*; the prince of Bidzen 198,400*l.* How far these large sums are now represented by the imperial taxation is one of those points on which information is desirable.

As an instance of the manner in which the reader will be misled who relies on any abstract of second-hand information with regard to Japan, we cannot forbear citing a note furnished by Sir E. J. Reed on the Japanese alphabet. 'In the Japanese language,' he says (vol. ii. p. 56), 'there are forty-seven syllables, by the combination of which, and of a supplementary character corresponding to *n* placed at the end of the syllable, all the words of the language may be represented.' A table follows, from which the reader is justified in coming to the conclusion that five vowels, and nine, or at the outside eleven consonants, are enough to form all the primary syllables of Japanese words. The idea naturally suggests itself to the mind that an immense simplification of the written language would be extremely easy, and that the adoption of European letters, or even of the Morse symbols, is a reform at once so ready and so useful that it may safely be anticipated.

If we turn, however, to such an authority as Ballhorn, we find that the I-RO-FA, or A, B, C of Japanese, contains indeed forty-seven original symbols, but that the number is raised to seventy-three by the addition of the accents *nigori* and *maru*, as well as of the *n* unattended by a vowel. *Nigori* consists of two minute marks at the right of the syllable, and softens the consonant. *Maru*, a single dot, also at the right, hardens it. Thus the fifty letters or syllables tabulated by Sir E. Reed give little or no idea of the full number of sounds in the language. The alphabet given by Ballhorn is in the Katakana character, and the type used was cut under the direction of Professor J. Hoffmann of Leyden, and cast by M. Tetterode in Rotterdam. A Katakana syllabary is also engraved by M. Humbert (vol. ii. p. 33), the signs of which, somewhat more freely drawn than those of Ballhorn, do not always quite agree with the latter. These symbols are taken from the formal Chinese characters, being adapted rather than copied from 48 out of the 214 Chinese 'keys' or radicals. But alongside of the Katakana I-RO-FA is the Hirakana syllabary, founded on the cursive Chinese, containing also seventy-three symbols. The two styles of writing have been immortalised by a Japanese artist, who has drawn, as an allegoric representation of the first, or noble, style, a grave personage enveloped in a flowing mantle, the outline of which is formed

by those movements of the pencil which form the Katakana letters. The companion figure, a beggar leaning on a crutch, is formed by the Hirakana symbols. The latter character is that used by women and by the lower classes. Children are first instructed in this, and only learn the Katakana later in life, if they require a more advanced knowledge of literature. In addition to this, the Japanese student is expected to acquire a sufficient knowledge of Chinese to be able to read the 'Conversations of Confucius,' or at least this was considered needful ten years ago.

The ethnography of the Japanese is a subject of considerable difficulty. The peaceful tribes of hunters and fishermen who, under the name of Ainos, are scattered along the coasts of the northern isles, are regarded as the remains of an aboriginal population. These Ainos, of whom Miss Bird appears to have seen more than any other traveller, show no trace of Mongol descent. They have neither the oblique and half-open eyes, the projecting cheek-bones, nor the thinly-plaited beards of their Turanian neighbours. They are so distinguished by the peculiarity of their hair, that M. Humbert says they look like contemporaries of the cave bears. The American geologist Bickmore, who has visited Yezo, regards them as furnishing a sole instance of an Aryan tribe driven into the wilds by the invasion of strange and inferior immigrants, instead of being themselves the invaders. The relics of the successive cities on the site of Hissarlik, however, seem to prove that this inversion of what we have been accustomed to regard as the usual course of history is by no means peculiar to Japan.

As in her visit to Yezo Miss Bird has ventured on a track more unbeaten than is the case in almost any part of her adventurous journey, we commence our notice of her sketches at this point.

The island of Yezo differs so much from the rest of Japan that it is exempt from the ordinary taxes. On the other hand, it is subject to special imposts which produce about 72,000*l.* a year. The Imperial Government is laying out large sums on the island, under the charge of a special department of the administration, called the 'Development Department.' The appropriation for last year exceeded 300,000*l.* The objects of the outlay are twofold. One is to provide a field for the reception of emigrants from the over-peopled districts of Japan; the other is to build up a bulwark against Russia, the unscrupulous and aggressive character of which State is fully understood by the Japanese. The ultimate importance of the

island is assured by its enormous coal-fields. The fisheries are most abundant, salmon being the chief fish caught. This is not only sent through all the interior of Japan, but is also exported to China. Hakodaté, the northern treaty port, has a deep and magnificent harbour, and is a flourishing city of 37,000 souls. Its foreign trade, however, is sinking to nothing, while Japanese commerce thrives. In 1859, when Sir Rutherford Alcock visited the place to instal the British Consul, the population was only 6,000 souls.

‘Separated from the main island of Japan by the Isagaru Strait, and from Saghalien by the narrow strait of La Perouse, in shape an irregular triangle, extending from long. $139^{\circ} 50'$ E. to long. 146° E., and from lat. $41^{\circ} 30'$ N. to lat. $45^{\circ} 30'$ N., its most northern point considerably south of the Land’s End, Yezo has a climate of singular severity, a heavy snowfall, and, in its northern parts, a Siberian winter. Its area is 35,739 square miles, or considerably larger than that of Ireland, while its estimated population is only 123,000. The island is a mountain mass, with plains well grassed and watered. Impenetrable jungles and swamps cover much of its area. It has several active volcanoes, and the quietude of some of its extinct ones is not to be relied upon. Its forests and swamps are drained by innumerable short, rapid rivers, which are subject to violent freshets. In riding round the coast they are encountered every two or three miles, and often detain the traveller for days on their margins. The largest is the Ishkari, famous for salmon.

‘The coast has few safe harbours, and, though exempt from typhoons, is swept by heavy gales and a continuous surf. The cultivated land is mainly in the neighbourhood of the sea, with the exception of the extensive plain around Satsuporo. The interior is forest-covered, and the supplies of valuable timber are nearly inexhaustible, and include thirty-six kinds of valuable timber trees. Openings in the forest are heavily grassed with the *Eulalia japonica*, a grass higher than the head of a man on horseback; and the forest itself is rendered impassable, not only by a dense growth of the tough and rigid dwarf bamboo, which attains a height of eight feet, but by ropes and nooses of various vines, *lianas* in fact, which grow profusely everywhere. The soil is usually rich, and the summer being warm is favourable to the growth of most cereals and root crops. The climate is not well suited to rice, but wheat ripens everywhere. Most of the crops which grow in the northern part of the main island flourish in Yezo, and English fruit trees succeed better than in any part of Japan. I never saw finer crops anywhere than in Mombets, or Volcano Bay. Cleared land, from the richness of the soil formed by vegetable decomposition, is fitted to produce crops, as in America, for twenty years without manuring, and a regular and sufficient rainfall, as in England, obviates the necessity for irrigation.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 1.)

Game abounds in the forests of the interior. Grouse, hares, quail, snipe, teal, woodcock, wild duck, venison, and deer are

sent to market, and bear-furs and deer-skins are important articles of export. But the chief object of interest in Yezo

‘is the remnant of the Aino race, the aborigines of Yezo, and not improbably of the whole of Japan, peaceable savages, who live on the coasts and in the interior by fishing and hunting, and stand in the same relation to their Japanese subjugators as the Red Indians to the Americans, and the Veddas to the Sinhalese.’

‘A rough census of the Ainos, made in 1873, gives their number as 12,280. . . . The hairy Ainos, as these savages have been called, are stupid, gentle, good-natured, and submissive. They are a wholly distinct race from the Japanese. In complexion they resemble the peoples of Spain and Southern Italy, and the expression of the face and manner of showing courtesy are European rather than Asiatic. If not taller, they are of a much broader and heavier make than the Japanese; the hair is jet black, very soft, and on the scalp forms thick pendent masses, occasionally wavy, but never showing any disposition to curl. The beard, moustache, and eyebrows are very thick and full, and there is frequently a heavy growth of stiff hair on the chest and limbs. The neck is short, the brow high, broad, and massive, the nose broad and inclined to flatness, the mouth wide but well formed, the line of the eyebrows perfectly straight, and the frontal sinuses well marked. Their language is a very simple one. They have no written characters, no literature, no history, very few traditions, and have left no impression in the land from which they have been driven.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 9.)

Here is a glimpse at these wild people in their homes:—

‘The early darkness has once again come on, and once again the elders have assembled round the fire in two long lines, with the younger men at the ends, Pipichari, who yesterday sat in the place of honour, and was helped to food first as the newest arrival, taking his place as the youngest at the end of the right-hand row. The birch-bark chips beam with fitful glare, the evening saké bowls are filled, the fire god and the garlanded god receive their libations, the ancient woman, still sitting like a Fate, splits bark, and the younger women knot it, and the log fire lights up as magnificent a set of venerable heads as painter or sculptor would desire to see—heads full of—what? They have no history, their traditions are scarcely worthy the name, they claim descent from a dog, their houses and persons swarm with vermin, they are sunk in the grossest ignorance, they have no letters, nor any numbers above a thousand, they are clothed in the bark of trees and the untanned skins of beasts, they worship the bear, the sun, moon, fire, water, and I know not what, they are uncivilisable and altogether irreclaimable savages. Yet they are attractive, and in some way fascinating, and I hope I never shall forget the music of their low sweet voices, the soft light of their mild brown eyes, and the wonderful sweetness of their smile.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 74.)

The descent from the dog would perhaps be regarded by the devotees of the new cultus of ‘Natural Selection’ as anything

rather than a myth. But what would Lavater or Camper, Spurzheim or George Coombe—to say nothing of Phidias or of Raphael—have said of the description of a race of people, rich in the heritage of noble personal beauty, and the melody of musical sound, who are classed as savages before the aggressive civilisation of such Japanese as the author elsewhere paints? Travellers, indeed, see strange things.

‘After the yellow skins, the stiff horsehair, the feeble eyelids, the elongated eyes, the sloping eyebrows, the flat noses, the sunken chests, the Mongolian features, the puny *physique*, the shaky walk of the men, the restricted totter of the women, and the general impression of degeneracy caused by the appearance of the Japanese, the Ainos make a very singular impression. All but two or three that I have seen are the most ferocious-looking of savages, with a *physique* vigorous enough for carrying out the most ferocious intentions, but as soon as they speak the countenance brightens into a smile as gentle as that of a woman—something which can never be forgotten.’

‘The “ferocious savagery” of the appearance of the men is produced by a profusion of thick, soft black hair, divided in the middle, and falling in heavy masses nearly to their shoulders. Out of doors it is kept from falling over the face by a fillet round the brow. The beards are equally profuse, quite magnificent, and generally wavy, and in the case of the old men they give a truly patriarchal and venerable aspect, in spite of the yellow tinge produced by smoke and want of cleanliness. The savage look produced by the masses of hair and beard and the thick eyebrows, is mitigated by the softness in the dreamy brown eyes, and is altogether obliterated by the exceeding sweetness of the smile, which belongs, in greater or less degree, to all the rougher sex.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 77.)

We must, however, remark that the woodcut of an Aino patriarch which accompanies this description by no means gives the idea of a savage. We hesitate to say whether it more resembles a lunatic or a Guy Faux; but the prodigious brow, far larger in proportion than that of the Jupiter of Phidias, is like nothing ever seen out of a pantomime. In fact, by applying a pair of dividers to the figure, it becomes apparent that the head, as drawn, is very nearly one-fourth of the height of the whole figure. This proportion is that of an ordinary European child at the age of two, after which age it is very soon lost in the process of natural growth, and, if possible at maturity, could only be so in the case of a most hideous dwarf. But Miss Bird tells us that she has measured the height of thirty of the adult men of the Aino village where this patriarch dwelt. It is probably unconsciously that she has furnished us with a proof of the accuracy of her measurement. The height that she gives ranges from sixty-four

inches to sixty-six and a half inches. This is only a little under the average height of the Belgian men, which is 66·37 inches. The circumference of the heads she states at 22·1 inches, and the proportion of this to a mean height of sixty-five inches is almost identical with that between the corresponding dimensions in the Theseus of the Parthenon. She further gives the measurement of the arc over the head from ear to ear at thirteen inches. This is two inches less than the corresponding measurement in a well-formed European head of the girth of twenty-two inches; showing either that the crown of the head is less developed in the Aino, or that the ears are nearly an inch higher in their heads, than is the case in a well-proportioned type. This proportion, which might be anticipated in the case of a race so devoid of mental culture, is wholly inconsistent with the sketch, which is thus shown to be monstrously exaggerated. It is a pity that we are not furnished with photographic portraiture of some of this interesting race.

‘The men,’ continues the traveller, ‘are about the middle height, broad-chested, broad-shouldered, thick-set, very strongly built, the arms and legs short, thick, and muscular, the hands and feet large. The bodies, and especially the limbs, of many are covered with short bristly hair. I have seen two boys whose backs are covered with fur as fine and soft as that of a cat.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 75.)

In another place we are told :—

‘At a deep river called the Nopkobots, which emerges from the mountains close to the sea, we were ferried by an Aino completely covered with hair, which on his shoulders was wavy like that of a retriever, and rendered clothing quite needless, either for covering or for warmth. A wavy black beard rippled nearly to his waist over his furry chest, and with his black locks hanging in masses over his shoulders he would have looked a thorough savage, had it not been for the exceeding sweetness of his smile and eyes.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 137.)

Of another specimen of this race, so startling in his ugliness as to earn from the usually sympathetic traveller the name of the ‘missing link,’ we are told :—

‘He was about fifty. The lofty Aino brow had been made still loftier by shaving the head for three inches above it. The hair hung, not in shocks, but in snaky wisps, mingling with a beard which was grey and matted. The eyes were dark but vacant, and the face had no other expression than that look of apathetic melancholy which one sometimes sees on the faces of captive beasts. The arms and legs were unnaturally long and thin, and the creature sat with the knees tucked into the armpits. The limbs and body, with the exception of a patch at each side, were thinly covered with fine black hair, more than an inch long, which was slightly curly on the shoulders.’

‘Passing travellers who have seen a few of the Aino women on the road to Satsuporo speak of them as very ugly, but as making amends for their ugliness by their industry and conjugal fidelity. Of the latter there can be no doubt, but I am not disposed to admit the former. The ugliness is certainly due to art and dirt. The Aino women seldom exceed five feet and half an inch in height, but they are beautifully formed, straight, lithe, and well developed, with small feet and hands, well-arched insteps, rounded limbs, well-developed busts, and a firm, elastic gait. Their heads and faces are small; but the hair, which falls in masses on each side of the face like that of the men, is equally redundant. They have superb teeth, and display them liberally in smiling. Their mouths are somewhat wide, but well formed, and they have a ruddy comeliness about them which is pleasing, in spite of the disfigurement of the band which is tattooed both above and below the mouth, and which, by being united at the corners, enlarges its apparent size and width. A girl at Shiraôï, who, for some reason, has not been subjected to this process, is the most beautiful creature, in features, colouring, and natural grace of form, that I have seen for a long time. Their complexions are lighter than those of the men. There are not many here even as dark as our European brunettes.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 78.)

This disfigurement of the tattoo, which is commenced when a girl is five or six years old, and increased year by year up to marriage, is said by the Ainos to be an old custom, and a part of their religion.

‘The children are very pretty and attractive, and their faces give promise of an intelligence which is lacking in those of the adults. They are much loved, and are caressing as well as caressed. . . . Implicit and prompt obedience is required from infancy, and from a very early age the children are utilised by being made to fetch and carry and go on messages. I have seen children apparently not more than two years old sent for wood; and even at this age they are so thoroughly trained in the observances of etiquette that babies just able to walk never toddle into or out of their house without formal salutations to each person within it, the mother alone excepted. They don’t wear any clothing till they are seven or eight years old, and then are dressed like their elders. Their manners to their parents are very affectionate. (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 80.)

We dwell with the more interest on the most salient points in the description of these hitherto little known people, from the feeling that, when they are contrasted with certain accounts of the Japanese to which we are about to call attention, the question will suggest itself to many—‘Which are the ‘savages?’ So far as we can rely on the accuracy of Miss Bird’s description, the Ainos appear to be the remains of a superior race which has been dominated by an invading people that are, at least physically, their inferiors. The question has

the more interest, as before hinted, from the parallel that it affords to the discovery of the successive cities which have been reared on the site of Novum Ilium, as laid bare by the persevering spade of Dr. Schliemann. The inhabitants of the fourth city, according to his view, built on the hill of Hissarlik, of which the ruins occupy a depth of ten feet, were of a lower order of civilisation, that explorer tells us, than those of the third. Their pottery is coarser and of a ruder fabric, although the same general forms were in use. 'The masses of shells and cockles accumulated in the *débris* of the houses are so stupendous, that they baffle all description. . . . A people which left all their kitchen refuse on the floors of their rooms must have lived in a very low social condition.' These fish-eating slovens were the successors of the people who owned those beautiful objects in gold, silver, and electrum which have been exhibited in the South Kensington Museum, and of which engravings are given in Dr. Schliemann's last work 'Ilios.' It is almost startling to place side by side with the above extract one which Sir E. J. Reed gives from an American work, by Mr. Griffis, entitled 'The Mikado's Empire :—

'The evidences of an aboriginal race are still to be found in the relics of the stone age in Japan. Flint arrow and spear heads, hammers, chisels, scrapers, kitchen refuse, and various other trophies are frequently excavated, or may be found in the museum, or in houses of private persons. Though covered with the soil for centuries, they seem as though freshly brought from an Aino not in Yezo.' (*Japan*, vol. i. p. 16.)

The characteristics given by Miss Bird, if carefully studied, present a very close resemblance to many of those of the Greeks of the heroic time. The straight brow, the well-developed cranium, the vertical profile, the entire absence of any tendency to prognathous jaws, contrast forcibly with the opposite characteristics in the Japanese. The excessive hairiness of some individuals is very possibly rather a result of long abode in a climate unusually damp, than anything approaching to a specific peculiarity. 'The Volcano Bay Ainos are far more hairy than the mountain Ainos; but even among them it is quite common to see men not more so than vigorous Europeans, and I think,' admits the tourist, 'that the hairiness of the race as a distinctive feature has been much exaggerated, partly by the smooth-skinned Japanese.'

It must be remarked that while the hair of these people is profuse, it has no resemblance either to the frizzy wool of the negro, or to the lank, coarse, and sparse hair of the Japanese. It resembles that of the southern races of Europe, although somewhat

more profuse. A stalwart breast covered with black hair may be not unfrequently seen in the forges of the British islands. In Italy, and even in England, we have seen men, by no means in the lowest ranks of society, whose arms in one case, and legs in another, were really black with their hairy clothing. The hairy breasts of the Homeric heroes will recur to the memory of the student. And in the sculpture of the grand Greek period nothing is more marked than the massive locks of the hair, which spring, in the more robust forms, vertically from the brow, and which, even in the Apollo Belvedere and the Cupid of Centocelle, are bound in a fillet of their own abundant growth. When we note the degeneracy of more than one type in southern Europe at the present time, we may well hold the opinion that these musically-voiced Ainos are a race akin to the dwellers in the third city of Dr. Schliemann, sunk into apathy under the pressure of a more numerous though inferior race—a phenomenon by no means unique in archaeology.

In height of stature these people are described as about the same as the Japanese. Among the women of the latter, says Miss Bird—

‘I saw nothing like even passable good looks. The noses are flat, the lips thick, and the eyes of the sloping Mongolian type; and the common custom of shaving off the eyebrows and blackening the teeth (though less common in Sôkiô than formerly), together with an obvious lack of soul, gives nearly all faces an inane, vacant expression. The narrow, scanty dresses enable one to judge of the *physique*, and physically they look below par, as if the race were wearing out. Their shoulders are round and very falling, their chests and hips narrow, their hands and feet very small, their stature from four feet eight inches to five feet one inch. They look as if a girl passed from childhood to middle age almost at once, when weighted with the cares of maternity. The children look too big and heavy to be carried pick-a-back by their little mothers, and they, too, look deficient in robust vitality, and dwindle as they grow up. The men don't look much better. They are usually from five feet to five feet five inches, and their *physique* is wretched, leanness without muscle being the general rule.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 76.)

We fail to see any marks of physical superiority in these people, thus described, over their dispossessed predecessors.

In one point which, at least in the days of King Candaules, was held to be a main feature of civilisation, the sense of personal modesty, the Ainos differ from the Japanese as much as if they were dwellers in distinct planets. The clothing of the Ainos in the winter—

consists of two or more coats of skins, with hoods of the same, to

which the men add rude mocassins when they go out hunting. In summer they wear *kimonos*, or loose coats, made of cloth woven from the split bark of a forest tree. This is a durable and beautiful fabric in various shades of natural buff, and somewhat resembles what is known to fancy workers as "Panama canvas." Under this a skin or bark-cloth vest may or may not be worn. The men wear their coats reaching a little below the knees, folded over from right to left, and confined at the waist by a narrow girdle of the same cloth, to which is attached a rude dagger-shaped knife, with a carved and engraved wooden handle and sheath. Tightly fitting leggings, either of bark-cloth or skin, are worn by both sexes, but neither shoes nor sandals. The coat worn by the women reaches halfway between the knees and ankles, and is quite loose, and without a girdle. It is fastened the whole way up to the collar-bone; and not only is the Aino woman completely covered, but she will not change one garment for another except alone or in the dark. Lately a Japanese woman at Sarufuto took an Aino woman into her house, and insisted on her taking a bath, which she absolutely refused to do till the bath-house had been made quite private by means of screens. On the Japanese woman going back a little later to see what had become of her, she found her sitting in the water in her clothes; and on being remonstrated with, she said that the gods would be angry if they saw her without clothes.' (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 83.)

If this be savage modesty, what is the term for the different view of these matters taken by the dominant race? Miss Bird says:—

'The people tell me that they take a bath once a week. This sounds well, but when looked into its merit diminishes. This bath in private houses consists of a tub four feet high, and sufficiently large to allow of an average-sized human being crouching in it in the ordinary squatting position. It is heated by charcoal in such a way that the fumes have occasionally proved fatal. The temperature ranges from 110° to 125°, and fatal syncope among old people is known to occur during immersion. The water in private bath tubs is used without any change by all the inmates of a house, and in the public baths by a great number of customers. The bathing is not for purification, but for the enjoyment of a sensuous luxury. Soap is not used, and friction is apologised for by a general dabbing with a soft and dirty towel. The intermediate washing consists in putting the feet into hot water when they are covered with mud, washing the hands and face, or giving them a slap with a damp towel. These people wear no linen, and their clothes, which are seldom washed, are constantly worn, night and day, as long as they will hold together. They shut up their houses as hermetically as they can at night, and herd together in numbers in one sleeping-room, with its atmosphere vitiated, to begin with, by charcoal and tobacco fumes, huddled up in their dirty garments in wadded quilts, which are kept during the day in close cupboards, and are seldom washed from one year's end to another.' (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. ii. p. 167.)

We spare the reader any account of the effects of this mode of living on the multiplication of insect life, and on the visible spread of diseases of the skin. The exterior of the dwellings is neglected in a manner quite corresponding to the sanitary state of the interior, and the consequent poisoning of the water of the wells is such as often to prove fatal to strangers. How the natives survive is a marvel.

The fear of the Aino woman as to what might displease the gods is by no means shared by her Japanese sister. At Nakano, a place famous for its hot springs, are four bath-houses—

‘only nominally separated, and with but two entrances, which open directly upon the bathers. In the two end houses women and children were bathing in large tanks, and in the centre ones women and men were bathing together, but on opposite sides, with wooden ledges to sit upon all round. I followed the *kuruma* runner blindly to the baths, and when once in I had to go out at the other side, being pressed upon by the people behind, but the bathers were too polite to take any notice of my most unwilling intrusion, and the *kuruma* runner took me in without the slightest sense of impropriety in so doing. I noticed that formal politeness prevailed in the bath-house as elsewhere, and that dippers and towels were handed from one to another with profound bows. . . . The public bath-house is one of the features of Japan.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 389.)

This remarkable feature of Japanese civilisation is well represented, in full accordance with Miss Bird’s account, by the author of ‘*Le Japon illustré*.’

It is not in the bath alone that the Japanese scorn any undue prejudices in favour of wearing clothing in hot weather.

‘Could there be a stranger sight,’ asks Miss Bird, on the very first day of her plunging into the unbeaten track beyond Nikko, ‘than a decent-looking middle-aged man, lying on his chest in the verandah, raised on his elbows, and intently reading a book, clothed only in a pair of spectacles? Beside that curious piece of still life, women frequently drew water from a well by the primitive contrivance of a beam suspended across an upright, with the bucket at one end and a stone at the other. . . . Truly this is a new Japan to me, of which no books have given me any idea, and it is not fairyland. The men may be said to wear nothing. Few of the women wear anything but a short petticoat wound tightly round them, or blue trousers, very tight in the legs and baggy at the top, with a blue cotton garment open to the waist tucked into the band, and a blue cotton handkerchief knotted round the head. From the dress, no notion of the sex of the wearer could be gained, nor from the faces, if it were not for the shorn eyebrows and black teeth. The short petticoat is truly barbarous-looking, and when a woman has a nude baby on her back or in her arms, and

stands staring vacantly at the foreigner, I can hardly believe myself in "civilised" Japan.' (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 148.)

We may well share in the wonder of the writer, and ask what is it in which the Japanese character is so fatally defective? We have heard of such things as an essentially savage character, covered with a thin varnish of civilisation. But such a description would in no way, as it seems to us, apply to Japan. The wisdom and intelligence with which the rulers of Japan have set themselves to acquire all the latest discoveries of modern science are unquestionable; so, to a great extent, is the success that has attended their efforts. As to their wish to get rid of the foreigner as soon as they have learned all that he has to teach, it is by no means peculiar to Japan. There are those among us, and there were those who are now no longer among us, who could have told sad stories of the Punic faith of European Governments, the members of which would indignantly repudiate the assertion that they were not in the very forefront of civilisation. We have never heard that the Government of Japan has swindled its foreign guests—that it has induced them to place time and skill and capital at the service of the Empire, and has then rewarded them by practical confiscation. If it has engaged a professor for a term of years at a fixed salary, it has been punctual in its payment. If at the end of that term it has declined to renew the engagement, it was within its own right in so doing. The foreigner may have felt disappointed at the fact that his services were no longer indispensable, but he had no right to complain. We wish that an equal amount of justice had been shown to all our countrymen by certain European Governments.

But the extraordinary part of the case, from our point of view, is the manner in which the Japanese Government, while sparing no cost or exertion to command the latest improvements of modern civilisation, omits giving any attention—so far as we can gather from the works before us—to some of the most obvious and essential. Signally is this the case with regard to roads. The first step towards rendering a country, we will not say civilised, but habitable, is the construction of roads. When a population teems thickly on the ground, the need is more urgent. The very means of existence—the supply of food, the interchange of commodities, the utilising of the produce of labour—are dependent on facility of communication. When great distances separate sparsely peopled oases, a rough railway may in some cases be even more useful than a road. But in well-peopled districts the highway is the first need of

the people, as a means of escape from the isolation of savagery.

When, therefore, we are told of the sums expended in teaching architecture and engineering in Japan, at the time that no roads worthy the name are made in the interior, we are struck with the incredible misdirection of energy that is thus evinced. Towards the close of her first journey of 247 miles across the mainland of Japan from Tokio, the capital, to the important treaty port of Niiagata, Miss Bird, in ten hours of travelling, only accomplished fifteen miles.

‘The road from Kurumatogé westwards is so infamous that the stages are sometimes little more than a mile. Yet it is by it, so far at least as the Isugawa River, that the produce and manufactures of the rich plain of Aidzu with its numerous towns, and of a very large interior district, must find an outlet at Niiagata. In defiance of all modern ideas, it goes straight up and straight down hill, at a gradient that I should be afraid to hazard a guess at, and at present it is a perfect quagmire, into which great stones have been thrown, some of which have subsided edgeways, and others have disappeared altogether. It is the very worst road I ever rode over, and that is saying a good deal.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 186.)

To some extent, it is probable, the function of the road is discharged by some of the rivers of Japan. The road just mentioned, leading through villages which must ‘have reached ‘the lowest abyss of filthiness in Hozawa and Saikayama,’ struck on the river Isugawa at a town or village of the same name. Two rivers here unite, and form a stream down which the traveller took the ‘packet.’ This ‘was a stoutly-built ‘boat, forty-five feet long by six broad, propelled by one man ‘sculling at the stern, and another pulling a short broad-bladed oar, which worked in a wistaria handle at the bow. ‘It had a croquet-mallet handle about eighteen inches long, ‘to which the man gave a wriggling turn at each stroke. Both ‘rower and sculler stood the whole time, clad in umbrella ‘hats.’ Rice, pottery, and passengers formed the cargo of the primitive packet-boat. On descending the stream, the river life became more active. Canoes abounded, laden with wheat, with vegetables, with boys and girls returning from school. ‘Sampans with their white puckered sails, in flotillas of a dozen ‘at a time, crawled up the deep water, or were towed through ‘the shallows by crews frolicking and shouting.’ The river flowed on between densely wooded, bamboo-fringed banks, just high enough to conceal the surrounding country from the passenger on the water. Abundant signs of population were however apparent, and a path led through the bamboos almost

at every hundred yards' distance. After eighteen miles of navigation Niigata is reached, a city of fifty thousand inhabitants, the capital of the wealthy province of Echigo, with a population of a million and a half. Here are law courts, fine schools, a hospital, barracks, an imposing block of government buildings, public gardens, very well laid out, with finely gravelled walks, and lit by three hundred street lamps, which burn the mineral oil of the district. And yet, for want of a little skill devoted to the regularisation of the outfall of the Shinano river, the largest in Japan, this treaty port is without a harbour, and the produce of the district—rice, silk, tea, hemp, indigo, gold, copper, and petroleum—is despatched to Yedo on the backs of straw-shod packhorses, by roads such as above described!

This mode of shoeing—and indeed that adopted in Japan for man as well as for beast—is another example of the manner in which utter barbarism holds its own, hand in hand with painful civilisation.

The Japanese packhorses differ in their strength and indocility in different provinces, but the smith, the farrier, and the currier are alike absent in them all. On first making the acquaintance of these beasts in the ascent of the Nikkôzan mountains, Miss Bird met exclusively with mares—

‘gentle creatures about fourteen hands high, with weak hind-quarters, and heads nearly concealed by shaggy manes and forelocks. They are led by a rope round the nose, and go barefoot, except on stony ground, when the *mago*, or man who leads them, ties straw sandals on their feet. The pack-saddle is composed of two packs of straw eight inches thick, faced with red, and connected before and behind by strong oak arches gaily painted or lacquered. There is for girth a rope loosely tied under the body, and the security of the load depends on a crupper, usually a piece of bamboo attached to the saddle by ropes strung with wooden counters, and another rope round the neck, into which you put your foot as you scramble over the high front upon the top of the erection. The load must be carefully balanced, or it comes to grief, and the *mago* handles it all over first, and, if an accurate division of weight is impossible, adds a stone to one side or another. Then, women, who wear enormous rain hats, and gird their kimonos over tight blue trousers, both load the horses and lead them. The animal does not understand a bridle, if you have one, and blindly follows his leader, who trudges on six feet in front of him. . . . It is said that there are 740 steps in the seven miles between Nikkô and Chinzenjii, most of which are on the final two miles. A bridle track zigzags up the steep sides of the mountains, and, to facilitate the ascent, there are long staircases of logs, which the horses don't like, and they have made tracks on each edge consisting of mud holes over a foot deep, with corrugations between them.’ (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 120.)

And this, within seven miles of Nikko, one of the most sacred and celebrated spots in Japan, is described as the mode of inland communication adopted by a people who had enough ability—to call it by no other name—to obtain sixty-six miles of railway, constructed under the orders of English engineers, so carefully controlled by the native officials that at the completion of the work the Englishmen were in utter ignorance of how much it had cost !

It is possible that this curious want of completeness, viewed from an English standpoint, in the character of the Japanese, may disappear on further acquaintance. But, as far as we are at present informed, this bizarre want of scale tends to throw an additional glamour over scenes so unlike any to which we are accustomed in Europe. That the Japanese possess faculties of a very high order is undeniable—the wonder is how, such being the case, they remain in some respects so utterly childish. We do not speak of matters of taste alone. Unexpected contrasts are everywhere to be met. It would seem as if that abhorrence of regular symmetry, which is distinctive of Japanese art, was a permanent feature of the Japanese mind. What can be more unconsciously humorous than the picture given of the etiquette of the public baths ? Among a people who not only have clothed themselves, on state occasions, more gorgeously than almost any other, but with whom each article of dress was rigidly prescribed, as adapted to rank, to age, or to occasion, the unconsciousness that any clothing is required if a social gathering takes place in a bath-house is by itself remarkable. But the maintenance, under these circumstances, of the grave decorum of the three solemn bows, when one bather hands a towel or a dipper to another, has a *cachet* peculiar to Japan. Again, the careful formation, within historic times, of a special alphabet, or rather pair of alphabets, is an effort at national improvement to which it will be hard to find a parallel elsewhere. So decided a step is it in national progress, that we are led to wonder why it stopped where it did, and why that single further step which would so much have simplified the literary study of the character—the substitution of letters proper for syllabic symbols—was not at once taken. The same adaptive genius that was shown in the construction of the Japanese alphabet from the Chinese ‘keys’ has been active in the recent revolution. Those people must be possessed of a high degree of organising power who could employ the services of English engineers to construct their railways, utilise the skill of these officers to the full, and at the same time keep them in total ignorance of the cost of the

works which they were executing. And yet, while they are ransacking Europe and America for the latest improvements in practical science, they are content to leave their country without roads, their ports without shelter from the storms, to shoe their horses with straw, and to wear themselves, when they wear anything to protect the feet, heavy wooden clogs, which prevent the freedom of locomotion, and turn the distinctive gait of man into a captive's shuffle.

It is clear that the relations which the Japanese have established with other races are of a wholly different nature from those which obtain between the negro tribes and those more civilised people with whom they have unfortunately come in contact. The negro has shown himself to be capable of a high degree of education so long as the contact with a white race is enforced. But the culture thus gained is neither permanent nor hereditary, and the tendency of the black races, if left alone, to revert to a state of barbarism seems to be irrepressible. The Japanese, on the other hand, however partial and imperfect be the portion of knowledge that he picks up from foreign sources, never loses it when once attained. He may be unable, from our point of view, to dovetail his new acquirement properly with his native ideas. But he wears the two side by side, even as he does the native *kimono* and the English wide-awake. A people like this may yet have surprises in store for the world.

But little is said by either of the authors under review on that inexhaustible subject, the costumes of the Japanese. The European felt hat, Sir E. J. Reed tells us, in its diversified forms, is now often worn with the native costume. The introduction of something like a European uniform for the policemen is mentioned by Miss Bird, who also figures the summer and winter dress of the peasantry. The former consists of a mushroom-shaped straw hat and an apology for a girdle. The latter is complicated and voluminous, the intention in each case being to suit the temperature, irrespective of any attention to what, in Western Europe, is regarded as decency in the one case or convenience in the other. As to this, however, the schoolmaster, or rather the policeman, is abroad. Miss Bird is in full accordance with M. Humbert as to the utter indifference with regard to clothing which is so marked a feature of the Japanese habits. The cry, 'Here is a foreigner,' was wont to fill the streets of each new town that she reached with a crowd in every variety of attire, or of the absence of it. But when travelling in her *kuruma*, or wheel-chair drawn by a man, at about 220 miles from Niagata,

Miss Bird's runner, or human horse, fell down on his face so suddenly in the shafts as nearly to throw her out, at the same time trying to wriggle into a garment which he carried on the cross-bar. The two young men who were drawing the two following *kurumas* at the same time endeavoured to scuttle into their clothes. This sudden sense of propriety was produced by the appearance of a policeman, who was leading a prisoner bound with a rope.

'I never saw such a picture of abjectness,' says our traveller, 'as my man presented. He trembled from head to foot . . . he literally grovelled in the dust, and with every sentence that the policeman spoke raised his head a little, to bow it yet more deeply than before. It was all because he had no clothes on. I interceded for him, as the day was very hot, and the policeman said he would not arrest him, as he should otherwise have done, because of the inconvenience that it would cause to a foreigner. He was quite an elderly man, and never recovered his spirits; but as soon as a turn of the road took us out of the policeman's sight, the two younger men threw their clothes into the air, and gambolled in the shafts, shrieking with laughter.' (*Unbcaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 296.)

At the capital we are told that the Mikado and his ministers, naval and military officers and men, the whole of the civil officials, and the police wear European clothes, as well as a number of dissipated-looking young men who aspire to represent young Japan. The Empress, however, and her ladies invariably wear the national costume. It is not said by either writer whether this is the case with the men on occasions of state. We have before us a paper on Japanese costume drawn up for the Asiatic Society of Japan by Professor Josiah Conder, of the Yokohama College, as recently as May 11, 1880, which describes and figures the dresses worn at the Court on various occasions.

'Perhaps,' says the author, 'there is no country in the world, unless it be China, in which such great importance has been attached to the minutiae of dress as in Japan. Not only the form and cut has been fixed according to station and rank, but rules of colour, pattern, fabric, and even such trivial matters as the plaits of a cord or the loops of a bow have been most strictly fixed. The inevitable restrictions of rank and caste also, as in all countries during a state of feudal government, have rendered imperative distinctions in the clothing of the various classes of the people. It would have been impossible in Japan, as indeed it was in Europe during the Middle Ages, for servants to assume the left-off finery of their masters. Each class, as may even now be noticed in some parts of the Western continent, had its distinctive style of costume. The broad distinctions, however, of king, courtier, soldier, priest, merchant, and peasant, have been in Japan so very conspicuous, including so many minor subdivisions of rank, and so many individual

rights, that such a classification is alone insufficient when applied to the subject of modes of attire. It is only natural to suppose that during the many centuries of Japanese civilisation there should have been considerable changes in the customs of clothing among the people; and yet, on the contrary, from the time of the establishment of fixed ranks and rules of ceremonial founded on those of China, very few important modifications seem to have taken place.' (*The History of Japanese Costume*, p. 335.)

The establishment of the different ranks, the same writer informs us, took place in the reign of Ko-toku Ten-no, about the year 650 A.D. In all there were nine ranks, some divided into two and others into four grades, making thirty grades in all. Of these the highest seems in some degree to have corresponded to apotheosis under the ancient Egyptian monarchy, or to canonisation in the Roman Church, being rarely bestowed on nobles during their lifetime, but granted as a posthumous honour. After this primary honour, the *Shō-ichi-i*, came the title of Shin-nō, which was bestowed on the heir to the throne, and on some of the nearest relatives of the Emperor, and occasionally upon the Shō-guns, or Sio-guns, even if not of royal blood. Full details as to these titles are to be found in the supplement to Klaproth's 'Annales des Dairis.' It will be seen that the last twelve years have witnessed a revolution in Japan in the matter of costume, of a far more complete character than has been effected during the whole course of 1,220 years from the establishment of grades of rank and their denotation by special costumes.

One of the questions that are rather suggested than elucidated by the volumes under review is that of the cause of the very inferior *physique* which characterises the natives of Japan. We are not accustomed to regard the Chinese as a race of great stature, but they are described as towering above these smaller Mongolians, and strutting through the streets of Yedo in superb clothing with a lordly air. The ethnographical problem which seems to us to be here indicated is this: How far has a residence of at least 2,500 years in the unusually damp climate of the Japanese islands deteriorated the race, and how far are their diminutive stature and stunted physical development due to inferiority of food, and to making, as Falstaff would have put it, 'many fish meals'? This latter question is all the more interesting as tending to throw some light on the contempt expressed for the ichthyophagites by nations who enjoyed a more substantial diet, as well as for the religious objection to the eating of fish which characterised the laws of certain ancient peoples. Even here,

however, the question may arise how far the appreciation of the want of savour that is attributed to the Japanese diet may be due to the depressing effect of the damp climate on the visitors. We know by experience that a loss of taste may accompany a residence in a very damp climate, and it requires more evidence than we have yet before us to decide whether this asserted tastelessness of fruit and other viands is objective or subjective. It is certain that a great deal too much has been said about the absence of perfume in the flowers and the silence of the birds of Japan. On crossing the Hakoné mountains Sir E. J. Reed speaks of the melody of the *uguisa*, a bird much celebrated in the poetry of the country. Although its vocal range is limited, it has some of the finest notes of the nightingale. Captain Hawes, quoted by the last-named author, speaks of the delicious perfume of the air during a tour in the interior of Japan, which he describes as not unlike the fragrance of the English meadowsweet. The fragrance of the plum tree is no less celebrated in Japanese poetry than the delicate beauty of its veil of white blossoms; and the clear note of the cuckoo, as well as the harsh voice of the jay, were heard by the same traveller, who protests against the theory that 'Japan is a country in which the birds do not sing and the flowers have no smell.' The beauty, colour, and odour of the fragrant pink blossoms of the cherry tree are also mentioned by Sir E. J. Reed as attracting the people of Kioto in large numbers to the tea-houses on the banks of the river Oigawa, when the trees are in flower in the month of April.

Captain H. C. St. John, in his very readable notes and sketches from the wild coasts of Nipon, tells us of that real songster, the lark, which he considers identical with our own species, of the delicious scent of the wild roses, the abundance of fragrant lilies, the overpowering perfume of the magnolia. A large jasmine, the flower being two inches and a half in diameter, is found in abundance all over the country, 'strong in delicious fragrance.' And while there are abundance of scentless flowers, such as the camellia, other flowers which with us have little scent, as the primrose, are fragrant in Japan.

The range of Japanese eatables, Miss Bird tells us, is almost unlimited; but she speaks at the same time of the food as almost tasteless. More than ninety kinds of sea and river fish seem to form the main staple of the diet of the people; being boiled, broiled, fried, raw, or actually alive when eaten. Whale steaks form an article in the *menu* which we should hardly have expected to be called tasteless. Salted and dried salmon

is another article of diet—it is not said whether it is ever smoked—which we can hardly think of as insipid. Eels are served with the national Japanese sauce called *shō-ya*, which is known to us under the name of soy, and is a very general element of Japanese cookery. It is made from fermented wheat and beans, with the addition of salt and vinegar, with a dash of *saké*, the native rice beer, thrown in. Cuttlefish is eaten raw. In Italy this creature affords a not unusual dish fried, and the resistance to the teeth given by its elastic substance is peculiar and far from unpleasing. Thirteen or fourteen kinds of shell-fish are eaten, including clams, cockles, and oysters. Rice, millet, and beans seem to take the place of bread. There are fourteen kinds of beans, besides peas, buckwheat, maize, potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, carrots, endive, cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, spinach, leeks, onions, garlic, chilies, capsicums, the fruit of the egg plant, yams, and various roots and seeds besides. In *daikon*, a famous national dish, to which Miss Bird gives the Linnæan name of *Raphanus sativus*, is a large white root pickled in brine, with rice bran, and its smell is described as ‘the worst smell I know of, except that of a skunk.’

Mushrooms are abundant. Among fruit the *kaki*, or persimmon, a large golden fruit on a beautiful tree, is said to be the finest. Oranges, apples, pears, quinces, plums, peaches, chestnuts, raspberries, and grapes, are all said by Miss Bird to be sour and flavourless. Pickles are ‘enormously consumed,’ but no cooking in which milk and butter are used is practised. Sweetmeats and confectionery are produced on all occasions. ‘A pot-boil of birds,’ in which quail, woodcock, and pheasant are ingredients, is said to be a favourite dish of the common people—a much more nutritious article of diet, we should fancy, than the ‘live preparation of Ko-i,’ in which one side of a carp, kept alive by sprinkling with water, is cut up into thin threads and eaten raw.

To the above articles of a not niggardly *cuisine* are added soups of various kinds, chiefly bean soup, egg soup, and clear soup. The latter is described as consisting of dirty water with a pinch of salt. The various combinations of these viands proper among well-to-do people are given on the authority of Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, of the Imperial Naval College, Tokio. The great want, from an English point of view, is that of meat, of milk, and of bread.

The *saké*, or rice beer, a straw-coloured beverage, contains from 11 to 17·5 per cent. of alcohol. Another form of spirituous liquor, *strochiu*, is taken cold at odd hours during the hot

season. Tea is the usual beverage at meals. It is prepared by having water not quite boiling poured over the leaves, which are not allowed to remain in the infusion. 'Usu-cha, which is made of powdered tea, and has the appearance and consistency of pea soup, is in high esteem among people rich enough to afford it.' But after this long list of articles of food and drink we are told that there is something about Japanese dishes 'so unpalatable to foreigners that it is only after long experience that any Englishman, otherwise than ruefully, swallows Japanese food.' As to this, however, Sir E. J. Reed is by no means in accordance with the lady traveller. He speaks with evident satisfaction of the merits of a Fusieda luncheon in a very good native inn or hotel at forty or fifty miles' distance from Kioto; of a private banquet at the next station, where he found the tea, which was prepared for the American market, excellent; and of a State dinner given at the house of Admiral Kawamura, which was 'served in European fashion, but with several pretty accompaniments unknown at home.' Among these was one known at least in our nurseries, if no longer produced in our dining-rooms—one to which the graceful pencil of Caldicott has given a fresh and undying charm in a child's book for the last Christmas holidays—a pie, out of which there flew a number of small birds, with written sentiments of welcome attached to their legs.' We cannot pretend to strike the balance between these two estimates of Japanese fare. We know that English residents in Japan make much use of tinned and preserved meats, such as are supplied by Crosse & Blackwell. But then it must be remembered that meat is generally absent from the Japanese diet, even as the tendance of cattle, and the consequent enrichment of the soil, is absent from their farming. Coming back, however, from the *cuisine* of the well-to-do Japanese, as explanatory of the doubt we before raised as to the effect of the common diet of the people in degenerating their *physique*, we cite Miss Bird's opinion that 'the diet of the poorer classes is meagre and innutritious, revolting in appearance and taste, and the quantities of sauces and pickles with which they render it palatable are very injurious to the digestive organs.' It is only fair, however, to add that the succeeding sentence, 'They even make a kind of curd or jelly from the water in which rice is boiled,' betrays such an ignorance of the fact that this water contains the most nutritious elements of the rice, as is well known in India, that we have some hesitation in accepting the fact that these 35,000,000 inhabitants of Japan live in a state of semi-starvation. It is evi-

dent that to her other accomplishments our lady traveller does not add that essentially feminine gift of being a practical cook.

It would appear to be a strange omission, in speaking of Japan, to say not a word on the subject of Japanese art. But it is impossible to attempt even a cursory view of this subject in the space at our command; and we look to an occasion of entering more at length into the subject. We can only call attention to some of those peculiarities in the art of Japan which differ as widely from the main features of Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, or Indian art, as if they were the productions of some distant planet. The influence of Chinese art on that of Japan is, however, another question.

First among these peculiarities should be noted the autochthonous birth, in Japan, of two industries, based on the special vegetable wealth of the country, the prosecution of which has led to the birth of two special decorative arts. The paper-mulberry and three or four other shrubs have supplied to the inventive faculties of the Japanese the elements of a substance in the manufacture of which the wasp, and some few others of the hymenoptera, have been almost his only pioneers. Paper made from this vegetable varies from the most delicate texture of lace-like or cambric fineness to solid roof-tiles or water-proof rain cloaks. More than sixty sorts of paper are distinguished, to each of which ancient custom has allotted its appropriate use. Again, the juice of the lacquer-tree (*Rhus vernicifera*) is one of the elements from which are made those durable and splendid kinds of varnish, ranging from plain red or black to a gold difficult to distinguish from the work of the goldsmith, of which the varieties and the modes of introduction are innumerable. We are even told of a river bridge covered with red lacquer, and the preparation may be made to resist the effects of boiling water. In the provision of paper and of lacquer, Nature herself has prepared the cradle of arts special to these wonderful islands. But the motives of the artists at times betray an origin that is not Japanese. A mystic symbolism, joined to a great purity of taste in the imitation of nature, has been indicated as the leading character of Japanese art. The fact that a style of drawing that is so admirably characteristic as to be almost deceptive, when applied to vegetable subjects, is replaced by what we can only call forcible caricature, when the human figure is portrayed, is special to Japan, and is the converse of what we find to be the case in Aryan art. While one school of design in Europe has aimed at the reproduction of objects as they appear to the

eye, and another has rather sought to depict them as they actually are, freed from the glamour of aerial perspective, or of any artistic harmony, we may say that the Japanese artist has rather sought to produce a direct and vivid impression on the mind. He throws a spray of wild cherry on a lacquered tray with such truth, that you may be tempted to try to raise it in order to smell the flower. But he scores firm sharp lines on his paper to denote driving rain, or he curls impossible tendrils to represent the fury of the sea or the scintillating malevolence of his diabolical monsters, which are not so much pictures as hieroglyphics. 'The favourite motives of their sculptures in wood,' says M. Humbert, 'are borrowed from the lines which the waves of the sea describe when crested with foam, or from basaltic rocks assaulted by the tide. Crows and bats hover on extended wings. The iris, the lotus, and the nenuphar spread their corollas; the bamboo, the cedar, the palm, the plum tree, the cornel, are either isolated or combined with graceful creepers. The builder's plummet represents the sun descending on the horizon.'

Among these motives borrowed from surrounding natural forms are to be found ancient relics of a forgotten origin. The Tosi-kamé is one of the most ancient monuments of indigenous art. It is an unknown bird of the size of a man. On some bronze vases of extreme antiquity are to be found sculptures representing the head or the scaled body of the crocodile, an animal unknown in Japan. The Foo is a mythological bird common to China and to Japan. The dragon and the monkey, two of the signs of the Japanese zodiac, are said to have been introduced into the country, together with Buddhism, from India. The sketches of the yema, or sacrificial horse, a drawing of which, made on white wood, has been formally deposited in the tomb of a person of importance, ever since the abandonment, in the first century of our era, of the ancient custom of sacrificing the warhorse and some of the servants of the defunct at his funeral, has a fire and a life for which the horses now found in Japan can hardly have been thought to supply the type. As examples of the communication of an idea to the imagination, in striking vigour, by a few broad touches of the pencil, it would be difficult to find anything to equal the force of some of these drawings of the yema.

The art of the goldsmith and of the jeweller, as we understand it in Europe, or even as it is developed in India, does not exist in Japan. Serpentine, malachite, amethyst, topaz, and probably other precious stones are found in the country,

but they have not been employed for the personal adornment of even the most coquettish women. The lapidaries of Yedo limit their work to cutting rock crystal, to which they have learned to give facets. The decoration of the arms of the nobles was formerly the work most akin to that of the European goldsmith. But in dealing with metal the Japanese artist has a power that his European rival can neither imitate nor comprehend. The combination of sculpture and of colour, the production of alloys of every tint, from a bright black to a delicate rose colour, are among the secrets of the Japanese smith. Besides gold, silver, steel, copper, and bronze, he has an alloy known as the metal of Saiva; and the mode in which he makes one metallic tint fade into another can only be described by supposing that some magician were to fix the colours of the spectrum by a process as delicate and as enduring as that of the electrotpe. From objects of the minutest size and greatest delicacy—fit for buttons, for brooches, or for almost microscopic observation—the skill of the Japanese artist ranges to the production of colossal vases, censers, and candelabra, and of statues and statuettes of saints, and sacred animals, such as the stork, the crane, the tortoise, and the fantastic dog of Corea, holding beneath his paw a hollow sphere that turns upon itself. The candelabra are especially rich and varied in design. Fantastic figures, elegant vegetables, great sea birds, little children playing with flowers, carry branches terminated with a point, on which a great taper of vegetable wax is stuck, as in some of our old ecclesiastical candlesticks.

With this extraordinary power, both in the graphic and the plastic representations of nature, is blended in the Japanese a mechanical skill that delights in what we should regard as childish surprise. We do not find among them that barbarous taste which in China—not to say in England in the time of Bacon—led to the production of geometric or of animal forms from the ill-used trees of the garden. But then the Japanese have a passion for dwarf trees laden with colossal flowers. Cages for birds and even for butterflies are hidden under creepers. Aquariums of all kinds bring fish into the family in unexpected modes. Little glass bells are suspended in the verandahs, furnished with a long and fine needle of metal, hung by a thread of silk, garnished with a paper sail, which the least movement of the wind causes to strike on the bell and produce a faint *Æolian* music. A red crab reposes at the bottom of a tall glass vase, from which it rises as water is poured into the vessel. Again, the prepara-

tion and the contest of kites evince the same disposition for what we may call mechanical amusement, which, if we may trust Miss Bird, is developed at a very early age, at the expense of what we are accustomed to regard as the more natural enjoyments of childhood. 'I have never seen,' she says, 'what we call child's play, that general abandonment to miscellaneous impulses which consists in struggling, slapping, rolling, jumping, kicking, shouting, laughing, and quarrelling.' It is consistent with this to find that there is no child's dress in Japan. The children go naked till they are three years old, and then they are attired in miniature copies of the dress of their elders. The construction of toy water-wheels and other mechanical toys is a common amusement of the boys, the motive power being supplied by the gutters in the streets. The construction of paper carts, which are harnessed by paper traces to beetles, is another of these solemn amusements, the insects being guided to draw loads of rice up an inclined plane. A stilt race appears to approach rather closer to our English ideas of fun. But then comes the saving clause that the most striking out-of-door games are played at fixed seasons of the year, and were not witnessed by the traveller.

Of the activity with which the education of the young is pursued in Japan we learn much, not only directly but indirectly, from the notes of Miss Bird. Obedience is the foundation of the Japanese social order, and prompt obedience, as well as formal and prescribed courtesy, is instilled into the children of both sexes from the earliest age. The use of Chinese as a scholastic language, while involving much apparently unnecessary labour, has probably much the same disciplinary value as the attainment of classical learning among ourselves. Out of five millions of children within the ages common for schooling more than two millions are said to be actually at school. Women are learning to teach, more than 800 female teachers being already engaged. The school fees are from one halfpenny to three-halfpence monthly, according to the means of the parents, but this does not include books. There are thirteen grades of teachers; the informant of the author, who was himself in the eighth grade, received a salary of 1*l.* per month.

One remarkable feature in the education of the Japanese youth is the habit of dramatising all the usual events of life—weddings, receptions, dinner parties, and the like—for the amusement of the performers, the children: who thus unconsciously acquire all the rules of Japanese etiquette at an

early age, and know what will be required by good manners on every occasion.

In attempting to form any estimate of the probable future of Japan we are at once confronted with that perplexed and thorny question which we have recently seen to be exciting so much disquiet among the statesmen of Italy. Education is carried to a high pitch in Japan. In that part of education which has been so signally neglected in the recent educational movement in England, the cultivation of courteous manners, the Japanese indeed are very far in advance of ourselves. We do not say that they may not overdo it. In fact, the extraordinary self-depreciation which accompanies or even underlies the courtesy of Japan seems to us to have in it something hollow and ignoble. But how far any kind of courtesy is to be maintained, if the religious motive and sanction vanish, it is hard to guess. Miss Bird does not speak with any encouragement as to the attempts that are made to introduce Christianity into Japan. The ancient prohibitions are now withdrawn. Christianity is quietly tolerated, and Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Protestants claim 27,000 converts among them out of the 35,000,000 Japanese. Among the population of Niigata, amounting to 50,000 souls, the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society are each represented by one missionary. The latter has made seven converts in five years. The good manners of the Japanese stand in the way of the exertions of these isolated foreigners, as any attempt to preach in the open air leads to the setting down of the preacher as on a level with a monkey player, juggler, and other vagabonds. The medical man, indeed, has a talisman which opens to him many a door; but while the numbers of patients and of pupils are large, we hear less of those of the converts. Dr. Palm, whose medical skill is noted and valued over a large area, has baptised thirty-one converts, two of whom are medical men. The great difficulty encountered is the general indifference of the Japanese to all religion.

‘The religious faculty,’ says Miss Bird, ‘appears to be lost out of the Japanese nature. It is a complete mistake to suppose that because the old faiths are decaying Japan is ripe for the introduction of a new one. The Empire has embarked on a career of material progress. Everything that tends in that direction is eagerly appropriated and assimilated, that which does not is rejected as of no account. I asked a highly educated and thoughtful young Japanese, who had just returned from a course of some years of scientific study in America, if he had ever studied religion, and his answer embodies at least the view of the

educated classes. "No. I had no time for anything that had not a "practical bearing." (*Unbeaten Tracks*, vol. i. p. 200.)

At the same time much interest is taken by the educated Japanese in any of those works which they regard as hostile to religious teaching. The works of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Herbert Spencer are highly popular in Japan, and the Japanese students who are educated by their government in England or America return, Miss Bird tells us, and tell their countrymen that 'no one of any intelligence or position now believes in Christianity, and that it is an exploded system, only propped up by the clergy and the uneducated masses.'

We hesitate to accept the judgments which a hasty traveller may form on so abstruse a subject as the religious faith of a strange people. In most regions of the world we think it is possible to trace the survival of certain elements of an earlier faith than that which is now accepted as the national religion. The degree to which the ancient pagan belief in the genii of woods, waters, mountains, trees, and the like, now survives among the Italians, is best known to those who have lived most among the Italian peasantry. Ancient rites, ancient personages, and even ancient images, though re-baptised under the name of Romish canonisations, are often essentially and undeniably pagan. All over Europe that vast body of superstitions, which, partly studied under the name of folk-lore, exert a very tangible influence over the conduct of very large numbers of persons, are in truth nothing but survivals of a pre-Christian faith. Especially is this seen in the veneration paid to the relics or to the memory of the dead—a form of faith which is everywhere prevalent in Japan. Question has been raised how far Shinto, which, before the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century of our era, was the only religion of Japan, was indigenous or was an importation from China. Mr. Satoro, whose papers in the 'Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society' and other writings are the chief authorities cited by recent writers on Japan, regards the Shinto as a very simple form of natural religion. The word itself is Chinese. The Japanese equivalent is *Kami-no-michi*, the way of the gods. The rites of religion occupy the first place in books which contain the rules and ceremonial of the court.

'After the introduction and adoption of Buddhism,' says Sir E. J. Reed, 'the national rites became neglected, but the Emperor Jin-to Ku, who reigned from 1211 to 1222 A.D., endeavoured to reform the court practice, and said, "the rule of the forbidden precinct is, that "the worship of the gods comes first, and other matters afterwards." At morning and evening the wise resolve to do honour to the gods

is carried out with diligence. Even in the slightest matters the Jingu (the temples of Isé) and the Naishi Dokoro are not to be placed after the Emperor.' (*Japan*, vol. i. p. 43.)

The following is quoted as a prayer used by the Mikado :—

'O God, that dwellest in the high plain of heaven, who art divine in substance and in intellect, and able to give protection from guilt and its penalties, to banish impurity, and to cleanse us from uncleanness—hosts of gods, give ear and listen to these our petitions.' (*Japan*, vol. i. p. 43.)

Some account of this vanishing faith, as well as of that rival Buddhist religion which in its ritual presents so curious a parallel to the rites of Roman or of Greek Christianity, will be found, compiled from the best accessible sources, in the book of Sir E. J. Reed. The most interesting extract in this work, which is abridged from a translation made by Captain J. M. James, of Tokio, from the Japanese original, is one for which we regret not to have space. It is an address given by a Buddhist priest, in 1878, on Tengan, or infinite vision. In the definition of the different kinds of vision described in the Buddhist Sutra, viz., mortal vision, infinite vision, the vision of the law, enlightened vision of a benevolent order, and divine vision, we might almost think that we were listening to the teaching of some of the later doctors of the Talmud. But the bold way in which the priest lays down the different methods of vision enjoyed by animals is so original that we cannot omit to cite it. Mortal vision, we are told, is

'of eight kinds: 1. Vision produced by the reflection of borrowed light (as of the moon, stars, or artificial light); to this human vision belongs. 2. Vision possessing innate power, needing no assistance from such borrowed lights: the vision of the cat, dog, rat, cow, and horse are of this order. 3. Vision obtained solely through the action of the light of the sun, such as that of pigeons, sparrows, and other birds, which can see only by day. "Cases have been known," said the priest, "of human beings marked by the like characteristic." 4. Vision which dreads or shuns the overpowering rays of the sun, such as that of owls, bats, &c. 5. Vision such as is possessed by the eagle and other birds of prey: "the eagle, if soaring up aloft, can distinctly "see the hunter as he sets his bait, thinking to entrap him, even though "the hunter be ten miles distant." 6. Sleepless vision, which is possessed by the fish tribes: "the eye of the fish never closes, nor does "it require rest." 7. Vision of the order which dogs and monkeys possess, having the power of seeing fairies, hobgoblins, and elves in their true form, so that its possessor cannot in any way be bewitched or led astray by such supernatural beings. "Human beings do not "possess this faculty of supernatural vision, and consequently are often "bewitched, beguiled, and led astray by foxes and racoon-faced dogs,

“ who temporarily put on the form of some object which entrances the
“ senses of the individual, and causes him to do whatever best pleases
“ the beguiler.” 8. Periodically changing vision, such as that of the
cat, which changes at noon and at midnight. “ I have now fully ex-
“ plained to you,” continued the priest, “ the eight different orders of
“ sight variously possessed by human beings and by the animal tribes
“ generally, each order differing considerably from the others. It
“ therefore should neither astonish nor perplex you if I tell you of the
“ existence of infinite vision.”’ (*Japan*, vol. i. p. 94.)

It is not merely to raise a smile that we have given this brief note of what is called a Buddhist sermon, in which, however, the mythological element is so much more distinctly to be traced than the religious element. The intermixture of careful observation with pure assumption is such as to throw some light on the quaint and marvellous self-contradictions of the Japanese character. There is the same resolve apparent to begin at the beginning, and exhaustively to survey the pale of thought, which is displayed in the manner in which Young Japan has carried out the inaugural promise of the present Mikado. There is the proof of careful observation of natural facts, as in the case of the nictitating membrane of the owl, the vertically-cloven pupil of the cat, and the lidless eyes of the fish. There is also a further process of observation, as in the case of the notice of the vision of the eagle, although this may perhaps be somewhat exaggerated. Side by side with this we find the assertion of magical powers attributed to certain animals, as of a well-known and indisputable fact. There is the confusion of the observed fact that certain animals see with very little light with the statement that they can see by means of light which they themselves emit. There is the attribution, as in Aryan folk-lore, of the power of seeing forms invisible to man to the dog, and also to the monkey, instead of, as in our ghost legends, to the horse. And there is the final leap from the physical to the metaphysical, from the human to the divine, which characterises all teaching that casts loose from the safe moorings of induction. We can partially understand, as we thus analyse the process of thought passed through by the Buddhist priest, how it is that there exists in Japan so much that is of a high order of taste and of intelligence, side by side with so many survivals of the child or of the savage.

ART. VI.—*The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ translated out of the Greek.* Being the Version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities, and revised A.D. 1881. Oxford and Cambridge University Press.

IT is now rather more than twenty-five years since we discussed in this Journal the propriety and duty of amending the form of the publication of the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures then in use, and of subjecting the version itself to revision by a competent body of scholars and theologians, acting under the authority of the Crown.* Since that period a vast improvement has been made by the publication of the Old and New Testaments in numerous editions which leave nothing to be desired in point of typography. The poetry is distinguished from the prose, and the sense is no longer broken by obtrusive divisions of chapters and verses, useful only for the purpose of reference. But a far greater work remained to be accomplished. The text of the Scriptures had yet to be cleared from error by the light of modern criticism, and the language of Scripture in our modern tongue to be adapted to the vernacular intelligence of the people, without impairing the matchless dignity, solemnity, and beauty of the elder version. We expressed a hope in 1855 that a time might come when a company of erudite persons should be appointed under the Royal Head of the Anglican Church to perform this work, and we have now the happiness to see an important portion of it completed. The presentation to Queen Victoria of the Revised Version of the New Testament, prepared by her command, is unquestionably an event of great historical moment and interest in the annals of her Majesty's reign, of the Church of England, and of the Protestant faith of this nation, and we heartily trust that it will conduce to the spread of piety and sound learning throughout the English-speaking world; for a work like this is addressed to future ages and to the British race in all parts of the globe. But at the same time we cannot but express our apprehension that in some respects the expectations entertained of this work will be disappointed. Nor can we omit to notice that the authors of this Version have preserved an ungenerous and unbecoming silence as to the labours of their predecessors in this labour. The 'Speaker's Bible' especially anticipated

* See 'Edinburgh Review,' vol. cii. p. 418, 'Paragraph Bibles.'

by several years the formation of these Venerable Companies; and although in that edition the text of the Authorised Version has been retained, there is scarcely any question of verbal or theological criticism which is not discussed and elucidated in the notes, often with great ability.

So long a period of time has elapsed since the last revision of the New Testament, and so great is its superiority to all the preceding translations, that we are exposed to the strong temptation of attaching to the so-called Authorised Version an attribute of finality to which those who were concerned in its production, laid no claim, and to which, for reasons that we purpose to adduce, it cannot justly be regarded as entitled. The profound and varied learning of King James's revisers, now universally admitted by all competent scholars, and their marvellous command of the English tongue, as displayed in those parts of their work in which the Authorised Version varies from all its predecessors, as well as their consummate skill in the selection and retention of those words and phrases which had been adopted in some one or other of the earlier versions, justly entitle them to the grateful admiration of the English-speaking people of all countries and of all times. It would occupy too much of the limited space at our command were we to dwell upon a theme on which other and abler writers have so frequently and so eloquently expatiated. It must suffice us to observe that if, in our comparison of the Authorised Version of A.D. 1611 with the Revised Version of A.D. 1881, we shall have occasion to point out some of the errors or deficiencies of the former, the result of our investigation has been to enhance in no small degree the high estimate which we had previously formed of the merits of a work which, when judged by the standard of the age in which it was produced, may well be regarded as unsurpassed in the entire range of literature, whether sacred or profane.

The same reason which we have assigned for not dwelling on the merits of the Authorised Version of 1611 constrains us also to restrict within the narrowest limits our historical survey of its numerous predecessors. However important, both in its immediate and in its ultimate results, the version of the Holy Scriptures produced in the fourteenth century by Wycliffe and Nicholas de Hereford, and revised by Purvey, that version, as it is well known, was not derived directly from the original sources, but was simply a translation from the Latin Vulgate. It was reserved for the illustrious Tyndale, the importance of whose work is now felt and acknowledged, to confer upon the English Church and nation a boon of the

same character as that which Jerome conferred upon the Western Church collectively, and, as regards the whole of the New Testament and a portion of the Old Testament, to accomplish the one absorbing object of his life—viz., to cause the boy that drove the plough to know more of the Scriptures than the higher dignitaries of the Roman Church. It was not until Tyndale had learned by bitter experience that there was no place in England in which this work could be accomplished that he resolved to encounter ‘poverty, exile, bitter absence’ from friends, hunger, and thirst, and cold,’ in the execution of his great design. It was at Hamburg, where he first found refuge, that he began to print the New Testament; and it was at Cologne that he appears to have completed the task which he had undertaken. It was at Worms, where Luther had a few years previously borne witness before the Emperor, that Tyndale prepared two more editions of his New Testament; and it was at Vilvorde, near Brussels, in the year 1536, after thirteen years of exile, poverty, and persecution, that this illustrious martyr, when fastened to the stake, uttered his last prayer for the accomplishment of the work to which he had cheerfully devoted his life, ‘Lord, open the King of England’s eyes.’

One year previously to the martyrdom of Tyndale, Coverdale had completed his translation of the Old and New Testaments, and there appear to have been two distinct issues of the work in the year 1535, and one in the year 1536. As regards those portions of the Old Testament which Tyndale had completed—viz., the Pentateuch and the Book of Jonah, and the entire New Testament, Coverdale availed himself freely of Tyndale’s translations, revising them by the aid of the Swiss-German version of Zwingli and Leo Judah, with constant reference to Luther, Pagninus, and the Vulgate. In the year following, another edition of the English Bible, to which the name of Matthew has been given, was ready for publication. This Bible was composed of Tyndale’s translation of the Pentateuch and of the New Testament, a translation of the books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles, which Tyndale is believed to have left behind him, and of the remaining books of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha from the Bible of Coverdale. Professor Westcott, of whose ‘History of the English Bible’ we have availed ourselves, directs the special attention of his readers to the fact that the New Testament of Matthew’s Bible differs considerably in details from Tyndale’s revised edition of 1534, but is found to coincide, except in slight and probably accidental varia-

tions, with the last edition which Tyndale published in 1535, an edition which, as the title-page affirms, was 'diligently 'corrected and compared with the Greek.'

In the year 1539, the Great Bible appeared. This Bible contained the text of Matthew's Bible as its basis, revised by Coverdale with the help of Sebastian Münster's Latin version of 1534-5. Other editions of this Bible, with Archbishop Cranmer's Prologue, followed in 1540 and 1541. The supervision of two of these editions was entrusted by King Henry VIII. to Bishops Tunstall and Heath. The former of these prelates had been amongst the fiercest of the opponents of Tyndale, and was actively concerned in the collection and burning of such copies of the New Testament as his agents had been able to procure; and so it was, as Professor Westcott remarks, that 'at last, by a strange 'irony, "my lord of London" authorised what was in a 'large part substantially the very work of Tyndale, which he 'had before condemned and burnt.' Many new editions of the Bibles previously published appeared in the reign of Edward VI., but no new translation or revision was undertaken during that period. Towards the end of the reign of Queen Mary, during which no English Bible appeared, the work of revision was energetically and successfully carried on by the English refugees at Geneva; and in the year 1557 the celebrated Genevan Testament appeared, with an Introductory Epistle by Calvin. The complete translation of the Bible followed in 1560, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, whose accession to the throne had partially broken up the Genevese colony, but did not interfere with the work of revision. The Genevan Bible was the work of able and accomplished scholars, who were capable of the work of translation as well as of revision; and their work is justly described by Professor Westcott as 'the most important 'revision which the English Bible underwent before the final 'settlement of the received text.'

Little need be said about the Bishops' Bible, which was undertaken by Archbishop Parker about 1563-4, and, with the aid of several of the bishops and other learned men, was completed and published in 1568. A second and revised edition of this Bible appeared in 1572. The execution of this work, as may be inferred from some of the correspondence which is still extant, is in some respects unsatisfactory. The Hebrew scholarship of the revisers was manifestly unequal to the task which they undertook. 'The revision of the New 'Testament, however,' as Professor Westcott has observed, 'will repay careful study.'

The Rhemish Bible, like that of Wycliffe, is professedly based upon the Vulgate. The New Testament appeared at Rheims in 1582, and the Old Testament at Douay in 1609. The importance of this translation in connexion with the history of the so-called Authorised Version of the English Bible consists chiefly in the facts that it contains a large number of the Latin words which were adopted by King James's revisers, and that much of the influence of the Vulgate upon their revision of 1611 must be traced to the Rhemish Bible. It is deserving of notice that the Rhemish translators made no mention of their obligations to the earlier English translations, which formed the basis of their own version.

The general outlines of the history of the revision which was undertaken shortly after the accession of King James I. are so familiar to English readers that we may dismiss this portion of our subject in few words. The Royal Commission under which this revision was undertaken was issued in 1604. The revisers were divided into six companies, of which two met at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. The manner in which the selection of the revisers was made is not known, but it is probable that they were nominated by the two Universities and approved by the King. Only forty-seven of the fifty-four names to which reference is made by the King in a letter addressed by him to Bishop Bancroft, appear upon the lists of the respective companies. Amongst these are found the names of the following well-known scholars, viz., Bishops Andrewes and Overall; Savile, Provost of Eton; Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Saravia, Canon of Canterbury; Lively, Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge; and Bedwell and Boys, both of whom were distinguished for their Oriental learning. The instructions to the two companies of revisers, which are supposed to have been drawn up by King James himself, were judicious, scholarlike, and liberal. Although the Royal Commission was issued in 1604, and the work did not appear until 1611, the time actually occupied in its execution appears from the preface to have been somewhat short of three years, or, as Dr. Miles Smith somewhat fancifully computes it (in allusion to the fabulous account of the composition of the Septuagint), 'twice seven times seventy-two days and more.' The whole of the work was divided into six portions, and distributed amongst the six companies in such a manner that the Westminster Company had the early portion of the Old Testament and the latter half of the New Testament, the Oxford Company the latter portion of the Old Testa-

ment and the Four Gospels and Acts, and the Cambridge Company the middle portion of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. When a revision was completed at the different centres, two members were selected from each company to superintend the final preparation of the work for the press in London. About nine months appear to have been occupied in this preparation, and the work itself appeared from the press of Robert Barker in 1611, in the form of a well-printed, but unwieldy, folio volume. It is stated upon the title-page that this new translation or revision—for the book is said to be ‘*newly translated*’ out of the original ‘*tongues*,’ as well as ‘*diligently compared with the former translations and revised*’—is *appointed to be read in churches*. It is difficult to understand the meaning of these words, inasmuch as no evidence has hitherto been adduced in proof that this version received any authoritative sanction from Convocation or Parliament, or from the Privy Council or the King. Nor does the so-called Authorised Version appear to have practically superseded the Genevan version for a space of many years. Thus we find that Bishop Andrewes, when preaching before King James at Whitehall, takes his text for the most part from the Genevan Bible many years after the publication of that version which had been executed, as we have seen, in virtue of a Royal Commission issued by King James, of which Bishop Andrewes was himself one of the most distinguished members. We may observe further that, although no complete edition of the Bishops’ Bible was printed after the year 1611, the Genevan Bible continued to be published both in London and in Amsterdam; and there can be no doubt that it was extensively used, at least in private, for many years after the publication of the so-called Authorised Version. By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the pre-eminent merits of the last revision, embodying, as it did, the results of the labours of the best English and Continental scholars during the century which preceded its publication, were almost universally acknowledged; and from that time the revision of 1611 has been regarded as the acknowledged standard of faith and practice by the English-speaking nations throughout the world.

We may not pause to dwell upon the abortive attempts which were made during the Commonwealth for ‘a new translation of the Bible out of the original tongues,’ or upon the numerous ‘amended’ versions of the whole or parts of the Sacred Scriptures which have appeared at various intervals during the last two hundred and fifty years, which, for the

most part, have failed to secure any extensive circulation or to leave behind them any permanent results. Much has undoubtedly been done during that period in the way of preparation for the work which has been reserved for our own time. As regards the text of the Old Testament, the chief practical value of the unwearied labours of Kennicott and De Rossi has been to confirm the conclusions at which our ablest scholars had already arrived in respect to the general fidelity of the commonly received, i.e. the Masoretic text; and this conclusion, we are now enabled to state, will be yet further corroborated by the publication of the arduous and important work of Dr. Ginsburg, embodying the results of labours extending over many years, of which the first instalment has already appeared. As regards the text of the New Testament, with which we are more directly concerned in the present article, the Revisers of 1881 are placed in a position altogether different from that of their predecessors in the seventeenth century. At the time when the Commission of King James I. was issued in 1604, not only was the science of textual criticism in its infancy, if indeed it could be said to have come into existence, but, as regards the New Testament, the materials upon which it was to work had not as yet been brought to light. The manuscripts of the New Testament are, as it is well known, divided into two classes, the Uncial manuscripts, i.e. those which are written in Greek capitals, and the Cursives, which are written in small characters, corresponding more nearly with the mode of writing now commonly adopted. The line of demarcation between these two classes of manuscripts may be assigned, with a sufficient degree of accuracy, to the tenth century. The number of uncial manuscripts hitherto discovered, to which a date anterior to the tenth century may be assigned, is under 150, and that of cursive manuscripts, dating from the tenth to the fifteenth century, is under 1,500. It will be found upon examination, as Bishop Ellicott has pointed out, that the English revision of A.D. 1611 was based upon the text of Beza's Greek Testament of 1582, and upon that of Stephens's Greek Testament of 1550, which differ so little from each other that they may be regarded for all practical purposes as one and the same edition. Now it appears that both of these editors had a certain amount of critical materials at their disposal, but that neither made much use of them. Beza possessed the celebrated manuscript which bears his name, the Codex Bezae, containing the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and also the Claromontane Manuscript containing the Epistles. Stephens, in his first edition, made use of

certain MSS. which were found in the Royal Library at Paris, and he published in his third edition a list of some 2,200 various readings from different MSS., one of which was the Codex Bezae. Notwithstanding, however, the fact that these materials were not only within his reach, but had been partially employed by him, he nevertheless, in his third edition, made but little use of them, and adopted for the most part the fourth edition of the text of Erasmus, which was published in the year 1516. This edition was brought out by Erasmus in great haste with the view of anticipating, as it did, the publication of the Complutensian New Testament of Cardinal Ximenes. The consequence of this precipitancy was that although there was one, amongst the MSS. that Erasmus used which is of the highest critical value, and although he might even have obtained through his friend Paulus Bombasius a transcript, or at least a collation, of the Vatican Manuscript itself, he made but little use of either. He rejected, we are told, the readings of the former because they were so different from the other MSS. which he consulted; and, as regards the latter, he appears to have contented himself with referring to it in regard of the 'three witnesses' of 1 John v. 7, and obtaining a transcript of a portion of the same chapter. It appears further that the single MS. of the Apocalypse which Erasmus used was so defective that he was constrained to produce a text by retranslation of the Vulgate into his own Greek. Some corrections were introduced into the fourth edition of this work, which is virtually that upon which the Authorised Version of 1611 is founded. Notwithstanding these corrections it has been alleged, and apparently upon good authority, that there are words in the two editions of the Greek Testament from which the English version of 1611 was made, having no manuscript authority whatever: these were inserted as the Greek equivalents of a Latin version, certainly no accurate representation of the original Greek, of which Erasmus possessed only a corrupt text. We cannot undertake even a cursory description of the materials for the formation of a critical text of the New Testament which are now available, and we must content ourselves with referring those of our readers who desire to form a just estimate of their extent and value to Bishop Ellicott's valuable work on the revision of the English New Testament. It must suffice us to observe that of the two oldest MSS., the Vatican and the Sinaitic, both of which are assigned by the most competent judges to the fourth century, the former contains nearly the whole, and the latter the whole, of the New Testament; and

that in addition to the numerous MSS., both uncial and cursive, of later dates, we have three MSS. of nearly as early a date as the two already named, viz., the nearly complete Alexandrian MS. which was presented to King Charles I. by Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria; the fragmentary rescript which bears the name Codex Ephrem^s (the original writing having been in great measure erased to allow of a work of Ephrem the Syrian being written upon the same parchment), both probably of the fifth century; and for the Gospels and Acts the valuable Codex Bezae, which is assigned to about the middle of the sixth century. For St. Paul's Epistles we have, in addition to the Vatican, Sinaitic, and Alexandrian MSS., not only the Codex Ephremi, but also the very important Claromontane and Augiensian MSS.; for the Catholic Epistles the four oldest MSS.; and for the Apocalypse, in addition to the Sinaitic MS. and the Codex Ephremi, a valuable MS. of the eighth century which is now in the Vatican library.

But it is not only in regard to the possession of the materials on which a trustworthy text may be based that the Revisers of 1881 occupy a position widely different from that of their predecessors in 1611. The collation of ancient MSS., dispersed amongst the various public libraries of Europe, is a work involving no inconsiderable amount of time and labour, even on the part of those who have acquired by long practice the art of deciphering those MSS. with comparative facility. And hence it is a boon of inestimable value to the Biblical student of the present day, that instead of being constrained to undertake this expenditure of time and labour himself or to trust to the results of collations made at his request by others who may not be equally competent for the task, he has the results of such collations, as regards eight of the most important MSS., in so accessible a form that he is able, as Bishop Ellicott observes, 'to read and study the text of each in its sequence and connexion, and so to form a more trustworthy judgment of the peculiar character of the individual document.' In addition, moreover, to the facilities thus afforded of examining the principal uncial manuscripts, the Biblical scholar of the present time is enabled, in virtue of the labours not only of Dr. Tischendorf and other continental critics, but of Dr. Tregelles, Mr. Scrivener, and other English scholars, to arrive at a much more accurate knowledge of all the leading *cursive* manuscripts, and to assign to them their proper degree of importance in the determination of the text.

In like manner as regards the ancient versions of Holy Scripture, although much remains to be done in this depart-

ment of sacred literature, very great advance has been made within the present century. Much also has been done by individual editors of the whole or parts of the New Testament in regard to questions of textual criticism, as well as in regard to the exegesis of particular passages involving points of peculiar difficulty. The quotations which are found both in the Greek and Latin fathers have also been examined with a degree of care and accuracy which was unknown until the present time; whilst as regards the important aids which are furnished to the Biblical student by lexicons, concordances, and grammars, it may suffice to observe that almost the whole of those which are now in the hands of scholars, and which are held in the highest estimation by them, are the productions of the present century, and, for the most part, of the last twenty years.

Under such circumstances it can be no matter of surprise that an increasing anxiety was felt on the part of Biblical scholars to take advantage of the opportunities thus afforded for correcting the errors, whether textual or grammatical, of the Authorised Version, and to present it to English readers in a form in which it more closely approximates to the Hebrew and Greek original. The first practical step in the work of revision which has led to the production of the volume now before us, was the publication in March, 1857, of a Revision of the Gospel of St. John by 'Five Clergymen'—viz., the present Bishops of Gloucester and Salisbury, Dr. Alford, the late Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Barrow, and Mr. Humphrey—a work which was followed at no great intervals of time by a revised edition of the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, and the Colossians. It is not unworthy of remark that the 'Five Clergymen,' afterwards reduced to four, were accustomed to meet regularly at the Vicarage of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, where the Revisers of 1881, according to the 'Guardian' of November 17, 1880, took their farewell dinner after the termination of their larger and more arduous undertaking. But no steps of importance were taken for nine years towards the promotion of the object which was contemplated by the 'Five Clergymen,' and it was not until the year 1869 that a complete revision of the whole of the New Testament was put forth by one of their number, in which the fruit of the joint labours of his associates was embodied with slight alterations.*

* The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, after

In the preface to this volume the late Dean Alford expresses his conviction of the impossibility that one man's work should ever fulfil the requisites for an accepted version of the Holy Scriptures, and he states that the objects proposed in its publication were mainly these, viz. (1) 'to keep open the great question of an authoritative revision;' (2) 'to show the absolute necessity of such a measure sooner or later;' and (3) 'to disabuse men's minds of the fallacies by which the Authorised Version is commonly defended.' After exposing in few words the ignorance and unfairness which are often displayed in the objections which are urged against attempts to revise the received English version of Holy Scripture, the writer concludes his preface in these words:—

'The Reviser has only to express his wish and prayer that this work may as soon as possible be rendered useless by the more matured and multifarious labour of a Royal Commission. Such a Commission he believes the various sections of the Church in this realm fully able to furnish with members; and he doubts not that its issue would be a new authorised version, founded upon the old, but everywhere, by its own weight of excellence, superseding it.'

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol sympathised with the views thus expressed, not only in regard to the necessity and importance of a new revision of the Bible, but also in regard to the composition of the body by which so important a work should be undertaken, and the authority under which they were to act. After many conferences upon the subject with Dean Alford, Bishop Ellicott communicated his views to the late Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Wilberforce, who, in his turn, conferred with Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister. Finding from Mr. Gladstone that there were great, if not insuperable, difficulties, in his judgment, attending the appointment of a Royal Commission, Bishop Wilberforce resolved to bring the subject before the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, a body to which it had on former occasions been submitted, but without meeting with any general acceptance. Accordingly, on February 10, 1870, the Bishop of Winchester proposed a resolution, which was seconded by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, to the effect that a

the Authorised Version, newly compared with the original Greek and revised by Henry Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. 1869. It deserves to be noticed that the Paragraph Bibles published by the Religious Tract Society, at the instigation of the late Mr. Joseph Gurney, contain many valuable suggestions and improvements of the text.

joint Committee of both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury should be appointed, with power to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the Convocation of the Northern Province, 'to report upon the desirableness of a revision of the Authorised Version of the New Testament.' The Bishop of Llandaff suggested that the inquiry should not be confined to the desirableness of an improved version of the New Testament, but that the inquiry should be extended to the Old Testament, and moved as an amendment the insertion of the words 'Old and,' which amendment was seconded by the Bishop of St. David's (Thirlwall), and the resolution of the Bishop of Winchester, as thus amended, was put and agreed to in the following terms: 'That a Committee of both Houses be appointed, with power to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the Convocation of the Northern Province, to report upon the desirableness of a revision of the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testaments, whether by marginal notes or otherwise, in all those passages where plain and clear errors, whether in the Hebrew or Greek text originally adopted by the translators, or in the translations made from the same, shall be found to exist.'* On the following day the resolution of the Upper House of Convocation was communicated to the Lower House, coupled with the request 'that the Convocations of Armagh and Dublin, as well as the Convocation of York, might be communicated with on this important inquiry.' The assent of the Northern House of Convocation was not formally asked, and some difference of opinion was expressed at York on the subject; but in the meantime the Joint Committee appointed by the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury had, after careful deliberation, arrived at the conclusions which are expressed as follows in the report which was read to the Lower House of Convocation on May 5, 1870:—

(1) 'That it is desirable that a revision of the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken.

(2) That the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the Authorised Version.

(3) That in the above resolutions we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except where in the judgment of the most competent scholars such change is necessary.

* See Chronicle of Convocation, vol. ii. p. 74.

(4) That in such necessary changes the style of the language employed in the existing version be closely followed.

(5) That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong.'

In accordance with the last of these resolutions, the two Houses of Convocation appointed a Committee, consisting of eight members from each House, who proceeded without delay to invite scholars belonging to different religious bodies to join one or other of the two Companies into which they divided themselves—the one for the revision of the Old Testament, and the other for the revision of the New Testament—and having first drawn up some rules for the guidance of both Companies, they addressed themselves, in the month of June, 1870, to the important task which they had taken in hand, the Old Testament Company beginning their work with the revision of the Pentateuch, and the New Testament Company with that of the Synoptical Gospels.

It appears from a speech delivered by the Dean of Westminster in the Lower House of Convocation on February 16, 1871, that, in accordance with a resolution which had been adopted on July 7 in the preceding year, an invitation was addressed by the Bishop of Winchester and by the Dean of Westminster both to the Episcopalian and non-Episcopalian scholars of the United States to co-operate with the English Companies in the work of revision. The object proposed in this co-operation was not only to obtain for the respective Companies, in accordance with the fifth of the original resolutions, the aid of many competent scholars on the other side of the Atlantic, but also to secure, if possible, for the forthcoming revision, the same general reception in America which it was hoped that the co-operation of scholars belonging to the various religious bodies in England would ensure for it in this country. The invitation thus addressed to American scholars was promptly and cordially accepted, and the American Committee, divided, as in England, into two Companies, was duly organised in the course of the year 1871, and began active work in October, 1872.

The mode of operation adopted in regard both to the English and the American Companies may be briefly described as follows:—At the first revision of each book, after each verse has been read in Hebrew or Greek, and in English according to the Authorised Version, the suggestions of any absent members have been read by the respective secretaries, and

any proposal made either by absent or present members, if seconded by a member present, has become a substantive proposition, to which any member has been at liberty to speak, either for or against its adoption. If approved by a simple majority of members, the vote of the absent member who proposed any emendation being taken into account, such emendation has been adopted at the first revision, subject, however, to being challenged on the second revision, on which occasion, unless approved by two-thirds of the members present, as provided by the fifth of the rules already quoted, it has fallen to the ground, and the Authorised Version, unless any other emendation has secured the same majority, has been restored. In this manner the whole of the New Testament has been not only twice, as originally proposed, but, for the greater part, thrice revised.*

In regard to the co-operation of the American Companies, the course adopted has been to transmit copies from time to time of the several books, as revised by the English Companies. The American Companies have carefully examined these copies, and transmitted to the English Companies such suggestions upon them as have been adopted by a majority of the members. These suggestions have been considered by the English Companies, and many of them adopted. A table has been drawn up of the comparatively unimportant readings and renderings of the American Companies, which is inserted at the end of the volume.

We wish we could say that the high hopes and expectations with which this important work has been undertaken and carried on are justified by the result; but, as we shall presently have occasion to show, there are grave reasons to believe that the Revised Version will not command the undivided reverence of the world, and will certainly not replace the immortal language of the English Bible. As the character of the English Version must be affected by the readings adopted in the Greek text by the Revisers, it is necessary to call attention to some salient points in connexion with it. This task is rendered easier by the publication, in a continuous text, of the readings adopted by the revisers, of which an accurate list

* It may seem almost superfluous to state that all the members of the two Companies, whether they are members of the Committee appointed by Convocation or not, have an equal vote on every question which arises for discussion in connexion with the work of revision. At the conclusion of the work it rests with the members of the Committee appointed by Convocation to present the results to the body by which they were appointed.

has been furnished to the Delegates and Syndics of the University Presses.* We are able to see, therefore, what changes are simply matters of translation, and what result from more correct readings than the *Textus Receptus* supplies. We note that the passage of 'the three heavenly witnesses' (1 John v. 7) has been expunged, and that without note or comment, so unanimous are all critics in pronouncing it spurious. Peace also reigns on another battle-field of textual criticism, and 'without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness; He 'who was manifested in the flesh' (1 Tim. iii. 16), embodies the universally acknowledged reading. Faithfulness to their critical canons has compelled the Revisers to omit the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, and to accept the shortened recension in St. Luke, though the doxology is found in the four Syriac Versions, the Thebaic, Gothic, and Armenian, and in Chrysostom. The pericope of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53—viii. 11) is inserted in the text, but enclosed in square brackets, and the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel (Mark xvi. 9-20), while admitted to the same place, has attention called to the difficulties attending its reception. Some verses are removed from the text, and amongst them those containing the descent of the angel into the pool (John v. 3, 4); the prophecy of the parting of the garments of our Lord (Matt. xxvii. 35) at the time of the Crucifixion; the notification by St. Mark (Mark xv. 28) of the fulfilment of prophecy; the rebuke to the disciples (Luke ix. 55) when they desired to bring fire on the Samaritan village; the statement to the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii. 37) of the necessity of faith before baptism; and the liberty of Christians (Rom. xiv. 6) not to observe certain days. On the other hand, one verse (1 John ii. 23), which has been printed in italics, is now

* Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, The Greek Testament with the Readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorised Version. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1881.

'The New Testament by John Brown McClellan' furnishes a vigorous defence of the *Textus Receptus* as a whole, and contains a valuable compendium of objections to the current opinions on textual criticism. While these sheets have been passing through the press Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort have published the first volume of their 'New Testament in the original Greek.' It has long been anticipated by English scholars; and if the second volume fulfils the promise of the appendix in the first volume, it will furnish a unique treatise on textual criticism. As might be expected, these scholars differ in their text, in many places, from that adopted by the revisers; but these last are more cautious and conservative in their decisions.

rescued from the imputation cast upon it. The adoption of the reading, 'in whom we have redemption' (Col. i. 4), omitting *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ*, and 'our only Master and Lord, 'Jesus Christ' (Jude 4), *τὸν μόνον δεσπότην*, proves the honesty of the revisers, and gives greater weight to their opinion when they read, 'sanctify in your hearts Christ, as 'Lord' (1 Pet. iii. 15), *Κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστόν*, instead of *Θεόν*; and the unusual collocation (in Acts xx. 28) of 'the 'Church of God which he purchased with his own blood.' The freedom from theological bias is further shown in their rejection (in John i. 18) of 'the only begotten God' (*μονογενὴς Θεός*), of which some of their number are known advocates, and for which the evidence is exceedingly strong. Some of the readings when combined with a spirited translation impart picturesqueness to the narrative, as when Mark ix. 23 is rendered 'If thou canst'!; 'there arose therefore a questioning 'on the part of John's disciple with a Jew' (John iii. 25); 'What is this? a new teaching!' (Mark i. 27); 'But should 'we say, From men—they feared the people' (Mark xi. 32); 'When he heard him he was much perplexed' (*ἠπόρει*) (Mark vii. 20); and 'I will make three tabernacles' (*ποιήσω*), in perfect accordance with Peter's impetuosity. English readers will resent the new rendering (1 Cor. xv. 55), 'O death, 'where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting;' but the loss of the familiar words is inevitable, if a correct text is to be the basis of a faithful translation. We regret that the majority of the revisers determined to accept the reading *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας* (Luke ii. 14), which is opposed to a very respectable weight of critical opinion, and still more that they adopted the unrhythmical periphrasis, 'among men in whom 'he is well pleased,' in place of the consecrated expression 'good-will to men.'

We must now pass to the English Version, and that we may judge the work fairly we turn to the preface where we learn the exact aim of the revisers. A faint odour of pedantry hangs over this too elaborate document, there are ominous references to the niceties of Greek grammar, and much stress is laid upon the insertion and omission of the article. We are warned, and not altogether unjustly, to suspend our judgment concerning many of the alterations that have been made 'for a convergence 'of reasons which, when explained, would at once be accepted; 'but until so explained might never be surmised even by intelligent readers.' The fear excited by such a sentence is, however, allayed by the panegyric pronounced on 'this great

‘ Version ’ by the revisers, who say, ‘ the longer we have been engaged upon it, the more we have learned to admire its simplicity, its dignity, its power, its happy turns of expression, its general accuracy, the music of its cadences, and the felicities of its rhythm.’ But we cannot read a chapter of the Gospels without perceiving the diametrically opposite principles which govern the procedure of the revisers of 1611 and of 1881. The former coveted earnestly, as the best gifts of translators, forcible English. They determined to make their version flexible and rhythmical ; they cared but little for precision and minute accuracy ; and literal reproduction of their original they utterly ignored, even to the verge of the limits prescribed to faithful rendering from one language to another. Our revisers strive, with undoubted learning and almost incredible industry, to reproduce the very order and turn of the words, the literal force of each tense and mood, and the rendering of each Greek term by the same English equivalent as far as practicable. They have obtained their ends, but at too great a price. In the Gospels, especially, they had to deal with what was, at first, a preacher’s narrative, often repeated and brought into its general form by the exigencies of public audiences. It was further, in its substance, the record of men who thought as Hebrews even when they wrote as Hellenists, and therefore it presented peculiar difficulties to those who would make it the heritage of English people, and maintain as far as possible the familiar words of the former version. Our revisers have subjected their original to the most exhaustive grammatical analysis, every chapter testifies to the fear of Wiener that was before their eyes, and their familiarity with the intricacies of modern verbal criticism. But the reader who was conversant with the old version—and what Englishman, cultured or untaught, was not so conversant ?—is surprised and irritated by the inversion of familiar phrases, by a multitude of minute alterations, and by the occurrence of cumbrous periphrases. Every phase of New Testament scholarship was represented in the New Testament Company, but the niceties of idiomatic English appear to have found no champion, and no voice was raised to warn these eminent scholars of the dangers that threatened their work from over-refinement. It is true that this unhappy flaw cannot destroy the labour of a decade, but it mars the symmetry and cripples the efficiency of this version to a serious degree. The following list of inversions and unnecessary changes occurring in the first chapter of St. John’s Gospel will illustrate our meaning.

New Version.

When the Jews sent unto him from Jerusalem priests and Levites to ask him.

Isaiah the prophet.

In the midst of you standeth one whom ye know not, the latchet of whose shoe I am unworthy to unloose.

I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven.

He findeth first.

There came a man sent from God (*ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος*).

On the morrow (*passim*).

The same is he that (*cf.* 'Our Father which').

And he looked upon Jesus as he walked and saith.

And they abode.

He brought him unto Jesus.

Now Philip was from Bethsaida of the city of Andrew.

Authorised Version.

When the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him.

The prophet Esaias.

There standeth one among you whom ye know not . . . whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove.

He first findeth.

There was a man sent from God.

The next day.

The same is he which.

And looking upon Jesus as he walked, he saith.

And abode.

He brought him to Jesus.

Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew.*

There is scarcely a page in the Gospels in which we are not confronted with a similar amount of alterations, all perfectly legitimate in a new version, and some, in a slight degree, improvements; but the total gain is almost inappreciable. These apparently needless changes lend colour to the criticism that the revisers have poured the new wine of grammatical subtlety into old bottles, and, to adopt the new version, 'the skins burst, the wine is spilled, and the skins perish.'

If we put the parable of the Sower in the two versions side by side, we find many similar changes.

New Version.

On that day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea side. And there were gathered unto him great multitudes, so that he entered into a boat, and sat; and all the multitude stood on the beach. And he spake to them many things in parables, saying,

Authorised Version.

The same day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea side.

And great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a ship, and sat; and the whole multitude stood on the shore.

* The English reader will find great assistance in his comparison of the two versions from the *Variorum Bible*, published by Eyre & Spottiswoode, which gives the variations of renderings suggested by the best scholars, and variations of readings.

New Version.

Behold, the sower went forth to sow; and as he sowed, some seeds fell by the way side, and the birds came and devoured them: and others fell upon the rocky places, where they had not much earth: and straightway they sprang up, because they had no deepness of earth: and when the sun was risen, they were scorched: and because they had no root, they withered away. And others fell upon the thorns; and the thorns grew up, and choked them: and others fell upon the good ground, and yielded fruit, some a hundred-fold, some sixty, some thirty. He that hath ears, let him hear.—*Matt. xiii. 1-9.*

Authorised Version.

And he spake many things unto them in parables, saying, Behold, a sower went forth to sow;

And when he sowed, some seeds fell by the way side, and the fowls came and devoured them up:

Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth: and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth:

And when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away.

And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprung up, and choked them:

But other fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold.

Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Granting that the difference between 'that day' and 'the same day' was essential, and that 'great multitudes were gathered to him' required to be altered into 'there were gathered unto him great multitudes;' that 'as he sowed' and 'when he sowed' were very dissimilar; and 'devoured up' was too archaic for a version that retains 'whiles,' 'but and if,' and 'bewrayeth,' it still seems a question whether it was worth while to alter the translation of ἀνατείλαντος, to reduce its English equivalents from four to three, and to render ἀνέβησαν by 'grew up,' reducing its equivalents by one, but balancing this by 'sprang up' for ἐβλάστησε (v. 26) and for ἐξανέτειλε (v. 8), using the same English for two Greek words, which is one of the alleged faults of the Authorised Version. In the explanation of the parable one substantial alteration is made (v. 19)—'This is he that was sown by the way side;' uniform translation is secured for εὐθέως, and the substitution of 'yielded fruit' for 'brought forth' fruit allows the distinction between ἐδίδου καρπὸν (v. 8) and καρπὸν ἐποίησε (v. 26), and in Rev. xxii. 2, between the slightly divergent ποιοῦν καρπούς—ἀποδιδούν τὸν καρπὸν. We may put into the same scale the substitution of 'rocky' for 'stony,' 'the sower' for 'a sower,' and all the rest is very trifling; for it is a minor matter whether the wicked one 'snatcheth' or

‘catcheth away’ that which ‘was sown’ or ‘hath been sown,’ whether it ‘dureth’ or ‘endureth’ for a while, or whether it is choked by ‘the care of the world’ or ‘of this world.’ Amongst needless changes is the substitution of ‘beach’ for ‘shore’ as the translation of *αἰγιαλός*; for ‘beach’ in modern English generally connotes a tide-washed coast, which, though it answers to one explanation of the etymology of the Greek, imports a false idea when applied to the lake of Galilee. The only other word translated ‘shore’ is *χεῖλος* (literally, lip), which in its secondary sense only occurs once (Heb. xi. 12), where it might have retained the translation of the Authorised Version. In Luke ii. 43 is another change which strikes us as worse than unnecessary: ‘The boy Jesus tarried behind ‘in Jerusalem.’ It is true that the Evangelist has up to this point used *παιδῖον* to designate the infant Saviour; but in the verses describing the tarrying behind in Jerusalem, he uses *παῖς*. Still the marking of this subtle difference is dearly purchased by the employment of ‘boy.’ In the Authorised Version the translators, recognising the flexibility of the word, render it by ‘child,’ ‘men servants,’ ‘servant,’ and, with the feminine article, ‘maid’ and ‘maiden;’ the present revisers depart from their rule of uniform rendering, but, straining out the gnat of ‘maid,’ they add to the ‘studied variety’ of their predecessors ‘boy’ and ‘lad’ (Acts xx. 12); thus employing six equivalents for *παῖς*, and translating *παιδάριον* by the same word as they use for *παῖς*. These alterations are made in face of the statement in the preface:—‘If the meaning was ‘fairly expressed by the word or phrase that was before us in ‘the Authorised Version, we made no change, even where ‘rigid adherence to the rule of translating, as far as possible, ‘the same Greek word by the same English word might have ‘prescribed some alteration.’

We have noted the following verbal alterations which strike us as unhappy in the Epistles:—‘Are we in worse case than ‘they’ (*προεχόμεθα*) (Rom. iii. 9); ‘I glorify my ministry’ (Rom. xi. 13), ‘in diligence not slothful’ (*τῇ σπουδῇ*) (Rom. xii. 11), translated in New Version ‘haste’ in Gospels, ‘care’ and ‘earnest care’ in Corinthians, and ‘diligence’ generally; ‘the surge’ (*κλύδων*, translated ‘raging of’ in Luke viii. 24) ‘of the sea’ (James i. 6); ‘every good gift and every perfect ‘boon is from above, coming down from the Father of lights ‘with whom can be no variation neither shadow that is cast by ‘turning’ (James i. 17); ‘being not a hearer that forgetteth but ‘a doer that worketh’ (James i. 25); ‘Behold how much wood is ‘kindled by how much fire’ (James iii. 5); ‘spiritual milk

‘which is without guile’ (1 Pet. ii. 2). In the Apocalypse (Rev. xvi. *passim*), ‘bowl’ takes the place of ‘vial;’ and we read, ‘Go ye, and pour out the seven bowls of the wrath of God into the earth . . . and the second poured out his bowl into the sea,’ and so *ad nauseam*, till we find the seventh angel pouring out ‘his bowl upon the air.’ But the most unfortunate alteration of all is in James iii. 3. The Authorised Version reads, ‘Behold, we put bits in the horses’ mouths, that they may obey us.’ In an unexpected manner the passion for uniformity overpowered the revisers, and finding χαλινός translated ‘bridle’ in Rev. xiv. 20, they furnished us with the extraordinary statement: ‘If (εἰ δὲ, not ἰδοὺ) we put the horses’ bridles into their mouths, that they may obey us, we turn about their whole body also.’ To put a bridle into a horse’s mouth would be an unusual operation, and its results upon the horse are not easily calculable. We are quite aware of the authorised translation of 2 Kings xix. 28, ‘I will put my bridle in thy lips;’ but this metaphorical use of ‘bridle’ is no excuse for the gratuitous alteration in the translation of χαλινός. We speak metaphorically of bridling our tongue (χαλιναγωγέω), because the verb ‘to bit’ is confined to the colloquialism of the stable, or to treatises on horsemanship. We adduce this as an instance of the attention paid to minutiae, and with disastrous results, in the New Version.

We may here notice one or two minute points in which the conduct of the revisers has perplexed us. They have retained the obsolete ‘unto,’ and established a difference between it and ‘to.’ We are at a loss to understand by what authority this subtle distinction is made, and why it is so essential that the words of the Authorised Version must be changed to effect it. At first it seemed as though it were intended to keep ‘unto’ for πρὸς, and ‘to’ for some other preposition; but seeing that we were still allowed to read ‘to Herod’ (Matt. ii. 12), and in many other places, and that Matt. xxi. 1, we read, ‘And when they drew nigh unto (εἰς) Jerusalem, and were come unto (εἰς, A.V. to) Bethphage, unto (εἰς) the mount of Olives,’ and that in Mark xi. 1, ‘at the mount of Olives,’ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, is still permissible, we are unable to see why an archaic form was retained and even inserted. In a similar direction is the inconsistency we have noticed of sometimes substituting ‘who’ or ‘that’ for ‘which,’ and occasionally enabling us to hear ‘the cries of them that have reaped;’ and in the course of a few verses to ‘call them blessed which endured.’ It also seems incredible that the keen vision which detects an error so minute as ‘on’ for

‘upon,’ and requires us to alter to ‘he fell upon (A.V. on, ἐπὶ with acc.) his face’ (Luke xvii. 16), but to leave ‘fell on (ἐπὶ with acc.) his neck’ (Luke xv. 20), should not see the confusion that must arise if the difference between ‘will’ and ‘shall’ is not preserved in the sentence ‘one of you shall betray me;’ yet two changes in the words are made in John xvi. 13, ‘when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he *shall* guide’ (will, A.V.). . . . and he shall (will, A. V.) declare,’ and so through this and other chapters; but in v. 9, ‘he, when he is come, will convict.’ Of course, these and many other changes will be defended by very subtle reasons, but the minds that entertained them ought to have consistently preserved the exact English use of ‘shall’ and ‘will.’ On the other hand, we do not blame the revisers for refusing to discriminate between ὁ διάβολος and τὰ δαιμονία. We have no desire to read, as the purists would have us, ‘In the prince of the demons casteth he out the demons,’ which sounds like a line out of a burlesque.

The alterations proposed in the Lord’s Prayer will provoke much comment. The substitution of ‘have forgiven’ for ‘forgive’ follows, as does the omission of the doxology, from the adoption of the more correct reading. Another alteration—‘bring’ for ‘lead’—preserves a uniform rendering for εἰσφέρω, and is therefore defensible if not necessary; but the most serious change is ‘evil one’ for the indefinite ‘evil.’ It must be allowed that this translation is lawful, though we do not believe it to be expedient. As a mere grammatical question the masculine or the neuter is equally defensible, and τοῦ πονηροῦ may be turned about ‘whither,’ as the Revised Version reads, ‘the impulse of the steersman willeth.’ No argument can be drawn from the use of ἀπὸ rather than ἐκ, as the Septuagint rendering of Ps. cxlii. 6 shows, ῥύσαι με ἐκ τῶν καταδιωκόντων με • ἐξάγαγε ἐκ φυλακῆς τὴν ψυχὴν μου; and, in what sounds exceedingly like an echo of the Lord’s Prayer, St. Paul writes, ‘The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom, to whom be the glory for ever and ever’ (ῥύσεται με ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ κ.τ.λ., 2 Tim. iv. 18). He, also, bids Christians to abhor τὸ πονηρόν, and to cleave τῷ ἀγαθῷ, Rom. xii. 9. That this use of τὸ πονηρόν was not unfamiliar to Jews who read Greek appears from the Septuagint translation of Ps. li. 4, τὸ πονηρόν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα (‘I did evil before thee’), and occurs in that most familiar phrase which runs through the historical books of the Old Testament, ‘The children of Israel did evil (τὸ πονηρόν) in the sight of the Lord.’ If we turn

for help to the versions, we find the Peshito leaves it in the original vagueness (*bîshó*), and translates thirteen passages by this indefinite term, as in 1 John ii. 13, where we read, 'have overcome the evil one,' it reads, 'have overcome the evil.' The same ambiguity prevails in the Cureton fragments, where in the Lord's Prayer it is simply rendered 'evil.' St. Matthew's usage of *ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ* in the immediate context might be pressed to counterbalance the undoubted use of *ὁ πονηρὸς* for 'the evil one.' The Greek fathers, from Ignatius downwards, apparently take the view of *τοῦ πονηροῦ* being a masculine form. But as this is not a question of interpreting an unusual word, but of assigning the correct meaning to a dubious phrase, the judgment of the early Christian writers is deprived of much of its weight by their readiness to attribute unusual and peculiarly unfortunate circumstances to demoniacal agency. A careful study of the prayer itself will, we believe, establish the soundness of Cremer's decision on this passage: 'Against the rendering which would take *τοῦ πονηροῦ* as the genitive of the masculine, it is enough to say that there is no reason or pretext in the context for making this possible rendering necessary. The thought which suggests this rendering is foreign to the character of the prayer, and we see the inappropriateness of it by putting *ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου* for *ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*. We cannot see why the broad and deep meaning—the evil inflicted by wickedness or by the wicked—should not suffice.' * It is just here we join issue with the revisers. The majority of them have deposed an ancient rendering from a form of devotion, and on contested if not insufficient evidence have put a most distasteful one in its place. They may consider that faithfulness necessitated the alteration; but we see no such necessity, and we believe the general opinion supports us.

In that gem of the apostolic writings, the eulogium of the queen of the Christian virtues contained in 1 Cor. xiii., the revisers had to decide between the rival claims of 'charity' and 'love.' When Jerome, the most skilful critic of his day, was confronted with a similar problem, he adopted 'caritas' as the best Latin equivalent for the *ἀγάπη*, which does not occur in profane writers and appears to have been invented by the Sep-

* Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, sub voce. Cf. also his remarks on *ῥύεσθαι ἀπὸ* in which he strengthens his case. Alford's opinion is too well known to require citation, and many continental scholars of divergent theological opinions maintain the broader rendering.

tuagint translators. The wisdom of his expedient has been acknowledged by the many languages that have appropriated his word; but 'charity' in common speech is subject to the drawback that it is applied principally to almsgiving or to the exhibition of a tolerant spirit. 'Love,' on the other hand, while it covers a wide area of emotions, is too passionate to prove an acceptable substitute for the more sonorous 'charity:' 'Amor' *πάθος*; *caritas ἡθους*, says Quintilian. We should have been glad if the revisers had risen above the restrictions of their ordinary rules and retained 'charity' in the text. A marginal note might have conveyed the information that elsewhere the Greek term was translated 'love.' The scorn of the literalists would have been more than counterbalanced by the approval of readers who would instinctively divine that this venerable and rhythmical word was specially consecrated to the use of the Apostle, that he might describe more accurately and more impressively the inexpressible grace of that love which never shone in the eyes of men till God had given them the Son of His Love. Indeed, the revisers have been guilty of a greater inconsistency on a smaller provocation. Four times have they translated *Παράκλητος* by 'Comforter,' eking out its meaning with marginal alternatives and the Greek word itself; in the fifth place they have retained 'Advocate,' thus conveying the idea to the English reader that there is some difference between the meaning of the word in the Gospels and the Epistle. In strictness this is so, and very similar is the difference between the use of *ἀγάπη* in 1 Cor. xiii., and its use in other passages. The Comforter of the Gospels has his work defined in more detail than the Advocate of the Epistle, as the 'charity' of St. Paul is more fully delineated than the 'love' of St. John. A similar inconsistency marks their translation of *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον*, which is generally rendered by the ancient and obsolete word 'Ghost,' to the serious loss of the illiterate poor; but in 1 Cor. xii. 2, and elsewhere in consequence of a supposed necessity arising from the context, we read 'Holy Spirit.' A similar boldness in the case of *ἀγάπη* would not have missed its reward.

This may be a fitting place to add a few words upon the revisers' alterations in connexion with the rendering Holy Ghost or Spirit. They have added to the few times the Authorised Version employed 'Spirit' for *πνεῦμα*, as in John vii. 39, xiv. 26, Acts ii. 4, and some other passages. But they have also given a masculine pronoun in immediate sequence after the neuter noun. They may hastily be charged with adopting this rendering through theological bias. But they are

only following apostolic precedent. St. John wrote, 'Howbeit 'when he, the spirit of truth. . . . He shall glorify me' (ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας . . . ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει, John xiv. 14). This affords a perfect vindication of the rendering, 'The Spirit himself (αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα) beareth 'witness with our spirits' (Rom. viii. 16), and 'Grieve not the 'Holy Spirit of God, in whom ye were sealed' (Eph. iv. 30). Again, in another case, 1 Cor. xi. 27, the deliberate correction, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread *or* drink this cup,' inserted by Protestant translators, shows, what is evident throughout the work, that the faults of this version are simply the faults of over-refinement in grammatical points. These scholars have the weaknesses of scholars, but they are far removed from the meanness of dishonest interpreters, δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

In employing 'Hades' to designate the place of the departed, the revisers have ventured upon a bold experiment which deserves to succeed. We shall be spared the sense of incongruity when we read concerning Christ, 'Thou didst not leave 'his soul in Hades,' which formerly oppressed us on hearing the old version 'in hell;' and in Rev. i. 18, 'I have the keys 'of Death and of Hades,' is more majestic and accurate than the old rendering, which invested the Lord of Life with the functions of the keeper of the dread prison-house in the apprehension of the unlearned. There is one expression we are surprised to find unaltered, as we have always felt it to be a blot upon Tyndale's translation. Why μὴ γένοιτο should be translated 'God forbid' is incomprehensible, especially as the occurrence of such an expression in arguments conducted by a pious Jew with his compatriots, who were all zealous for the law, is far more likely to convey a misleading idea to the minds of Englishmen than if they read of a 'deputy' where they ought to find a 'proconsul' (Acts xviii. 12), or, in accordance with the authority of Greek commentators, picture St. Paul as confined in 'the palace,' instead of in the barracks, of 'the 'whole prætorian guard' (Phil. i. 13). The Greek expression is not so difficult to put into idiomatic English as to require a *deus ex machinâ* for its efficient translation.

It is at once a relief and a satisfaction to turn to the substantial benefits conferred on English-speaking people by this Revised Version. Our strictures are made in sorrow and with a keen sense of disappointment that the eminent scholarship and unparalleled assiduity of the New Testament Company of Revisers have been obscured and imperilled by their over-devotion to the mint, anise, and cummin of their task. We

are anxious, therefore, to mark with emphasis the distinct advance made by this version over all its predecessors. It carefully renders cognate terms, and by skilfully apportioning the place to miracles and signs, for instance, it brings out the distinguishing trait in St. John's treatment of Christ's works. The Apocalypse is certainly improved by the distinction between 'the beast' (*θηρίον*) and 'the living creatures' (*ζῶα*). It has endeavoured to restore to their proper place the equivalents for such exceedingly difficult words as *ἐξουσία*, *δύναμις*, *ἰσχύς*, *κράτος*, and *ἀρχή*, which not only present original differences of meaning, but are liable to reflect the colour of the context, and therefore to test the ingenuity of the translators. We give an example of each word: John i. 12, 'the right to become,' not 'power;' Mark v. 30, 'the power proceeding from him,' not 'virtue;' 2 Thess. i. 9, 'the glory of his might,' not 'power;' Col. i. 11, 'the might of his glory,' not his 'glorious power;' Jude 6, 'angels which kept not their principality,' not 'first estate.' They also endeavour to discriminate between the various Greek words for 'see,' which are no less than thirteen in the Old Version; 'look,' which are eight, including four translated 'see;' and 'behold,' which are twelve, and include nine translated 'look' and 'see.' Where the English idiom admits, a distinction is established between *εἰμί* and *γίνομαι*; and though this may be carried too far, the gain in many places is undoubtedly great. The care expended upon the rendering of moods, tenses, and articles is more than any version has ever professed to bestow. In some cases the English has been sacrificed to the Greek, as John xvii. 24, 'that which thou hast given me, I will that, where I am, they also may be with me;' and Rev. xi. 17, 'We give thee thanks, O Lord God, the Almighty, which art and which wast, because thou *hast* taken thy great power, and *didst* reign'—which in both cases exactly reproduces the Greek, but furnishes us with extraordinary English.

These passages, also, are literally and awkwardly translated:—

Behold, I give of the synagogue of Satan, of them which say they are Jews and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come.—*Rev. ii. 9.*

Them that come victorious from the beast, and from his image, and from the number of his name.—*Rev. xv. 2.*

But now hath he obtained a ministry the more excellent, by how much more also he is the mediator of a better covenant, which hath been enacted upon better promises.—*Heb. viii. 6.*

For you which believe is the preciousness.—1 *Peter ii. 7.*

It will also be a matter of discussion whether the strict rendering of the Hellenistic aorist by the English preterite has not been excessively adopted; but, subtracting from the version all these drawbacks, there remains, especially in the Pauline epistles, a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the New Testament. A few verbal improvements are obvious: 'They have received their reward' (Matt. vi. 15) brings out the meaning more clearly; 'the lamp of the body is the eye' (Matt. vi. 22) enables us to realise the metaphor; 'our lamps are going out' (Matt. xxv. 8) is more vivid; 'the fruit is ripe' (Mark iv. 29) is more idiomatic; 'guilty of eternal sin' (Mark iii. 29) is the result of a truer reading; 'arrayed in a white robe' (Mark xvi. 5) is more in keeping with the context; 'this was the first enrolment made when Quirinius' (Luke ii. 2) furnishes a clearer note of chronology; 'and Jesus himself when he began to teach was about thirty years of age' (Luke iii. 23) brings out the force of the original; 'there shall be one flock, one shepherd' (John x. 16), and 'during supper' (John xiii. 2), were required by the Greek; 'so that there may come' (ὅπως αὖ) (Acts xii. 19) removes a serious error of the Authorised Version, which many have attributed to theological bias; 'those that were being saved' (Acts ii. 47) renders similar service, as will the insertion of 'bishops' for 'overseers' (Acts xx. 28), and 'in the name of Jesus' (Phil. i. 17). 'In your patience ye shall win your souls' (Luke xxi. 19), only required the majority to have yielded to the minority and inserted 'lives,' and the meaning would have been clear. The same result would have followed had the same alteration taken place in Heb. vii. 6, and 'seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God,' would have been displaced by 'the while they crucify,' &c. The craft of the unrighteous steward is more evident now that he tells his lord's debtors to take their 'bond' and sit down quickly; and the simple addition of the pronoun, 'his lord commendeth the unrighteous steward,' will prevent much misconception. The insertion of 'daughter' in 1 Cor. vii. 36, is a gain to morality, and the verse would have been still clearer had it concluded, 'let her and her suitor marry,' the supplied words being italicised; and 'the large letters' (in Gal. vi. 11) suggest the probable infirmity 'because' of which (Gal. iv. 14) the apostle first preached the Gospel to the Galatians, while the last verse affords a striking example of the fervent manner of him who 'bore branded on his body the marks of Jesus.' But we cannot attempt to trace the improvements effected by the removal of archaisms, the uniform rendering of proper names, the cor-

rection of mistranslation, and even the altered punctuation that breaks up some of St. Paul's involved sentences. We must, however, pause on the decided advantage of the uniform rendering of *αἰώνιος*. It is well known what barbarisms are suggested as equivalents for this adjective; but by resolutely adhering to 'eternal,' all such unsatisfactory words as 'age-long' and 'æonian' are avoided; while by rendering *πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων* 'before times eternal' we have a phrase worthy of the Authorised Version in its happiest moments.

There are certain difficult passages in our version to which we turn almost instinctively to see how they are rendered. In the celebrated speech of Paul at Athens, the exordium presents one such difficulty. Our revisers render 'Ye men of Athens, 'in all things I perceive ye are somewhat superstitious' (Acts xvii. 23)—a rendering which will not remove the objection that no one with the Apostle's tact would be likely to adopt such an opening. The advocates for any change here would most likely be dissatisfied with every alteration that left that objection unmet, and would maintain that the only alteration worthy of the occasion would be in the direction 'of are excessive in religious reverence.' In Acts xix. 2, a thoroughly satisfactory and grammatical alteration is effected. We now read, 'Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?' and they said unto him, 'Nay, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Ghost was given.' In a more famous passage one rendering we think unidiomatic (Acts xxvi. 24): 'Paul, thou art mad; thy much learning doth turn thee to madness;' but in Agrippa's reply (v. 28), 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian,' we believe a very difficult passage has been very efficiently rendered. In Gal. iv. 17, we have another good rendering instead of a weak passage in the Authorised Version: 'They zealously seek you in no good way; nay, they desire to shut you out, that ye may seek them. But it is good to be zealously sought in a good matter at all times.' This combines the excellent points in many suggested improvements, and gives a good sense to the ordinary reader. The Epistle to the Philippians contains a passage in which the conflicting emotions of the writer's mind are but slightly reflected in our version, which lacks life in this case. The Revised Version cannot be said to labour under this defect, for it now runs, 'For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if to live in the flesh—if this is the fruit of my work, then what I shall choose, I wot not' (Phil. i. 22). In the same epistle we have another passage that taxes the skill of a translator, and the rare

word *ἀπραγμός* renders this enigmatical passage still more difficult. There are two distinct lines of interpretation, both ancient, both avoiding one part of the objections and falling under the condemnation of the remainder, that make Phil. ii. 4–7 a place where no certainty can be demanded. The weight of modern interpretation inclines to the line adopted by the revisers—reviving the most ancient view, and one that seems on the whole to best agree with the context and the instinct of Greek-speaking Christians—so that ‘counted it not a prize—a thing to be grasped at—to be on an equality with God,’ puts the English reader in possession of the results of the most recent scholarship. In the Epistle to the Colossians we have several such obscure passages, beginning with i. 19, where the revisers have practically maintained the meaning of the Authorised Version and remained true to the interpretation represented by the ancient versions and the bulk of modern expositors. A few verses further on (ii. 15) there is another of these passages on which much learning has been expended, but which is now translated in accordance with St. Paul’s own usage of *ὑπεκδυσάμενος*, ‘having put off from himself the principalities and powers,’ which is better than the marginal alternative, ‘having put off from himself his body,’ a rendering that was much affected by the Latin fathers. The conclusion of the chapter furnishes a very intelligible meaning, but it may be doubted whether the translation is not too perspicuous. We owe the chief improvements here to Bishop Lightfoot, who has defended the adopted rendering by apposite quotations, especially from Galen. If this can be permanently maintained, he will have the honour of clearing up a most obscure passage, which we quote entire—Col. ii. 20–24.

Revised Version.

If ye died with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, do ye subject yourselves to ordinances, Handle not, nor taste, nor touch (all which things are to perish with the using), after the precepts and doctrines of men? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and severity to the body; *but are* not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh.

Authorised Version.

Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances,

(Touch not; taste not; handle not;

Which all are to perish with the using;) after the commandments and doctrines of men?

Which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body; not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.

The last passage we shall refer to is in 2 Tim. ii. 24-26.

Revised Version.

And the Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all, apt to teach, forbearing, in meekness correcting them that oppose themselves; if peradventure God may give them repentance unto the knowledge of the truth, and they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, having been taken captive by the Lord's servant unto the will of God.

Authorised Version.

And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all *men*, apt to teach, patient, In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; And *that* they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.

This passage, as at present printed, scarcely gives the English reader an accurate representation of the Greek. There are no italics, and how could anyone suspect that 'the Lord's servant' and 'of God' were representatives of two pronouns, ἐξωγρημένοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα. The difficulty of applying both pronouns to the devil is very great, but that it is not insurmountable appears from the fact that it is so applied by the Vulgate, Syriac, and the majority of modern commentators. That the Revisers have adopted the other rendering, we confess startles us. Bishop Ellicott's rendering, 'that they may return to soberness out of the snare of the devil, though holden captive by him, to do His will,' which would make the return to soberness the consequence of the Divine will, has support from weighty authorities, but the Revised Version receives but slender help even from so acute a critic as Bengel. If adopted in the text, italics should have been employed, for the marginal note 'by the devil, unto the will of God. Gr. by him, unto the will of him. In the Greek 'the two pronouns are different,' is obscure and insufficient.

But we wish to draw attention to some portions of the Revised Version which are of unusual excellence. We append a passage for easy comparison between the two versions:

Revised Version.

For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I know not: for not what I would, that do I practise; but what I hate, that I do. But if what I would not, that I do, I consent unto the law that it is good. So now it is no more I that do it, but sin which

Authorised Version.

For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin.

For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.

If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good.

Revised Version.

dwelleth in me. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but to do that which is good is not. For the good which I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I practise. But if what I would not, that I do, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me. I find then the law, that, to me who would do good, evil is present. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members.—*Rom. vii. 14-24.*

Authorised Version.

Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but *how* to perform that which is good I find not.

For the good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do.

Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me.

For I delight in the law of God after the inward man:

But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.

Everyone conversant with St. Paul's Greek will recognise in this accurate translation the delicate distinctions between cognate and all but synonymous terms, the skilful substitution of the definite for the indefinite article, and the correction 'different' for 'another.' A more faithful piece of translation could not be put into the hands of the English-speaking public than this; but it is paralleled and rivalled again and again in the Pauline Epistles. In *Rom. v. 15-20* we have just such another specimen, with this additional recommendation, that a strange misconception is removed by it from the Apostle's meaning. The contrast between 'the one' and 'the many' is well sustained, the force of the various prepositions is exhibited without pedantry, the course of the argument is unimpeded by halting and unfinished phrases, and St. Paul speaks plainly to the men of this generation. The First Epistle to the Corinthians is an admirable example of the Revised Version* at its best. Omitting the dubious question of the rendering of 'charity,' we do not think anything better could be executed. But when we leave these epistles, the praise is not unqualified. The short letter of Jude is unquestionably the better for revision, 'the autumn trees without fruit' compensating for the modern sound of 'the wild waves;' the two Epistles of St. Peter have some worthy emendations, and the three of St. John

bear marks of careful revision. Many passages in the Revelation appear to have been altered on slender pretext, such as 'and the sea is no more,' 'and death shall be no more,' and 'the lamp thereof is the Lamb.' But the Epistle to the Hebrews shows again the faults of the Revised Version in painful clearness. The first chapter is acknowledged to be as eloquent as any portion of the New Testament; by what misfortune, then, does that grand chapter open in this jejune fashion: 'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in 'the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath 'at the end of these days spoken to us in his Son'? It would be extremely difficult to say why 'mantle' and 'footstool of 'thy feet' have been allowed to mar the harmonious dignity of the Authorised Version in this chapter. The revisers were not appointed to prepare an interlinear translation for incompetent schoolboys, but to remove acknowledged blemishes from a noble version.

In conclusion we reiterate our disappointment with this Revised Version as a whole. It will remain a monument of the industry of its authors and a treasury of their opinions and erudition; but, unless we are entirely mistaken, until its English has undergone thorough revision it will not supplant the Authorised Version. After all, the chief use of the present attempt will be as a work of reference in which 'the grammatical niceties of the New Testament diction are treated with laboured fidelity. It will no more furnish an authorised version to eighty millions of English-speaking people than any number of *mémoires pour servir* will give them a standard history. The superior critical apparatus at the disposal of our scholars, and their advanced scientific knowledge of grammar, seem to have been rather impediments than aids; and we are left with another critical commentary on the New Testament, but not with a new version which will mould our thoughts and afford a dignified vehicle for the great truths of revelation.

ART. VII.—1. *The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde.*

Illustrated by Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence.

By Lieut.-General SHADWELL, C.B. Edinburgh: 1881.

2. *The Story of a Soldier's Life; or, Peace, War, and Mutiny.*

By Lieut.-Gen. JOHN ALEXANDER EWART, C.B. London: 1881.

THE history of the British army, glorious and eventful as it is, only records the names of two officers who can be termed commanders of the first class, namely, those of Marlborough and Wellington. Of generals of the second class this country has furnished a tolerably long list. Among these, to go no further back than the commencement of the last century, may be reckoned Lord Peterborough, the Marquis of Granby, Lord Clive, General Wolfe, Sir David Baird, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Sir John Moore, Lord Hill, Lord Lynedoch, Lord Combermere, Sir George Pollock, Sir William Nott, Sir Charles Napier, and Lord Clyde.

The excellent story of his old chief's career given us by General Shadwell is not only a valuable contribution to military history, but it holds up to young officers an example than which no better could be presented. The author has shown taste, judgment, and literary skill; and if he has been somewhat sparing of personal incidents, his economy may fairly be attributed to a pious respect for the wishes of the subject of the biography.

Like the majority of those with whom we have bracketed him, Lord Clyde owed his rise entirely to his own merits. He started, indeed, with very poor prospects. His father, John Macliver, was the son of the Laird of Urdnave, in the island of Islay, who, having 'gone out' in 1745, forfeited his estate and settled in Glasgow. The Jacobite laird's son, John, on the ruin of his family, adopted the trade of a carpenter, and marrying Agnes Campbell, a young lady of respectable family also inhabitants of Islay, established his home in Glasgow, where their eldest son, Colin, was born on October 20, 1792. Scotchmen, however restricted in means or low in station, never fail to try and obtain a good education for their sons, and fortunately there are facilities in Scotland, to be met with nowhere else, for carrying out this praiseworthy design. Moreover, we can well imagine that, reduced as the Maclivers were in circumstances, they alike bore in mind their former station and cherished the hope that their children, at all events, might regain it. Be that as it may, Colin's parents

resolved that, as far as education went, young Colin should be prepared to take advantage of any opening which good fortune or the interest of his family might secure, and at an early age the boy was sent to Glasgow High School, at that time the principal educational institution in the town. At the age of ten Colin was taken charge of by his maternal uncle, Colonel John Campbell, who removed him to an academy at Gosport, with the view of preparing him for the career of an officer in the army. When he was fifteen years old, Colonel Campbell proceeded with him to the Horse Guards for the purpose of asking the Duke of York, with whom he apparently had some interest, to confer a commission on the lad. After they had been ushered into the Duke's presence, His Royal Highness remarked in his usual genial manner, 'Another of the clan,' and, granting the request, entered the candidate as 'Colin Campbell.' The Colonel was too astute to rectify the mistake, telling his nephew—who, on leaving the Commander-in-Chief's presence, made some remark on the subject—that Campbell was a name which, for professional reasons, it would suit him to adopt. From that day forth Colin Macliver became known as Colin Campbell.

The interview with the Duke of York soon bore fruit, for on May 26, 1808, the 'Gazette' announced the appointment of Colin Campbell to be ensign without purchase in the 9th Foot. He made a good start in his profession, for on the 29th of the following June he found himself promoted to a non-purchase lieutenancy in his regiment, and posted to the 2nd battalion, then quartered in the Isle of Wight. On July 14 he was directed to join at once, which he did, and arrived with his battalion at Canterbury on the 17th. Two days later he marched to Ramsgate, and on the 20th embarked for the Peninsula. On August 19 he disembarked in the Bay of Peniché, on the 20th he joined the army, and on the 21st took part in the battle of Vimicro. Thus within less than eight weeks he was gazetted ensign, promoted to lieutenant, and was present at a general action in Portugal, he being only fifteen years and ten months of age. In after life Lord Clyde related to his biographer a touching incident connected with this battle. At the beginning of the action

'Colin Campbell was with the rear company of his battalion, which was halted in open column of companies. His captain, an officer of years and experience, called him to his side, took him by the hand, and, leading him by the flank of the battalion to its front, walked with him up and down the front of the leading company for several minutes, in full view of the enemy's artillery, which had begun to open fire on our

troops while covering his attack. He then let go the boy's hand (Colin was not yet sixteen) and told him to join his company. The object was to give the youngster confidence, and it succeeded. In after years, though very reticent of his own services—for Lord Clyde was essentially a modest man—he related the anecdote to the writer of this memoir, adding "It was the greatest kindness that could have been shown me at such a time, and through life I have felt grateful for it."

Shortly after the battle Colin Campbell was transferred from the 2nd to the 1st battalion, quartered near Lisbon, his first commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, being transferred at the same time. The son of this very Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron—now General Sir Duncan Cameron—afterwards in the Crimea and during the Indian Mutiny served under Lord Clyde in command of the Black Watch. During the following winter Colin Campbell took part in Sir John Moore's last campaign, and suffered severely during the retreat, the soles of his boots being completely worn away. So long had he been without taking them off that the upper leathers adhered tenaciously to his flesh, and it was only by soaking his feet in hot water that he was able, with pain and loss of skin, to get rid of the useless fragments of leather. We may mention that Lieutenant Campbell was not actually present in the battle of Corunna, his battalion being in reserve in the town.

In those stirring times certain officers and regiments seemed never to be allowed any rest. No sooner did they return to England from one expedition than they were at once despatched on another. This was the case with Lieutenant Campbell and the 1st battalion of the 9th. Landing at Portsmouth at the beginning of February, they were sent back to their old quarters at Canterbury, but on July 17, 1809, marched to Ramsgate, whence they sailed as part of Lord Chatham's force on the disastrous expedition to Holland. At the end of September the 1st battalion was back once more at Canterbury, Lieutenant Campbell bringing with him that terrible Walcheren ague from the effects of which he suffered at intervals up to an advanced period of life. Re-transferred to his original battalion, then stationed at Gibraltar, he was detached in February, 1811, with the flank companies to join Sir Thomas Graham at Cadiz. In the battle of Barrossa, which was fought on March 5, all his brother officers being wounded, the young subaltern—he was only eighteen—succeeded to the command of the detachment, and so bore himself that he received the favourable notice of Sir Thomas Graham. A few weeks later he sailed with Colonel Skerrett's force to the relief of

Tarragona, but the troops did not land, and, the place surrendering, the expedition returned to Gibraltar *re infectâ*. He had, however, evidently already become known as a good officer, and in the autumn was selected to accompany the army of Ballasteros, with which he was present at several affairs. In December, 1811, he took part with the light company of his battalion in the defence of Tarifa. The whole of 1812 was passed in the monotony of garrison life at Gibraltar, but the young subaltern was in no way demoralised by the various temptations which beset him, viz., idleness and extravagance. Many good Spanish families took refuge from the advancing French within the walls of Gibraltar, and Colin Campbell seized the opportunity to improve himself in the French and Spanish languages. As to the other temptation, he sternly resisted it, and though he had nothing but the scanty pay of a lieutenant, and he was often put to great straits to subsist on that, he did so without running into debt.

In January, 1813, a strong draft was despatched from the 2nd to the 1st battalion, then in winter quarters in Portugal. With this draft went the young lieutenant. In the spring commenced the skilful combinations which resulted in the brilliant victory of Vittoria. Colin Campbell, who had been posted to the light company, was present throughout the campaign, and was warmly engaged in the battle. The siege of San Sebastian soon followed, and here the young soldier saw enough fighting to satisfy the most fire-eating disposition. On July 17 an assault was delivered on the convent and redoubt of San Bartolomeo. The attack, though stoutly resisted, was successful, and among four junior officers commended for conspicuous gallantry in Sir Thomas Graham's despatch to the Duke of Wellington is to be found the name of 'Lieutenant Colin Campbell of the 9th Foot.' It appears from a letter written to him twenty-two years later by his old commanding officer that he was the first to enter the redoubt. Before daylight on July 25 the body of the place was stormed. The British failed, and suffered severe loss of life, but none of honour, for the most determined gallantry was displayed. Colin Campbell commanded the forlorn hope, consisting of twenty men of his own, the light company; but, curiously enough, he was posted in the centre of the main column of the Royals, having as his immediate support the light company of that regiment. He therefore did not head the attack at first, being much impeded by the troops in front, some of whom mistook the point at which they were to assault. After a while, however, he pushed through the crowd with his

own small party, and reached the main breach. In a letter written in 1836 to his old commanding officer he thus describes what he saw and did :—

‘ On arriving at the breach I observed the whole lower parts thickly strewn with killed and wounded. There were a few individual officers and men spread on the face of the breach, but nothing more. These were cheering and gallantly opposing themselves to the close and destructive fire directed at them from the round tower and other defences on each side of the breach, and to a profusion of hand-grenades which were constantly rolling down. In going up I passed Jones of the Engineers, who was wounded, and on going to the top I was shot through the right hip and tumbled to the bottom. The breach, though quite accessible, was steep, particularly towards the top, so that all those who were struck on the upper part of it rolled down, as in my case, to the bottom. Finding, on rising up, that I was not disabled from moving, and observing two officers of the Royals who were exerting themselves to lead some of their men from under the line-wall near to the breach, I went to assist their endeavours, and again went up the breach with them, when I was shot through the inside part of the left thigh. . . . About the time of my receiving my second hit, Captain Archimbeau, of the Royals, arrived near the bottom of the breach, bringing with him some eighty or ninety men, cheering and encouraging them forward in a very brave manner through all the interruptions that were offered to his advance by the explosion of the many hand-grenades that were dropped upon them from the top of the wall, and the wounded men retiring in the line of his advance. . . . Seeing, however, that whatever previous efforts had been made had been unsuccessful—that there was no body of men nor support near to him, while all the defences of and around the breach were fully occupied and alive with fire, and the party with him quite unequal in itself—seeing also the many discouraging circumstances under which the attempt would have to be made of forcing its way through such opposition—he ordered his party to retire, receiving, when speaking to me, a shot which broke his arm. I came back with him and his party.’

For his gallantry in this affair he was mentioned by Sir Thomas Graham in despatches in the following terms :—‘ I beg ‘ to recommend to your Lordship Lieutenant Campbell of the ‘ 9th, who led the forlorn hope and was severely wounded in the ‘ breach.’ When, fourteen years later, he was dining at Dr. Keate’s house at Windsor, one of the party, who had heard of his services in the Peninsula, asked him the somewhat foolish question how he had felt when leading the forlorn hope at San Sebastian. He returned the following equally dry and modest reply : ‘ Very much, sir, as if I should get my company ‘ if I succeeded.’ He did not succeed, but he was rewarded with promotion soon afterwards, but not until he had been again in action and again wounded.

On September 24 the Fifth Division, in which was the 9th Regiment, set out from San Sebastian to join Lord Wellington. Colin Campbell's wounds being still unhealed, he was left behind in hospital. Hearing, however, that an engagement was imminent, his high spirit could not endure the idea of absence on such an occasion. He and a brother officer in the same plight, and animated by a similar feeling, determined to depart without orders for the front. The journey was painful and tedious. Now limping along as they best could, now getting a lift on a chance commissariat wagon or other stray vehicle, they came up with the regiment on October 6. The next day took place the passage of the Bidassoa. The 9th lost heavily, and Colin Campbell, while commanding the light company, was again badly wounded. This fact probably helped to mollify the commanding officer, who, however, severely reprimanded Colin Campbell and his comrade for having left hospital without permission. Indeed he gave them to understand that, but for the gallant example which they had set their companies in the action of the 7th, their offence would have been dealt with more severely. On November 9, 1813, he was gazetted to a company in the 60th Rifles, and in the following month returned to England, bringing with him three wounds and a letter to the Horse Guards from Major-General Hay, commanding his brigade, recommending him to notice as 'a most gallant and meritorious young officer.'

Thus ended the first act of his military career, and it had been both eventful and successful. Though a gentleman by birth, yet his actual position was that of the son of a carpenter, and he started without money and without any interest save that of his uncle, Colonel Campbell. In spite of these disadvantages he had supported himself on his pay, was a captain at the age of twenty-one, had been present in five campaigns, two general actions, and at two sieges, besides many smaller affairs, had led a forlorn hope, been three times wounded, twice mentioned in despatches, had secured the good opinion of several general officers, and was known at the Horse Guards as a most gallant and meritorious officer. If not, therefore, actually a favourite of fortune, it cannot be said that in the early part of his career he was unlucky.

During the next twenty-one years his life was comparatively speaking uneventful and somewhat depressing. The long peace which followed the wars with Napoleon was unfavourable to military advancement, and we shall not follow our friend through the garrison duties he performed in Nova

Scotia, Gibraltar, and Demerara, with the 60th Rifles and the 21st Fusiliers. In November 1825 he was enabled, partly by his own earnings and partly by the assistance of friends, to purchase his majority, after seventeen years' service and at the age of thirty-three. His promotion caused him to return to England to command the dépôt of the regiment.

His appearance at this time is thus described:—

‘A profusion of curly brown hair, a well-shaped mouth, and a wide brow, already foreshadowing the deep lines which became so marked a feature of his countenance in later years, convey the idea of manliness and vigour. His height was about five feet nine, his frame well knit and powerful, and, but that his shoulders were too broad for his height, his figure was that of a symmetrically made man. To an agreeable presence he added the charm of engaging manners, which, according to the testimony of those who were familiar with him at this period, rendered him popular either at the dinner-table or in the drawing-room.’

Seeing no further prospect of regimental promotion, Major Campbell unsuccessfully applied for permission to purchase an unattached lieutenant-colonelcy. But he had to wait till October 26, 1832, before his unattached promotion was gazetted, he being at the time at Chatham, whither the regiment had moved from Weedon.

Unable to endure idleness, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell at once hastened over to Antwerp, then under siege by a French army under Marshal Gérard. He followed the operations with the keenest interest, being constantly in the trenches and under fire. This instructive siege, carried on in the most systematic and scientific manner, added largely to his professional knowledge and value, gave him indeed an amount of experience possessed by few British officers at that time, for our sieges in the Peninsula had necessarily been carried on without due regard to the rules of the engineer's art, and only brought to a successful termination by enormous sacrifices of human life. From Antwerp he proceeded to Marburg, which he had visited in 1828 and 1829 when on leave from his regiment. He mixed freely, we are told, in German society, his object being both to acquire a knowledge of the language and to live economically, for, save his half-pay of less than 200*l.* a year, he was totally without means. From Marburg he went first to Düsseldorf and afterwards to Bonn. That he acquired some taste for and knowledge of the German tongue even earlier is evidenced by the fact that in 1832 he inscribed in his journal the following passage:—

‘Durch die Geduld, Vernunft und Zeit
Wird möglich die Unmöglichkeit.’

These lines he practically adopted as his motto, and by acting up to it achieved the reputation which ended by converting the carpenter's son into a peer and a field-marshal. In October, 1833, he records that he had made some progress in reading German without the aid of a master, but that, owing to having spoken while at Bonn little but French and English, he had not advanced much in acquiring a colloquial facility. He had therefore arranged to pass the winter at Marburg, where he would have come across none but Germans. His plans were, however, changed by the receipt of a letter from a friend, who had received an intimation from the Horse Guards that if Colonel Campbell were in England he would stand a better chance of obtaining an appointment on particular service. He consequently hastened to London, and had a satisfactory interview with Lord Hill, who thanked him for the reports sent from Antwerp, which had been shown him, and promised to bear him in mind. In May, 1834, which he spent in London, he thus records his feelings:—

‘During this month I dined frequently with my kind friends the Gledstones, Robinsons, Cavans, and others. However grateful to one's feelings to have such kindness shown to me, it is not sufficient to satisfy me in my dependent position; and although they are most kind to me at the Horse Guards, still their opportunities of obliging and serving me in my position and with my rank occur so rarely, that it is almost a hopeless case to indulge in the belief that they can employ me without paying the difference which I have not to give. I was offered this month, in a most flattering manner, the 62nd upon paying the difference. It was most generously made.’

This brief extract from his journal gives some insight into his character. It shows how ardent was his love for his profession, how keenly he felt his enforced idleness. He displays a modest (if we may use the word) ambition, tempered by manly resignation to his narrow fortune. He regrets, but does not complain of, the latter, and is never unjust to the military authorities. In fact his merits were fully admitted by the Horse Guards, who were most anxious to serve him. General officers of distinction did their best to support his claims. He had many warm friends, and was well received in general society, if unknown to the fashionable world. Nor is it surprising that he should have been popular, for, apart from his personal qualities and his distinction as a soldier, he had seen much of the world, and possessed acquirements indicative of no little mental culture. Englishmen were in those days much worse linguists than they are now, and few soldiers were to be met with acquainted with French, Spanish, and German.

In speaking of him as he was at that time, we must not omit to record that he not only continued but increased the allowance to his father which he had begun twenty years previously.

In the autumn of 1834 his prospects seemed so gloomy that he applied for the post of Governor of Sierra Leone. The answer was a kindly-worded suggestion from Lord Fitzroy Somerset that he should abandon the idea, as the appointment was not likely to be advantageous to him in the long run. About this time, narrow as were his circumstances and cautious as he was by nature, his kind heart induced him to back a bill for 412*l.* for a friend who was seriously embarrassed. He thus records the fact: 'I did that for him which I had never done, and most assuredly never shall again, except it were for ———, who is never likely to require such a proof of my friendship.' It is believed by his biographer that he was in due course relieved from his liability.

At length came a break in the clouds. In May, 1835, he was gazetted second lieutenant-colonel to his old regiment, the 9th, under orders for India, and at his own request immediately afterwards transferred to the command of the 98th. His reflections on the transfer are so characteristic of the man that we offer no apology for reproducing them:—

'In India for four or five years, say seven years absent from home, I had the prospect of laying by 5,000*l.*; but then I must be confident of health, which I could not be—my old miserable Demerara fever would certainly return, and permanently too, after a short stay in Bengal. The inconvenience' [arising from the wounds received in Spain, explains the biographer] 'would be perpetual, and my life would be miserable. I therefore determined to accept the proposal of a removal to the 98th, which would give me five years of home service, a good deal of trouble in managing a home regiment, but the great likelihood of the preservation and enjoyment of the little health which has been left to me. In addition to all these reasons, there came to confirm, though not to influence me, my own inclinations. I hope I shall have decided for the best. In every case I hope it will prove eventually for my own happiness. Beyond the desire to be independent of all pecuniary relief, I care not one straw for money, nor its accumulation.'

Thus at last, after twenty-seven years' service, Colin Campbell obtained the position the most looked forward to by all soldiers—the command of a regiment. He was now happy and contented, and spoke of the enjoyment of the month's trip to the Rhine, where he spent part of the leave granted him pending the arrival of the 98th from the Cape. Before leaving for Germany he was instrumental in settling a dispute which had become very hot between Mr. Sterling, a well-known writer in the 'Times,' and Mr. Roebuck, then M.P. for Bath. He

was averse to being mixed up in an affair originating in political matters, but felt that he could not refuse compliance with any request from Mr. Sterling, to whom he was indebted for much substantial kindness, and who was in fact connected with himself by marriage. The dispute was amicably settled.

During eighteen months he awaited with what patience he could muster the repeatedly deferred arrival of the 98th from the Cape. At length, in the summer of 1837, the service companies landed, and he assumed command of the regiment at Portsmouth. He at once proceeded to put into practice the principles which had been impressed upon him when in the 9th Regiment, and which were those inculcated by Sir John Moore at the camp of Shorncliffe. General Shadwell thus describes Colin Campbell's method of command as a regimental chief:—

‘ Stern in rebuke—for, with the temperament natural to his Highland blood, he was prone to anger when occasion stirred it—he was, on the other hand, gentle, nay indulgent, towards all such as manifested anxiety in the performance of their duties. Nor did he make any difference between ranks. Setting himself an example of punctuality and strictness with regard to his own duties, he exacted from his officers a like discharge of theirs in all that concerned the instruction, wellbeing, and conduct of the subordinate ranks. Though no doubt there were occasions on which, from an excess of zeal, he was apt somewhat to overstrain the machinery of which he was the moving principle, yet he succeeded in establishing and maintaining such feeling and *esprit de corps* in all ranks as made both officers and soldiers happy and proud of serving under his command. . . . Frugal in his habits by nature and the force of circumstances, he laid great stress on the observance of economy in the officers' mess, believing that a well-ordered establishment of this kind is the best index of a good regiment. For this reason he determined not to sanction the use of any wine but port and sherry; the introduction of other wines he viewed as an extravagance, and he set himself against any expenditure which he considered incommensurate with the means of his officers. Regarding the mess as one of the principal levers of discipline, Colin Campbell made a rule of attending it, even when the frequent return of his fever and ague rendered late dinners a physical discomfort to him. Cramped in his means, he denied himself many little comforts in order that he might have the wherewithal to return hospitality, and be able to set an example to his brother officers in the punctual discharge of his mess liabilities. His intercourse with his officers off duty was unrestrained and of the most friendly character. He sympathised with them in their occupations and sports, and though the instruction and discipline of the regiment were carried on with great strictness, the best feeling pervaded all ranks, so that everything was done in good humour.’

From Portsmouth the 98th moved to Weedon, then to

Manchester, and subsequently to Hull. From the latter place it marched in July 1839 to Newcastle-on-Tyne. On the road, while billeted at York, Colin Campbell first met Sir Charles Napier, then commanding the northern district, under the following peculiar circumstances. Sir Charles was returning by coach from an inspection. The coach stopped at the inn to give the passengers time to dine. Seeing a bugler of the 98th at the door, he asked if the commanding officer was inside. The reply being in the affirmative, Sir Charles entered, introduced himself to Colin Campbell, and asked if the men could be collected before the coach started again. Colin Campbell unhesitatingly said 'Yes,' and, the assembly being sounded, the men, who were at their dinners, quickly formed up in front of the inn. Whilst they were assembling Sir Charles invited Colin Campbell to share his meal, and at table asked him all sorts of questions about the interior economy of the corps. He then inspected the troops, a performance which he finished just as the horses were being put to, remarking as he mounted the box, 'That's what I call inspecting a regiment.' It certainly was an unusual method of carrying out that ordinarily elaborate process, but the 98th stood the severe test well, and Sir Charles went away delighted. From that time a warm friendship sprang up between the two Peninsula veterans, and the easy tone of the frequent correspondence between them shows how much they appreciated, respected, and liked each other.

Arriving at Newcastle, Colin Campbell found himself in the centre of a district corrupted by the worst doctrines of Chartism, and in a very disaffected turbulent state. His firm, vigilant, yet cool behaviour tended greatly to prevent serious consequences, for he was the senior officer at Newcastle. Indeed, seldom have the best qualities of a commanding officer been more severely tested, for the magistrates were timid, the soldiers harassed to death, and the Government itself not a little alarmed. Colin Campbell kept his head cool, and was convinced that there would after all be no rising. He nevertheless made every preparation for the worst, and diligently practised his regiment in street-firing and such other manœuvres as might be useful in the event of a collision with the populace. His men, whose respect and affection he had secured, were thoroughly to be relied upon to resist any attempts to tamper with their loyalty, and let the disaffected know that they would implicitly obey their officer's orders. On one occasion, late at night, a frightened magistrate rushed into the barracks with a story that the soldiers would join the

mob. Colin Campbell immediately replied, 'I will show you what the soldiers think, even though it be in the middle of the night.' Directing the bugler to sound two of the company's calls, followed by the assembly, he took his friend to the barrack-room door. In five minutes the soldiers streamed out fully armed and accoutred, and giving vent to loud imprecations, to which Colin Campbell directed the magistrate's attention, especially to the observation of one soldier—a north countryman too—who signified in homely language 'his willingness to stick his own grandmother if she were out.' His conduct throughout this trying time was so judicious, vigilant, and active, that he received the formal thanks of the Home Office, the Horse Guards, and the county magistrates.

Among other professional matters, Colin Campbell devoted great attention to the drill of his regiment, and with marked success. Sir E. Haythorne, one of his officers, gives an account of a parade held in presence of Colonel Booth, commanding the 43rd, who was considered one of the best drills in the service, and his regiment one of the smartest. Subsequently at mess Colonel Booth publicly stated that there was nothing which the 43rd could do that the 98th could not do—no light praise coming from such a quarter. While at Newcastle Colin Campbell taught the 98th to advance firing, a manœuvre to which, as will be seen, he subsequently had recourse with marked success. He had learnt it from his first commanding officer in the 9th, and in it we may see the germ of the present advance by rushes—the object in both cases being to gain ground whilst keeping up a continuous fire.

In July, 1841, the 98th proceeded to Ireland, but was soon ordered to Portsmouth, whence, on December 20, it sailed for Hong Kong. On its arrival it received orders to join Sir Hugh Gough's force in the north of China, which it did at Woosung on June 21, 1842. The regiment was engaged in a slight skirmish near Chin-kiang-foo whilst that place was being captured. The loss of the 98th on this occasion from the fire of the enemy was small, but the heat was terribly destructive. Many men were struck down by the sun, among others Colin Campbell himself, who, however, soon rallied, but thirteen men perished on the spot. Cholera, fever, and dysentery then broke out, and in ten days' time fifty-three of the 98th had died. Sir Hugh Gough next proceeded to attack Nankin, and the 98th were present at the preliminary operations, which were rendered useless by the submission of the Chinese. Colin Campbell was unable to accompany his regiment, being de-

tained on board ship sick. He, however, rejoined it a few days later, only to be again attacked by fever. The expedition then returned to Hong Kong, and on its being broken up Colin Campbell assumed command of the troops on the island.

At the beginning of 1843 he learnt that, though he had not had the opportunity of playing a conspicuous part in the campaign, he had been appointed A.D.C. to the Queen with the rank of colonel, and nominated a C.B. In January, 1844, he was, by virtue of seniority, appointed to the command of Chusan, with the rank of brigadier of the second class. Naturally, he had much leisure time at this station, and he passed it in reading and keeping up a correspondence with friends at home. We learn that, in addition to professional literature, he read Shakespeare assiduously, and was very fond of poetry, especially Scotch poetry.

On July 25, 1846, Chusan having been given back to the Chinese, Colin Campbell, with his regiment, sailed for Calcutta, reaching Calcutta on October 24, four days after entering on his fifty-fifth year. A few weeks later he was appointed as brigadier of the second class, to command the garrison of Lahore. After an affecting parting with his regiment, he started for his destination at the beginning of February, 1847. On the road he met the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, who received him most kindly. In the course of conversation his lordship said something also about the native troops, of the loose way in which the European officers did their duty, of his having found one of them, when on guard, in bed, and the guards without any written orders. A little further on he met Lord Gough. 'Friendly and kind in his greeting; dined with him.' The commander-in-chief asked Colin Campbell if there was anything he could do for him. The reply was that the only favour he wanted was that the 98th should be moved nearer the frontier and further from its present quarters, where there were so many temptations to the men to drink. This request was thoroughly characteristic of Colin Campbell, who never sought anything for himself, and was unceasing in his anxiety to promote the welfare of the men. Another incident equally characteristic of him occurred soon after his arrival at Lahore. He was naturally hot-tempered and impatient of grumblers. One day, in a conversation with the brigade major, Keiller, he spoke with some heat. In his journal he remarks: 'Got very angry last night when speaking to Keiller about some officers who had been making remarks about quarters. I wish I had not

‘allowed my temper to heat me; but I am too old, I fear, to change my bad ways and habits, and this heat of temper has always told against me.’ He was, however, persistent in his endeavours to curb himself, and on the fly-leaf of one of his journals of this time is written as a motto: ‘*Quelque chose que nous disions dans un moment d’emportement, il est bien rare qu’elle ne nous cause pas de regrets.*’ He has been accused of never changing his mind when he once took a dislike to a person—of never forgiving, in fact. This accusation we do not think to have been well founded. He did break out occasionally very strongly, but if he found he had done an injustice he was always ready to try and repair it. One who knew him well says, ‘Whenever he lost his temper (which he did very often, especially in action) and pitched into any officer very strongly, he invariably afterwards sent an aide-de-camp to ask him to dinner.’

Soon after his arrival at Lahore Colin Campbell became very intimate with the late Sir Henry Lawrence, and afterwards with the late Lord Lawrence, frequently accompanying the latter on shooting excursions. He, however, never allowed his attention to be diverted from the paramount object of securing the garrison of Lahore against surprise. Sir Charles Napier writes to him from Kurrachee words which ought to be ever borne in mind by British officers: ‘I am delighted at all your precautions against surprise. In India we who take these precautions are reckoned cowards. Be assured that English officers think it a fine dashing thing to be surprised—to take no precautions. Formerly it was an axiom in war that no man was fit to be a commander who permitted himself to be surprised, but things are on a more noble footing now.’ On finishing one volume of his diary on March 16, 1848, he makes the following touching entry: ‘If I have not realised my hope of joining those I love so much at home, I have been enabled by my saving to contribute much to their comfort and happiness, and this knowledge must be my consolation.’

On April 23, 1848, Colin Campbell was informed that, the news from Mooltan being bad, the movable brigade was to be held in readiness to march. He took a different and more just view of the situation than did the civil authorities.

‘I was not of this way of thinking, feeling sure that a force without the means [artillery] of taking the place would be laughed at by the garrison, and that our troops must either remain there inactive until those means arrived from Lahore—the nearest station and support, distant 210 miles, or eighteen marches, through a heavy country—or retire

upon that place until a more suitable season for carrying on operations had arrived; that either result would have a bad moral effect, and encourage all the idle vagabonds of disbanded Sikhs to swarm to the standard of Moolraj, and to crowd round the British force thus isolated.'

Before he had read a statement of the case, which was sent in a private letter from Colin Campbell to a friend at Simla, Lord Gough had expressed the same views as the Brigadier. Yielding, therefore, to the representations of the two experienced old soldiers, the Government did not send the brigade. While waiting with natural anxiety for the development of the drama which was to end in the second Sikh war, Colin Campbell was able to congratulate himself that he had placed his sister in a position of independence, and that he himself was at length free from that humiliation which he had so long and so keenly felt, debt.

Stirring times were now at hand, and at length Colin Campbell was to prove his talents for high command. Rajah Shere Singh having gone over to Moolraj with 5,000 troops, a great impetus was given to the rising. Appreciating the necessity of prompt and vigorous action, Colin Campbell five days later sent off a strong detachment by night to seize Govindghur, the fort of Unritsir. The expedition was successful, the Sikh garrison being expelled without bloodshed. Lord Gough said that this measure 'had relieved his mind of a load of anxiety.' At the beginning of November Colin Campbell was directed to take command, with the rank of brigadier-general, of the troops in advance, consisting of a brigade of cavalry, two brigades of infantry, subsequently increased by a third, a brigade of cavalry, and four batteries. The disaster at Ramnuggur, which occurred on the 22nd, though the action was fought by Colin Campbell's troops, cannot be laid to his door, for the Commander-in-Chief assumed direct command. It was a confused skirmish, consisting of a desultory cannonade and isolated duels between bodies of cavalry. Colin Campbell represented to Colonel Grant, Adjutant-General of the Army, that these fights could lead to no result, and urged him to make a representation to that effect to Lord Gough. Ere this could be done the 14th charged into the bed of the river, and suffered severely. Three days after the action Colin Campbell was offered the appointment of Adjutant-General Queen's Troops, vice Colonel Cureton, killed. He refused, stating that he was anxious to return to England as soon as the campaign was over.

In the early morning of November 30 Sir Joseph Thack-

well started with three troops of Horse Artillery, two field batteries, two 18-pounder guns drawn by elephants, a brigade of cavalry, and Campbell's division, consisting of three brigades, to cross the Chenab and attack the Sikh entrenched position at Ramnuggur. Colin Campbell, when the force was across the river, was left in temporary command while Sir Joseph Thackwell rode off to bring up reinforcements. He asked permission to deploy and take up a position, but was ordered not to move. Riding to the front to reconnoitre, he observed large numbers of the enemy. On his own responsibility, therefore, he sent a company to occupy each of three villages in his front in order to prevent the force from being suddenly attacked, 'for the force, being in three inert masses, 'was not in a state of formation for troops to be when liable 'to be attacked at any moment.' Thackwell, on his return, ordered these outlying companies to rejoin their regiments. The enemy then advanced to the villages, which, says Colin Campbell, were 'our true position.' When the enemy were close to the villages Thackwell said, 'We must advance 'and attack them.' Colin Campbell replied that it would be better to let them come out into the open plain. When, however, he saw that they halted at the villages and had no intention of advancing further, Colin Campbell asked to be allowed to attack them—

'advancing in echelon of brigades from the centre, thus refusing both flanks to these attacks of cavalry, which were in truth feeble. . . . He replied that he was afraid of his flanks. As the day advanced I asked him a second time to allow me to attack, which he refused for the same reason. Thus the day passed off in a cannonade from both sides. We lost some sixty or seventy men killed and wounded from cannon shot. We slept on the ground, and next morning we found the enemy had moved off during the night in the direction of the Jhelum.'

Sir Joseph Thackwell, on seeing Sir William Napier's life of Sir Charles Napier, in which Campbell's offers to attack are mentioned, denied in a letter to Sir William Napier, published in the appendix to the second edition, that Campbell ever offered to attack. General Shadwell says that he is not aware whether Colin Campbell, then engaged in repressing the Indian Mutiny, ever saw this denial. The evidence that Colin Campbell *did* offer to attack is as follows:—His own journal. Sir E. Haythorne, then on his staff, was not present when the conversation took place, but Colin Campbell mentioned it to him a few minutes later. General Shadwell, on joining Colin Campbell a fortnight later, was told the same version by him, with the remark that 'it was a lost oppor-

'tunity.' The only explanation of Thackwell's denial is that he forgot the purport of the conversation.

On January 13, 1849, was fought the battle of Chillianwallah, and it is not too much to say that whatever success was achieved on that unfortunate day was due to Colin Campbell. His journal is a valuable contribution to the history of the battle, but for want of space we must content ourselves with briefly mentioning his personal share in it. The army was formed in two wings, Gilbert's division on the right of the village of Chillianwallah, Campbell's on the left. Pope's brigade of cavalry was on the right of the line. White's brigade of cavalry on the left. Penny's brigade was in reserve. Campbell's division consisted of Pennycuik's brigade on the right, Hoggan's, consisting of H.M.'s 61st Regiment in the centre, the 36th Native Infantry on the right, and the 46th Native Infantry on the left. Six field-pieces were between the brigades, and three on the left of Hoggan's brigade. The Sikhs, with a numerous artillery, occupied rising ground, which, as well as the plain at its foot, was covered with thick jungle. It was impossible for Colin Campbell, owing to the nature of the ground, to superintend both brigades; he therefore resolved to attach himself to the left or Hoggan's brigade. About 2 P.M. Colin Campbell received an order to advance the division in line and attack, being at the same time informed that the three troops of Horse Artillery on his left would support his advance. Pennycuik's brigade was thrown into confusion by the thick jungle, and received, while passing through and on emerging from it, by a heavy fire of artillery. Nevertheless, the 24th took the enemy's guns. They, however, found in rear of the latter a body of Sikh cavalry, and on both flanks a large body of infantry. Being badly supported by the two Native Infantry regiments who hung back, and crushed by the fire of the Sikh infantry, the 24th fell back, losing fearfully, and pursued by the enemy's cavalry. Let us now turn to Hoggan's brigade. Colin Campbell so regulated the march of the directing battalion, the 61st, that the whole brigade emerged from the jungle 'in a very tolerable line.' The Sikhs had four guns and a large body of cavalry in front of the 61st, with a numerous infantry opposite the 36th Native Infantry, which was the right battalion. The 36th attacked the infantry, but were repulsed. The 61st moved steadily on the cavalry, which steadily and slowly retired. To hasten their departure Colin Campbell had recourse to his favourite manœuvre, and ordered the 61st to fire as they advanced. The Sikh cavalry on this hastily scampered off. The enemy

then pushed forward two guns to within twenty-five or thirty yards of the right flank of the 61st, and opened with grape, their infantry being at the same time, owing to the repulse of the 36th Native Infantry, completely in rear of the 61st. The position was desperate, but Colin Campbell never for an instant lost his head. Wheeling back the grenadiers of the 61st, and wheeling forward No. 1 company, he led both of them in a charge on the guns. The guns were captured, but nearly at the cost of the life of Colin Campbell. Two Sikh artillerymen fired their muskets at him at a few yards' distance. The bullet of one broke the ivory handle of a pocket pistol in his right waistcoat pocket, and damaged his watch; the bullet of the other wounded his horse in the mouth. The first Sikh, finding that his shot had failed, rushed forward sword in hand and gave Colin Campbell a severe cut on the right arm. Both Sikhs were immediately bayoneted. As soon as the two companies of the 61st had taken the guns, they opened fire on the Sikh infantry and compelled them to retire. In the mean time the remaining companies of the 61st changed front to their right and formed on the two companies above mentioned. Colin Campbell, with their own and other officers, tried to induce the 36th Native Infantry to reform on the 61st, but without success, the Sepoys being all talking together in great confusion, and some of them firing in the air. Neither had the 46th Native Infantry yet formed on the left of the 61st. Whilst this was going on the Sikhs advanced two fresh guns and opened with grape, while the Sikh infantry, which had driven back the 36th Native Infantry, and been in their turn compelled to retreat by the two right companies of the 61st, had again formed. This was, in Colin Campbell's opinion, the most critical moment of the day. The artillery attached to him were absent for causes not necessary to specify, but reflecting no discredit on them, and, with only the 61st to rely upon, he found himself in the heart of the enemy's position. He did not hesitate for a moment, and, again personally leading the 61st, captured the enemy's two guns and drove off their infantry.

‘After the capture of the second two guns, and dispersion of the enemy, we proceeded rolling up the enemy's line, continuing along the line of their position until we had taken thirteen guns, all of them at the point of the bayonet by the 61st. We finally met Brigadier Mountain's brigade coming from the opposite direction. During our progress we were frequently threatened by the enemy's cavalry, who had followed us, retaking the guns we had been obliged to leave behind

us, our force not having admitted of our leaving a detachment for their protection.'

In a letter to his sister Alicia, modestly describing the battle, he says:—

'The loss of so many fine fellows and that of my oldest and dearest friends is very saddening. If it should please God to take me through this war, I hope my circumstances will admit of my return to England in the course of another year. I must say, however, that I never entered action with a lighter and happier heart than upon the recent occasions, for I had you provided for.'

On February 21 following was won the brilliant victory of Goojerat. It was chiefly an artillery duel, and the defeat of the Sikhs was complete. Colin Campbell was ordered to storm a nullah—a ravine or watercourse—

'but to have done so with infantry would have occasioned a very useless and most unnecessary sacrifice of life. And seeing that this end could be accomplished by the use of the artillery without risking the loss of a man, I proceeded, upon my own responsibility, to employ my artillery in enfilading the nullah; and after succeeding in driving the enemy out of every part of it, I had the satisfaction of seeing the whole left wing of our army, including my own division, pass this formidable defence of the enemy's right wing without firing a musket or losing a man. This was a very great and exceeding satisfaction to me. We had too much slaughter of human life at Chillianwallah, without due precaution having been taken to prevent it by the employment of our magnificent artillery. Having felt this strongly, and having expressed it to the Commander-in-Chief in strong terms, I determined to employ this weapon against the enemy to the fullest extent, whenever we should again come in contact with them; and I did so, accordingly, in the battle of Goojerat.'

Marching with his division in pursuit of the Afghans to Peshawur, Colin Campbell was in April appointed to the command of the Rawul Pindie division. For his services in the campaign he was created a K.C.B. In a letter to Sir Hope Grant he says, with reference to the above-mentioned honour: 'I may confess to you I would much rather have got a year's batta, because the latter would enable me to leave this country a year sooner, and to join some friends of my early days, whom I love very much, and in whose society I would like to spend the period which may yet remain to me to live between the camp and the grave. The day I leave this country will terminate my military career.' While at Rawul Pindie he, by his mingled tact and firmness, averted a dangerous mutiny of the native troops, his conduct on the occasion receiving the warmest commendation from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier. In November, 1849, he was transferred to

the command of the Peshawur division. During the two and a half years of his tenure of this command, several expeditions against the turbulent mountain tribes were sent out, in some of which Sir Colin—as we will henceforth style him—commanded in person, and showed great skill in mountain warfare. He did not, however, feel at all satisfied with his position. His humane mind revolted against the burning the crops of insurgent tribes, and his forethought induced him occasionally to represent that the means of transport, supplies, knowledge of the country, and even numerical force were insufficient. He, on one occasion at least, deemed that Lord Dalhousie's action was not only high-handed but unjust. The end of it was that, finding himself in antagonism to the Government and the civil officers, he on June 3, 1852, on the ground of ill-health, resigned his command. Almost simultaneously he received a severe reprimand from the Governor-General, in which he was informed that he 'had transgressed the bounds of his proper province,' and 'had placed himself in an attitude of direct and proclaimed insubordination to the authority of the Governor-General in Council.' He made a temperate dignified reply, in which he expressed his surprise that 'after a life of unswerving military subordination he should be accused of the reverse.' He also disavowed any intention of showing disrespect to the head of the Government. We have not space to go into the details of the question, but we do not hesitate to express an opinion that Lord Dalhousie's censure of Sir Colin Campbell was unjustifiable. It is evident from the correspondence which took place between Sir Colin and Sir William Gomm, the Commander-in-Chief, that the latter considered that the commander of the Peshawur division was unjustly treated. It is also noteworthy that Lord Dalhousie impressed at least three of the most distinguished persons under his orders with a strong sense of injustice, viz., Sir Charles Napier, Sir Henry Lawrence, and Sir Colin Campbell. Of the two principal personages concerned in this affair the censurer was the one who more than anyone contributed to kindle the Indian Mutiny, while the censured was the officer chiefly instrumental in suppressing that mutiny.

After spending the remainder of the hot weather of 1852 at the hill station of Murree on sick leave, Sir Colin left for England, where he arrived at the beginning of March, 1853. He was destined to enjoy but a short period of rest, notwithstanding his frequent assertions that his military career would end on quitting India. War with Russia was impending, and a signal proof of the high estimation in which Sir Colin was held

by the home authorities occurred. It was at first intended to send out to Turkey only two brigades of infantry; for the command of one of these Sir Colin was selected, and soon after his arrival at Scutari he was appointed to the 2nd or Highland Brigade of the 1st Division. At the head of this splendid brigade, consisting of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd, he again rendered most important service at the battle of the Alma. When he got into the bed of the Alma river, he, according to his brigade major, the late Sir Anthony Sterling, perceived that the light division to his right front was in confusion, and exclaimed, 'By God, those regiments are not moving like British soldiers,' and immediately formed his right regiment, the 42nd, which was slightly in advance of the other two regiments under cover of the south or Russian bank of the river. The Duke of Cambridge at that moment coming up, Sir Colin urged on the latter an immediate advance, observing that he foresaw a disaster if this were not done. He himself pushed on the 42nd as soon as formed, sending word to the other two regiments to do the same as soon as formed. Thus the brigade advanced not accidentally, but, as Sir Colin's own correspondence states, designedly in echelon of battalions from the right. On reaching the summit of the heights, Sir Colin perceived the Russians, who were retiring from the redoubt, trying to form upon two large masses who were advancing across the plateau against the 42nd. This regiment was too much out of breath from the rapid yet steady ascent of the hill to charge, so they opened fire while advancing and drove the enemy before them with great loss to the latter. Before the 42nd reached the inner edge of the plateau another mass of Russian infantry attacked them, but were soon disposed of. At the inner crest of the heights the 42nd were halted by Sir Colin. At this moment two large columns came down from the enemy's right on the left flank of the regiment. Just then the 93rd topped the hill.

'The 93rd, whom I had great difficulty in restraining from following the enemy, had only time to inflict great loss when two bodies of fresh infantry with some cavalry came boldly forward against the left flank of the 93rd, when, thinking (as in the case of the flank attack on the 42nd) of the dispositions I should make to meet it, the 79th made its appearance over the hill, and went at these troops with cheers, causing them great loss, and sending them down the hillside in great confusion.

. . . Lord Raglan came up afterwards and sent for me. When I approached him I observed his eyes to fill and his lips and countenance to quiver. He gave me a cordial shake of the hand, but could not speak. The men cheered very much. I told them I was going to ask the Commander-in-Chief a great favour—that he would permit me the honour

of wearing the Highland bonnet during the rest of the campaign, which pleased them very much; and so ended my part in the fight of the 20th instant.'

In this severe action—which, thanks to the rapid advance and judicious handling of Sir Colin, cost the brigade the comparatively small loss of only one officer and about a hundred men killed and wounded—he himself escaped untouched, but his horse was killed under him. Sir Anthony Sterling says that Sir Colin, when Lord Raglan shook hands with him, said, pointing to the killed: 'Sir, it was they who did it.' He adds that when Sir Colin asked permission to wear the Highland bonnet, the men cheered enthusiastically. With reference to the bonnet General Ewart says: 'We were all greatly amused about this time by seeing Sir Colin Campbell appear on parade in a feather bonnet instead of his cocked hat. He was so delighted with his Highlanders on the 20th, that he asked Lord Raglan's permission to wear a Highland bonnet, of which there were now plenty to spare, and had a hackle made partly red and partly white, the 42nd wearing red hackles, and the 79th and 93rd white.'

On October 14 the important command of the troops in front of Balaklava was assigned to Sir Colin. He perceived the defect of the position in the distance between the Turkish redoubts and their supports, but was in no way responsible for this arrangement, and he had to make the best of the imperfect defensive means at his disposal. Sir Colin vigorously applied himself to the work cut out for him. The first to rise, he was the last to lie down, though engaged on his legs or on horseback every hour of the day in the superintendence of the different working parties, encouraging the diligent, rebuking the indolent, besides visiting at early dawn and nightfall not only his own posts but those of the cavalry.

Lord George Paget, in 'The Light Cavalry Brigade in the Crimea,' speaks of making Sir Colin's acquaintance for the first time:—

'He is such a nice fellow, and one of those . . . who seem to take a pleasure in gratifying one's curiosity and thirst for military knowledge and information as to the nature of the position, expected point of attack, &c. . . . But Sir Colin was very irate against "those young officers of cavalry who would fall out from their regiment and come to the front and give their opinions on matters they know nothing about instead of attending to their squadron as I would make them do. Why, my lord, one with a beard and moustache, who ought to have known better . . . said to me to-day, 'I should like to have a brush with them down there;' when I replied 'Are you aware, Sir, that there is a river

‘between us and them?’ These young gentlemen talk a great deal of nonsense. I have no fear of the action of an old fellow like myself being misconstrued, but I am not here to fight a battle or gain a victory; my orders are to defend Balaklava, which is the key to all our operations, my lord, and I have a very strong position and am not going to be tempted out of it.” All this in the broadest Scotch accent, and with the bluntness of an old soldier.’

Both accent—only when excited did he speak broad Scotch—and bluntness are somewhat exaggerated in this passage, which, however, gives a good idea of Sir Colin’s feelings at that time, as well as of his disposition. He was undoubtedly irascible and subject to prejudice. The impertinent presumption of the young cavalry officers above mentioned irritated him, as we have seen. He also considered the privileges of the Guards unjust, and had therefore a prejudice against Guards officers as a body. Being thoroughly regimental in feeling, he was not very well disposed towards staff officers. Again, he was, from the great tension of mind caused by the responsibility of his position, in rather an irritable mood during the earlier part of his command at Balaklava. Finally, his brigade major, an able but not very conciliatory-mannered man, much given to grumbling, far from softening down disagreeables rather aggravated them.

General Ewart, in his interesting but slightly prolix work, gives an amusing account of a scene with Sir Colin, illustrative of his irritability at the sight of staff officers. General (then Captain) Ewart was, at the commencement of the siege, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General at head-quarters. One day he was sent down to Balaklava by the Quartermaster-General with orders for Sir Colin to send up immediately to the front 1,500 Turks, who had just arrived.

‘Now, if there was anything which Sir Colin disliked more than another, it was the sight of a staff-officer from head-quarters, and he had just been congratulating himself on the reinforcement he had, as he thought, received; my arrival therefore put him into a towering passion. At first he declared he would not give me the Turks at all, but at last I was told I might wait. . . . After waiting an hour I again visited Sir Colin, and asked when the Turks would be ready, telling him I had been desired by General Airey to ask him for an interpreter. This latter request made him more furious than ever, and he refused most positively to lend him one. I explained that I should not be able to speak to the Turkish colonel without an interpreter, but all my mild expostulations were of no avail, and I had again to beat a retreat. . . . As soon as they were ready, out came Sir Colin, and I saw that he was about to address me. “Captain Ewart,” he called out, “do you see that Turkish colonel? If you dare give him the slightest order, I’ll report you. You staff-officers think you can do anything you like.”’

Sir Colin felt most strongly that the dashing, flashy staff officer reaped many of the rewards which should more properly have been granted to the regimental officer. Nothing roused his ire more than talking of staff officers going out of their way to win the Victoria Cross. Indeed, he entertained rather a prejudice against the Victoria Cross.

On the evening of October 24, Sir Colin received such information from a Turkish general as to convince him that an attack was to be made next day. As regarded himself, he was quite prepared when the attack was made. It is strange, however, that Lord Raglan did not take additional precautions to support the Turks in the isolated and advanced redoubts. We are all familiar with the events of the 25th. The result was to increase the peril and anxiety of Sir Colin, who was regularly beleaguered. The whole of the following night he was on foot, showing himself to the troops, and telling them impressively that, 'happen what might, it was the duty of everyone to stand and, if need be, to die at his post. That he would be with them,' &c. For some weeks to come his energy and vigilance were unceasing. All day superintending the construction of defensive works, cheerfully encouraging the men, and seeing after their wants, and all night watching for an attack, he only snatched a few hours' sleep at odd times during the day. To be ready as well as, no doubt, to set a good example, he refused the shelter of a roof and carried his tent close to the principal battery. So alert was he, that 'a man coughing, a dog barking, or a tent flapping in the wind, was sufficient to startle him; and he would be up several times in the night, even when there was no alarm, visiting the pickets and guards in the battery.' At length, on the morning of December 6, the Russians were found to have recrossed the Tchernaya, and Sir Colin's anxieties were sensibly diminished. 'For the first time, that night Sir Colin lay down with his clothes off in the house; but even with a roof over his head he was restless, and such was the tension of his nervous system from the continuous strain imposed upon him by the long weeks of anxious watching, that the officer who shared the same room with him was roused in the middle of the night by his chief jumping up and shouting "Stand to your arms!"'

On Christmas Day he received the notification that he had been appointed Colonel of the 67th Regiment, and learnt that he was to succeed the Duke of Cambridge in command of the First Division, with which was conferred the local rank of Lieutenant-General. On June 16, he and his division were

reunited, and he moved to the heights in front of Sebastopol. A short time previously he had been raised to the dignity of a G.C.B. He cherished the hope that in the assault of September 8 he and his fine division would play a prominent part. In conjunction, therefore, with Colonel Cameron, the senior officer of the Highland Brigade, he had sketched out the following plan:—‘Cameron was to head the 42nd with a rush, ‘whilst Sir Colin followed with the rest of the division in ‘close support; and in this manner, pressed forward by the ‘remainder of the troops of the respective attacks, he hoped ‘that a lodgment would be effected and maintained by the ‘weight of numbers in the rear. For weeks before September 8, Sir Colin spoke of this scheme as the best chance ‘of success.’ Unfortunately he was kept in support. That was a fatal error, and led to the failure of the attack on the Redan, which was made by another division of younger troops already harassed by severe duty.

In spite of his eminent services and invariable success, Sir Colin was not yet fully appreciated by the authorities. A signal proof of this was afforded by General Simpson, on the eve of the assault, having offered him, in Lord Panmure’s name, the appointment of Governor of Malta. This offer he naturally felt to be a slur, and he unhesitatingly declined it. When Sebastopol was evacuated, it became known that General Simpson was desirous to be relieved of the command of the army. Sir Colin felt that it would not be offered to him notwithstanding his undoubted claims; so at the end of October, active operations being over for the year, he obtained leave of absence to England. Embarking on November 3, he reached London on the 17th, crossing on the way the mail carrying the appointment of Sir William Codrington as Commander-in-Chief, and a letter to himself from Lord Panmure, making a strong appeal to his patriotism to serve under General Codrington, and promising him the command of a *corps d’armée*. On arriving in England he at once called on Lord Panmure, who read him a copy of the above-mentioned letter. Sir Colin made no reply. He then went to Lord Hardinge. He thus, in a letter to a member of his staff, describes what ensued:—

‘I spoke to him distinctly as if speaking to yourself, and informed him of the utter want of value in my eyes of the flummery contained in the letter of the Minister of War, who had six or eight weeks before, when the siege was being carried on, proposed to me to go from duty with a division in the field to become schoolmaster to the recruits in Malta, and that I had come home to ask his lordship to accept my resig-

nation. If her Majesty should ask me to place myself under a junior officer, I could not perhaps refuse any request of hers. Lord Hardinge quoted instances of officers older and higher in rank than Sir Colin having consented to serve under juniors, among others his own conduct in the first Sikh war. I looked him straight in the face and said to him, "My lord, the army in India knew, and every officer and soldier in the whole army knew, that your lordship took that step to save the army, and that your lordship did save the army in consequence. The cases are not parallel." He made no reply.'

He proceeded on the morrow to pay a visit of two days to the Queen at Windsor, where he received so gracious a reception from her Majesty and the Prince Consort, that his ruffled feelings were soothed, all that was loyal and chivalrous in him was called forth. So touched indeed was he, that he told the Queen that he was ready to return to the Crimea at once, and 'to serve under a corporal if she wished it.'

It is difficult to understand the ignorance and want of appreciation of Sir Colin's value displayed by the Government—but nothing could exceed the hesitation and perplexity of the Cabinet when Lord Raglan's death rendered it necessary to appoint his successor. Sir Colin Campbell was the man who (as some of us thought) ought to have been chosen, but he was passed over partly because he was not a Guardsman, and partly because he was supposed to be a blunt old soldier devoid alike of the conciliatory manners, diplomatic skill, and linguistic acquirements needed by the commander of a British force co-operating with a French army. These ideas were altogether erroneous. Sir Colin's most intimate friend in the Crimea was General Vinoy, with whom to the day of his death he kept up a close intimacy. How well he could curb his temper when, in the interests of the public service, it was necessary to work in harmony with those whose views were not his, the history of his career in India proves. With the French officers of all ranks he was on the most friendly terms, and there was no British general whom they more liked and respected. When Pelissier heard that he had left the Crimea, he said, 'Je ne vois jamais cet homme sans avoir envie de l'embrasser.' Vinoy's remark was, 'Ils renvoient leur meilleur général et leur plus brave soldat.' As to his knowledge of French, it was disclosed to Lord Palmerston in a somewhat amusing manner.

'Sir Colin, dining with Lord and Lady Palmerston, sat on one side of the former, Madame Persigny, the wife of the French ambassador, on the other. In the general conversation which took place, Sir Colin talked to the ambassadress in her own language across Lord Palmerston,

who, on hearing this, exclaimed in a tone of surprise, "Why, Sir Colin, they told me you could not speak French."

We do not learn that Lord Palmerston blushed as he made this remark, but he certainly had not advocated the appointment of Sir Colin to the chief command.

Returning to the Crimea at the end of January, he reverted to the command of the Highland Division, it having been decided not to organise the *corps d'armée* till on the eve of taking the field. Peace soon followed, and Sir Colin re-embarked for England after delivering to his original brigade a farewell address which is a perfect model of military oratory, so simple, yet so full of feeling, was it. It was received with marked emotion by his hearers, who had learned alike to love, to respect, and to believe in their gallant chief to an extent hardly realised by civilians. His reception in England by both the public and the authorities must have been most gratifying to him. He was first appointed to the command of the Dover district, and subsequently Inspector-General of Infantry. He was anxious for repose, but accepted employment solely to enable an officer who had served with him in the Crimea to fulfil, by further employment on the staff, the period required for promotion. While Inspector-General of Infantry he gave equal proof of the remarkable faculty he possessed for remembering those who had served under him. We relate the incident in his own words:—

"While I was inspecting the dépôt at Chichester, I noticed that an old man, evidently an old soldier, though in plain clothes, was constantly on the ground, and apparently watching my movements. At the end of the inspection, as I was leaving the barrack yard, he came towards me, drew himself up, made the military salute, and with much respect said "Sir Colin, may I speak to you? Look at me, sir; do you recollect me?" I looked at him and replied "Yes, I do." "What is my name?" I told him. "Yes, sir, and where did you last see me?" "In the breach of St. Sebastian badly wounded by my side." "Right sir." "I can tell you something more: you were No. — in the front rank of my company." "Right, sir." I was putting my hand into my pocket to make the old man a present, when he stepped forward, laid his hand on my wrist, and said "No, sir, that is not what I want, but you will be going to Shorncliffe to inspect the dépôt there. I have a son in the Inniskillings quartered at that station, and if you will call him out, and say that you knew his father, that is what I could wish."

In December, 1856, Sir Colin was sent on a special mission to Berlin to invest the present Emperor of Germany with the Grand Cross of the Bath. In the following March an offer was made to him of the command of the expedi-

tionary force about to be sent to China. He declined on the score of age and long service and liability to fever and ague. Soon after, however, came another offer which his sense of duty did not allow him to refuse. The Indian Mutiny broke out, Sir George Anson died of cholera, our Eastern Empire was in the direst peril, and both the Government and the public at once proclaimed Sir Colin—now more highly estimated than he had been eighteen months previously—as the man to command. On Saturday, July 11, on going down to the Horse Guards, he was told that Lord Panmure wished to see him. Lord Panmure said that the Cabinet had only that morning heard of General Anson's death, and offered him the command in India. He accepted at once, and offered to start that evening. It was arranged that he was to leave on the following day. The only condition he made was that Colonel Mansfield, who was then discharging the duties of Consul-General at Warsaw, should be named Chief of the Staff in India. The friendship of the old General for Mansfield dated from their service at Peshawur many years before, and it was of the most cordial description. Mansfield had precisely those high intellectual powers which were not the strongest part of Sir Colin's character. The one was a man of thought, the other of action, and Sir Colin foresaw that a combination of those gifts would save India, and raise his friend to the highest rank in his profession, which, as Lord Sandhurst, he ultimately attained.

From this time his career became so thoroughly exposed to the public gaze, is so well known, that we shall say but little of his tenure of office as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. The most interesting part of his correspondence has reference to his relations with Lord Canning. These were from the first of the most cordial description, and though on several occasions their views differed their action was always harmonious. They were in constant communication with each other, and a warm friendship sprang up between them. As to his conduct of the campaign, the numbers under his immediate command were generally so small that he had little scope for displaying his tactical abilities. He showed, however, that though remarkable for prudence he could be daring as Ney when occasion demanded. Indeed, it was when under fire that he showed to the best advantage. The chief feature of his tactics was the prefacing all attacks by the infantry with a heavy fire of artillery, and by so doing he greatly economised the lives of his soldiers. This care for them was not thrown away. They knew, if sent on any dangerous enterprise, that the movement was necessary,

and that every precaution had been taken to secure success. As to the 93rd Highlanders, which, with the 42nd and 79th, again found themselves under his command, they were devoted to him, and he returned their affection. He knew many of them by name or sight, and at every opportunity would talk to the private soldiers, asking after their health and wants, &c. Their faces lit up with pleasure when he spoke to them, and after his departure they discussed eagerly the appearance and health of their old leader. They were, in fact, to him what the Tenth Legion were to Cæsar, and we verily believe that if, placing himself at their head, he had marched them to the edge of a cliff, they would have followed him over it without hesitation. The rest of the army, though less personally attached to him, yet entertained the greatest respect and regard for him. No wonder that such should be the case, for they felt that he was the friend of all, of whatever rank or colour, under his command. Dr. Russell relates an instance of his kindness of heart which is too illustrative of the man to be here omitted. In the Trans-Gogra campaign Lord Clyde, during an action, was galloping to recall a troop of horse artillery, when his horse, putting his foot in a hole, came down. Lord Clyde was much shaken, and dislocated his right shoulder. He nevertheless refused to lay up even for an hour, and passed the night *en bivouac*.

‘ At one of those fires, surrounded by Beloochees, Lord Clyde sat with his arm in a sling, on a charpoy, which had been brought out to feed the flames. Once, as he rose up to give some orders for the disposition of the troops, a tired Beloochee flung himself full length on the crazy bedstead, and was jerked off in a moment by one of his comrades. “ Don’t you see, you fool, that you are on the Lord Sahib’s charpoy ? ” Lord Clyde interposed, “ Let him lie there, don’t interfere with his rest,” and took his seat on a billet of wood.’

We have before alluded to Lord Clyde’s occasional hastiness of temper. The following account, abridged from General Ewart’s autobiography, gives a characteristic illustration of it. At the capture of the Secunder-Bagh, General (then Major) Ewart, after a desperate encounter with a couple of native officers, whom he slew with his sword, captured a colour, receiving in doing so one cut on the right arm and another on the right hand. The defenders of the building being all killed, and he, as he imagined, the senior officer present, thought that Sir Colin might like to know of the success. He accordingly ran towards Sir Colin, who was sitting on his horse surrounded by a group of staff officers. He saw Major Ewart coming, and before he could speak called out, ‘ Go back to your regiment,

‘sir.’ It was evident that something had gone wrong, for he was very irritable, and would not let Major Ewart speak. At last the latter angrily exclaimed, ‘I have just killed the last two of the enemy with my own hand, and here, sir, is one of their colours.’ Major Ewart says: ‘I almost think he damned the colours, but at last had the civility to thank me.’ We long ago learnt from another source that there was no question about damning the colours. What Lord Clyde did say was, when Major Ewart came up: ‘Damn the colours! Rejoin your regiment, sir. I respect your gallantry, Major Ewart; but rejoin your regiment.’

At the Kala Nuddee affair, where, by the way, Lord Clyde received a contusion in the stomach from a spent musket-ball, the 53rd, contrary to orders, made a dash at and captured a tollhouse occupied by the enemy. Justly indignant at this breach of discipline, he rode up to the regiment, largely composed of Irishmen, in order to reprimand it. At each attempt, however, to speak, his voice was drowned by repeated shouts of ‘Three cheers for the Commander-in-Chief, boys!’ until, finding it was impossible to obtain a hearing, the stern countenance which he had assumed for the occasion gradually relaxed, and the veteran chief turned away with a laugh.

His personal courage was conspicuous, but at the siege of Lucknow he, as he considered, made a display of nervousness at which he was much irritated. A heavy fire was going on, but Sir Colin was as usual close up to the front. Coming across a regiment lying down under cover, he remembered that in it was a young officer from whose mother—an old friend—he had that morning received a letter. He sent for the young officer and began talking to him in his customary kind manner. Suddenly whiz passed a round shot close over their heads. Involuntarily the ensign bobbed, and in sympathy Sir Colin imitated him. The next moment, recollecting himself, he furiously assailed the luckless lad in the strongest language, telling him that he had been the cause of his (Sir Colin’s) doing a thing which he had never done before, and of which he was ashamed. He exhorted the ensign never in future to duck at a shot, and then, his wrath cooling, invited him to dinner.

It has been generally believed that Lord Clyde was only the tactical general, and that all the strategy was due to the late Lord Sandhurst. It was thought, indeed, that Lord Sandhurst was to Lord Clyde what Gneisenau was to Blücher. That Lord Sandhurst’s great scientific knowledge of the art of war was of the greatest value, and proved most useful to Lord

Clyde, is certain. Lord Clyde himself, however, was more than a mere fighting soldier, and by no means ill-versed in the literature of his profession. As a proof of this assertion and that strategically Lord Clyde did not efface himself in the presence of Lord Sandhurst, that the latter did not step beyond the legitimate limits of the functions of chief of the staff, the following fact may be alleged. On his journey out Lord Clyde landed at Madras, and while there he showed his old friend Sir George Balfour a confidential memorandum of his scheme of operations. About the same time Lord Sandhurst, who had been summoned from Warsaw to follow his chief, submitted to the Cabinet, on his way through in London, a scheme which, in general conception as well as in detail, was almost identical with that of Lord Clyde.

The Sepoy mutiny was scarcely over when what is called the 'White Mutiny' threatened most serious consequences. The difficulty arose from the high-handed manner in which the European soldiers in the Company's army had been transferred to the direct service of the Queen. They had been treated, as they conceived, with indignity, and, as they believed, the terms of their engagement had been violated. The slightest management on the part of the Government, the grant of a bounty, or even a complimentary speech on the transfer and an issue of rum in which to drink the Queen's health, would have put the malcontents in good humour. As it was, there was during several weeks the greatest peril of an actual collision between the Company's and the Queen's troops. Happily Lord Clyde, who was not responsible for the mischief, was able by mingled firmness, tact, and knowledge of soldiers, to save the Government from the peril which their error had produced. It was with reference to this incident that Lord Clyde wrote to Lord Canning: 'I am irresistibly led to the conclusion that henceforth it will be dangerous to the State to maintain a local European army. I believe that after this most recent experiment it will be unsafe to have any European forces which do not undergo the regular process of relief, and that this consideration must be held to be paramount to all others.'

On June 4, 1860, having stamped out the last embers of rebellion, and despatched an expedition to China, Lord Clyde terminated his active military career, and embarked for England. He had left India eight years previously a simple colonel and K.C.B., in quasi-disgrace with the local government. In the meantime he had risen to the rank of full general, the dignity of Grand Cross of the Bath and peer of the United Kingdom, and was acknowledged by all to be the

most eminent, able, and distinguished general in the British army. In addition to other honours he had been in January, 1858, transferred from the colonelcy of the 67th to that of the corps so closely connected with his fame and so devoted to his person, the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders. Some curious circumstances attended his elevation to the peerage. Lord Derby inquired what title he would choose. In reply he mentioned 'Clyde.' The Duke of Cambridge, in a private letter to him, had suggested that he should be raised to the peerage by the title of 'Baron Clyde of Lucknow.' He, as we see, adopted his Royal Highness's suggestion in part only, for, as he wrote to the Duke, Sir Henry Havelock had been created a baronet with the affix of Lucknow. 'It might be unbecoming in me to trench, as it were, on the title of that very distinguished officer.' Lord Derby, feeling that it was necessary that an 'of' should be added, gave instructions for the patent to be made out in the name of 'Baron Clyde of Clydesdale.' On hearing this, Sir Colin had it brought to his notice that one of the titles borne by the Duke of Hamilton was 'Clydesdale.' He therefore wrote to beg that he might, after all, be styled 'of Lucknow;' but it was too late, and as Baron Clyde of Clydesdale he became a peer of the United Kingdom. At the same time he received a pension of 2,000*l*. a year. With the innate modesty and simplicity of his disposition Lord Clyde was at first—to quote a letter from Sir W. Mansfield to Sir Hope Grant—'much disposed to run restive at being put into such strange harness.' General Shadwell says: 'In his communications with his intimate friends—in deed in the many letters he subsequently wrote to General Eyre or the writer of these pages—not one is to be found with the signature of "Clyde." They generally bear his initials, "C. C." or "C. Campbell"—the way in which he had hitherto signed himself.' Further honours were in store for him. In July, on arriving at Paris, on his way to England, he received an intimation that he had been appointed colonel of the Coldstream Guards. The emoluments of this position, together with his pension, gave him an income of 4,000*l*. a year. In addition were his savings during his three years' tenure of office as Commander-in-Chief. His total income must therefore have been during the last few years of his life close on 5,000*l*. a year, a pleasant contrast to his position ten years previously, when he had only just extricated himself from debt.

On arriving in London he was received with enthusiasm by all classes, from her Majesty and the royal family downwards,

but, with his usual modesty, he shrank from being lionised. As soon as he could free himself from social as well as official demands—for his opinion on the reorganisation of the Indian army was much sought after—he went off to Vichy, where, in the society of his old Crimean friend, General Vinoy, he took the rest which he so much needed. Age, toil, anxiety, and hardships were at length beginning to tell on him, and his health had evidently begun to fail. On his return to England in the winter he established his surviving sister, Miss Alicia Campbell, in a home of her own in London, he himself taking chambers in the Albany. His father, we may mention, had died in 1859. In April, 1861, he again went to the Continent, spending a few weeks in Paris with General Vinoy, visiting the battle-fields of the Austro-French war, and returning *via* Germany. He was soon off again, being commissioned to represent the British army at the Prussian manœuvres. On November 1, 1861, he was invested at Windsor with the Grand Cross of the Star of India, and on November 9, 1861, he was created Field Marshal. He had exhausted all honours, and though his promotion had at one time been somewhat slow, to climb from colonel to field-marshal in little less than seven years and a half was, in a certain sense, compensation. He might indeed be now considered fortunate. He was able to enjoy the well-earned repose for which he had long pined. He had obtained high social, the highest military rank. He enjoyed an income which to him was affluence. His old friends and many new acquaintances vied with each other for the honour and pleasure of seeing the fine, genial, pleasant old soldier at their London dinner tables or country houses. From time to time he varied his pleasures by visits to France, where General Vinoy and other friends were ever ready to welcome him.

There were, however, two drawbacks to his happiness. His health began to fail soon after his return from India, and he had several warnings that his race was nearly run. Another circumstance there was, too, which gave him pain. From causes which it is needless here to discuss, a coolness had sprung up between him and some of his old staff. Indeed, he either was, or imagined that he was, neglected by certain of those to whom he had been so kind a chief, and who owed so much to him. He complained that he had no one to write a letter for him. That his affectionate heart was wounded by this estrangement from those who had been among his most dear and trusted friends we can well believe. Other friends as old as those between whom and him a wall of estrangement

had arisen, however, were ready to make his declining days pleasant to him, and though ill-health had rendered him a little excitable, and perhaps somewhat exacting, he became by no means misanthropical. He still delighted in the society of those whom he knew well, was still always thinking how he could do a kindness to or advance the interests of others. As long as he was in debt or poor, he had longed for money because money meant independence, a provision for his sister, and power to take rest. He was, however, the reverse of greedy, and his personal tastes were as simple when a rich field-marshal as when a poor colonel. He thus had a large balance with which to indulge his generosity. On January 18, 1862, he writes in his journal: 'I have given so many presents in money during the course of the year, that I find I must discontinue the indulgence of this pleasure for some time to come.' Then follows a detailed statement which shows that during 1861 he had, besides a handsome allowance to his sister, given away no less than 6,792*l.* His generosity was of no late growth. When Commander-in-Chief in India he was wont, if any great friend or member of his personal staff had pay or allowances unjustly cut down, to exert himself to the utmost to see them righted, and, if he failed, would pay the money himself. On more than one occasion the sum amounted to over 100*l.*

In May, 1863, he was taken so ill at the house in Berkeley Square, which he had taken, and to which he had moved only a few weeks previously, that his medical attendant advised him to set his affairs in order. In the first week in June he suddenly appeared at the house of his old friend and brother officer in the 98th, General Eyre, at Chatham, where he was in the habit of paying constant visits. After a fortnight's stay, during which he made no progress, he returned to London for a few days. On June 23 he reappeared at Chatham. He never quitted the house again. The details of his last illness are told in a simple, touching manner, in harmony with Lord Clyde's own simple nature. He realised his danger from the first, and with pious fortitude prepared himself for the end. He passed much time in prayer and in hearing the Bible and sacred poetry read to him. It was possibly in reference to the estrangement above mentioned that he earnestly impressed upon General Eyre his forgiveness of all unkindness. 'Mind this, Eyre, I die at peace with all the world.' In the intervals of his sufferings he loved to talk about old Peninsular days. His memory, too, would frequently dwell on his faithful Highlanders, and find expression in terms of grati-

tude for the trust they had reposed in the chief who loved them so well. Occasionally he became subject to delusions and very excitable. We learn that at times, on hearing the sound of the bugle in the adjoining square, he would spring from his chair, exclaiming, 'I'm ready.' On July 24 he seemed to have but a few hours to live; but though he longed for death he said to General Eyre, 'I should like to live till to-morrow, because it is the anniversary of St. Sebastian, which is, perhaps, a fitting day for the old soldier to die.' It was deemed advisable that he should not be excited by interviews with any but General Eyre's family circle. His sister, therefore, though she spent some time in the house without his being aware of the fact, did not see him till August 1, when he expressed an earnest desire for her presence. From that day she never left him, till, on August 14, he passed away to his rest. In spite of his desire for an unostentatious funeral, it was considered due, alike to him, to the army, and to the nation, to lay his bones in Westminster Abbey.

Thus passed away from the midst of us the mortal remains, but not the inspiring memory, of Colin Campbell, Baron Clyde and Field Marshal, who seventy-one years previously had entered the world as the son of a poor Glasgow carpenter. This brilliant transformation was little due to accidents of fortune, nor indeed at all to genius. He was not a great man—he was not a brilliant man—but he was brave, capable, patient, persevering, unselfish, and possessed of a single-minded devotion to duty. Hence his success. Hence the fame with which, when his countrymen learned to know him, they enwreathed his brows. Hence the devotion of his troops. Hence the love of his numerous friends. Hence the deep respect of the general public. If his name will not be recorded in history as that of a great man, it will certainly be remembered by posterity as that of a grand character; and, unlike many popular heroes, the more that is known of him the brighter does his reputation shine. The admirable biography which we owe to the pious industry of his old aide-de-camp has done much to assign the subject of it his proper niche in the temple of fame, and we feel an especial pleasure in paying our humble tribute of respect and regard to one who combined in the highest degree the bravery and warmth of heart of a true Highlander.

ART. VIII.--*Heinrich IV. und Philip III. Die Begründung des französischen Uebergewichtes in Europa, 1598-1610.* Von Dr. M. PHILIPPSSEN. Drei Bände. Berlin: 1870-1876.

IN the course of the great rivalry which was carried on between France and Spain for nearly two centuries, no greater contrast is offered than that presented by the reigns of Henri IV. and Philip III.; and Dr. Philippsen has, with very considerable success, devoted remarkable faculties of research and a keen historic insight to the difficult task of bringing out in high relief and with great detail the opposite principles which prevailed in the two countries with respect to foreign policy, State organisation, and internal administration, and to setting forth the various consequences of their antagonistic action. The period comprised in these volumes of Dr. Philippsen occupies the last twelve years of the reign of Henri IV., and extends from the Peace of Vervins, concluded on May 2, 1598, to the assassination of the great king by the knife of Ravallac in the year 1610. These twelve years form a most eventful period in the history of the two nations. While the unprincipled and senseless government of Lerma marks the point of declination of the Spanish Government in its rapid descent to ruin and decay, it was during the reign of Henri IV. that the foundation of French preponderance was laid in Europe. These twelve years denoted in fact a displacement of power destined to affect the whole world and all civilisation.

The two countries, indeed, represented directly opposite principles. Spain was the representative of the strict Catholic principle and of the suppression of all contrary ways of thought; while France, which in its home government was not much more tolerant, yet, from enmity to Spain, allied herself especially with the Protestant powers, of whose interests she undertook to be the champion, in Germany and the Netherlands. The final victory of France in fact gave to the Reformation a sure and solid foundation. Yet at the signature of the Peace of Vervins on May 2, 1598, a superficial observer might have deemed it absurd to place the power of France on a level with that of Spain. The power of Spain at that time extended widely over both hemispheres, and the Spaniards were justly proud of an empire upon which, as they boasted, the sun never set, and which reduced to insignificance the *orbis terrarum* of the Roman world. The Pacific

Ocean, the Indian and Atlantic Oceans were in theory but inland seas of the Spanish Empire. In all the most important seaports in Flanders, Spain, Southern Italy, Southern Asia, and in Africa and America, the Spanish flag waved supreme. In Italy Spain possessed the half of the Peninsula, and seemed likely to embrace the whole in its oppressive grasp. The feeling of the nation was that Spain was destined to be the mistress of the whole earth, and it was long ere they were cured of this delusion. The population of the Spanish territories was, however, far from equalling their extent. Spain itself, according to the census of 1594, contained 8,206,791 inhabitants, and in all Spanish Europe there were about eighteen millions of people. When one considers that at that time England, Ireland, and Scotland did not contain four million inhabitants, and how scarce was the general population of Europe, it is apparent how relatively preponderant was the power of Spain as regards population.

But this immense empire, which presented so colossal and formidable an appearance from without, was honeycombed with ruin and decay within. Its government was a despotism of the most implacable and exclusive character. All representative government had become a mere shadow in Spain since the suppression of the *Comuneros* in the days of Charles V. And although Philip II. professed to be the great upholder of the Church, it was on condition that the Spanish ecclesiastics should hold their allegiance to him as superior to their allegiance to the Pope. Not a papal bull was allowed to have authority in Spain without the royal *placet*, and all the ecclesiastical vacancies were filled up by himself. The Inquisition itself derived all its authority from the crown. The same despotic spirit prevailed in the army and navy and in every department of the State. Under this upas-tree of despotism which overshadowed the whole land, the forces of Spain and the sources of prosperity rapidly withered and became exhausted. The many causes of the ruin of Spain have been detailed again and again; and at every fresh enumeration a fresh wonder is excited at the multiplicity of forms of political and financial absurdity and of national folly which made up the sum of the despotic and conservative creed in Spain, and which were dragging it down every year more irretrievably into ruin. Not the least of the causes of such ruin was the enormous amount of property held in mortmain by ecclesiastics; it is computed that about one-fifth of the soil of Spain was held by the Church. The yearly incomes of the eleven archbishops of Spain ranged from 300,000 scudi (equal in present money to

about 300,000*l.*) to 20,000 scudi a year. The Cortes again and again made representations about the harmfulness of this excessive accumulation of property in mortmain, but the king characteristically replied, *No conviene que se haya novedad en esto*. It was not unnatural, however, that the king should so reply, for under various pretexts he drew about six millions of ducats a year from Church property. Not much less harmful was the immense amount of property held in entail as *mayorazgos*. Never, too, was there invented so irrational a system of taxation as that which was in vogue with Spanish statesmen. But it was not only to the artificial and senseless measures of statesmen that Spain was indebted for her decay; the main cause of her evils arose from the character of the nation itself, as developed by historical causes and the proclivities of race.

The population of Spain was divided into four classes—(1) the clergy, of whom we have already spoken, with their enormous possessions; (2) the greater nobility; (3) the lesser nobility; (4) the *pecheros* or common people. All these four classes were animated by the same spirit of haughtiness and possessed by the same love of indolence. Even the *pechero* would indulge in the arrogant spirit of caste which inflated his superiors in ascending degrees, for below him were a wretched set of pariahs, composed of the descendants of the Moors and Jews, and of the *Sanbenitos*, the victims of the Inquisition. There were 300,000 *hidalgos*, mostly tradespeople and artisans; but all these were full of contempt for their own occupations, and seized every opportunity of emerging from their class and taking rank with the idle nobility. The *pechero* boasted himself, commoner as he was, to be the lord and master of foreign nations, and, however humble his position, strove to appear a great personage; and this presumption and false pride, accompanied with hardness of feeling, roughness of demeanour, and merciless bigotry, made the name of Spaniard to be at that time detested in Europe.

This indolent haughtiness of the Spaniard, and his aversion from all mechanical and toilsome labour, were increased by other accidental causes—by the adventurous spirit excited by the seductions of the gold and silver of South America, and the attractions of foreign service in the renowned armies of Spain. The unfortunate inhabitants of Naples, Milan, and Flanders, not to speak of the more pitiable natives of South America, had countless tales to tell of the rapacity and ruthlessness of their foreign masters, who robbed them without mercy while charged with the mission of protection.

With all the faults of the Spaniards, however, their army, which had been the first in the world since the days of Gonzalvo de Cordova, still maintained its reputation, and was the main pillar of the edifice of the State. Its infantry still continued to be the most renowned in Europe, and was indeed so till the great Condé annihilated its columns and its prestige for ever on the fields of Rocroy and Lens. Dr. Philippsen sums up the condition of Spain at the beginning of the reign of Philip III. as follows :—

‘ Thus had trade and commerce been artificially brought low. Agriculture languished from the same causes, as well as from the accumulation of property in mortmain. The industrial classes were overwhelmed with imposts, the whole population overladen with taxes and debt. The revenue of the State was in part mortgaged, and in part destined to be wasted in useless enterprises and squandered in foreign provinces and external wars, the character of the nation was both enfeebled and made intractable and brutalised by spiritual and political servitude, while the love of distinction had been led into utterly false directions. Is it to be wondered at in such circumstances if Spain sank with headlong rapidity from being the first power in Christendom to one beneath all civilised nations, and remained only a shadow of a power a century after the days of Charles V.—if, even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, it became a subject of ridicule to the foreigners who travelled in it—if in the ruins of a once great nation nothing remained standing but the dark power of a fanatical priesthood? ’

No two nations ever offered so strange a contrast as that presented by Spain and France under Philip III. and Henri IV. The outward appearance of the Spanish Colossus was terrible, and its glance extended over the whole world, but within all was weakness, folly, and disorder; while France, though infinitely less imposing in external appearance, was compact and united at heart. The Spanish peninsula, shut up behind the Pyrenees, was at the extremity of Europe, and secluded from the vitalising influences of the time; France was in the very centre of all movement, and open on all sides to the ideas of other countries. The sources of life in Spain were rapidly drying up, while France was inspired by a new and revivifying spirit. Spain clung desperately to all that was ancient and obsolete in the political and spiritual world; France was the representative of progress and reform. Spain was the apostle of ruthless intolerance; France was the ally and champion of the European party of toleration and political independence.

France, however, at that time was far from being the country which it now is. Artois and French Flanders, Rousillon and Cerdagne, still belonged to Spain, as also did Franche-Comté;

the Duchy of Lorraine was independent; Alsace belonged to the German Empire—in fact, about five-sixths only of the present territory of France was comprised in its limits. The population amounted to a little over ten millions, and its revenue amounted but to about nine millions of crowns. When one compares this with the revenue of Spain, amounting to twenty-four millions of ducats, and when one adds that the regular forces of Spain amounted to upwards of 100,000 men, while those of France reached only from 40,000 to 50,000, one must conclude that Henri IV. had need of much forethought and preparation before venturing to measure himself with the superior might of his neighbour. We shall have occasion later to observe on the intelligent encouragement which agriculture, industry, and trade received under the government of Henri IV., aided by ministers worthy of himself. But on the whole the picture offered by France was that of life active, aspiring, and energetic, animating a people of unimpaired elasticity, although overwhelmed and decimated with the disasters and evil consequences of civil war, and raising them from the depths of misery to a sunny state of prosperity and organised power.

As great a contrast was offered by the monarchs of Spain and France as by the countries themselves. Philip III., whom Philip II. not long before his death had styled *un'ombra de principe*, conducted his whole life in a way which justified the apprehensions of his father. He was in his one-and-twentieth year when he began to reign. He was a poor sickly child, born April 14, 1578, neglected in his early years by his father, and overlooked by courtiers and ministers. He was kept quite aloof from all business, and his only recreation was an occasional hunting party. The poor young prince, with the tragic destiny of Don Carlos ever before his eyes, bore all this neglect and contempt in patience, and ventured to show no signs of liking for persons or pursuits. Naturally such treatment increased the shyness and indolence of his character, and when he came to the throne he found and deemed himself incapable of the most ordinary business of his realm.

He resembled in appearance the sovereigns of his race. He was of middle size, slight and well made, adroit in his movements; his complexion was of clear white and red, his hair light with a reddish tinge, his moustache pointed and turned upwards, his heavy Austrian underlip projected forwards, his face had a melancholy but not unpleasing expression, and he smiled slightly as he spoke; his manners were attractive, though somewhat awkward. Shyness and mistrust formed the

chief traits of his character. He avoided personal intercourse in business, and preferred to do everything by writing, in which case his favourite Lerma managed everything for him. He shunned court ceremony as much as possible, and loved retirement in his country houses and the sports of the chase, being an excellent shot. He was, too, very fond of gambling, and often played the whole night through, rising from his bed at midday. His mental indolence increased with his years. Like many such men, he had an immense sense of personal dignity, and did not lack courage, though he had not much occasion to display it. He was a most exemplary observer of all religious ceremonies and ordinances, had a boundless reverence for the Madonna, and held it as the great mission of his life to establish the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. In questions touching his conscience he was not content with the opinion of Lerma, but he asked for that of his confessor, Gaspar de Cordova, whom he made a member of his council of state. He was, too, proverbially chaste, and the affection between himself and his wife, an Austrian archduchess, was deep on both sides. His favourite and minister, Lerma, took every care to prevent the queen from exercising any influence over her husband's political conduct, even at times going so far as to carry her husband away from her, to reduce the poor queen to accept any terms of submission. Both king and queen alike were passive instruments in the hands of the pernicious counsellor.

Never, in fact, did an unfortunate kingdom fall into more unfortunate hands than those of Lerma. The commencement of the Duke of Lerma's influence over the king began when, as Marquis of Denia, and minister of Philip II., Lerma was the only member of the king's council who had shown any sympathy with the heir-apparent. On the death of his father, Philip III. gratefully remembered his services, and drew him from the obscure government to which the jealousy of Philip had condemned him for services rendered to his son. He was immediately made a member of the Royal State Council, endowed with an income of 40,000 ducats a year, and created Duke of Lerma; and from that time the king completely abdicated into the hands of his minister. Everything passed through his hands, and the king did nothing but sign papers at the suggestion of Lerma. Whoever had a favour or an office to demand had to apply to Lerma. The duke was so jealous of his power, that he allowed not the smallest thing to escape from his direction, and hence it was that at the Spanish Court procrastination was ubiquitous and intermi-

nable. The favourite was restless and insatiable, without a trace of regularity or order; the slightest contradiction roused him to fury, while the coarsest flattery made him all smiles, and foreign ambassadors found that with him compliments and bribes were all-powerful. Of his avarice and greed and his incapacity the reader will find sufficient proof in our subsequent pages. The rest of the councillors of Philip III. played a most subordinate part. Don Christobal de Moura, the chief councillor of Philip II., was placed in honourable retirement as Grandee of Castile and Viceroy of Portugal. The only one of the ministers of the late king who was continued in office was Don Juan Idiaquez, while the most important person in the State after Lerma was the king's confessor, Gaspar de Cordova.

It is a relief to turn from the solitary *fuinéant* monarch of the Peninsula to the contemplation of the character of Henri IV., *le Béarnais*, *le bon roi*, *le vert galant*, as he was popularly called. The French king had finished his romantic period when he ceased to be styled the *roi de Navarre*. Coutras, Arques, and Ivry were now far behind him. The brilliant *paladin* of the *panache blanc* had disappeared, but the hero of war had only disappeared to make room for the hero of peace. Henri IV. is one of the most difficult of all the characters of history to seize rightly. He was a veritable Proteus—fluid and fickle as water in appearance, and yet at bottom as firm as granite—capable of suppressing all his dashing valour and impetuosity for the sake of the vast projects which his farsceing mind was maturing inwardly for execution. He was, indeed, of sanguine temperament, full of life and activity, ever cheerful and ready of wit, of a courage apparently approaching to foolhardiness, contemptuous of all that was mean and little, ever generous to his foes; at the same time he was fickle in his passions, and flew from mistress to mistress as he did from combat to combat,—a true Gascon. And yet this was not all; in the long school of misfortune his character had undergone a severe ordeal, which had changed it much for better and for worse. He had learnt perforce patience and endurance; trained, too, in the school of Catherine de Medicis, he had learnt dissimulation and the art of suppressing all scruples of conscience; he had acquired a general distrust of men and motives, while at the same time he made, as a rule, all his original and acquired aptitudes subservient to his remote political ends.

It is, however, the conflict in him between these original and acquired qualities which makes his character so difficult

to be understood. His quick and fiery temperament gave itself vent, from time to time, in outbreaks; these, however, he managed to control when the gravity of the occasion required it; and on the whole he appears, in his foreign relations, as a subtle, calculating diplomatist, standing generally on the defensive, taking advantage of every error of his adversaries, in order to isolate them more and more. His policy was, in fact, a waiting one. He was delaying everything like an aggressive policy until he should find Spain sufficiently embarrassed and abandoned, and France sufficiently strong, for him to commence that enterprise against the House of Austria which it was the aim of his life to execute. In foreign affairs, however, he was, unlike his brother monarch of Spain, especially his own minister. Villeroi and Jeannin were mere secretaries, and it is without foundation that the secretaries of Sully, in the untrustworthy '*Œconomies Royales*,' have attributed to their master a leading share in the direction of the foreign politics of his master. Henri IV. was of middle stature, and of strong and sinewy build. His head was proportionally large; his hair, moustache, and full beard became prematurely grey, and was quite white two years after the Peace of Vervins. His mouth was nearly hidden by his beard and moustache, but had a slightly sensual look; his forehead was broad and high, and furrowed with toil and thought; his eyebrows were arched high above his keen, quick eyes; his nose was long and aquiline; his whole appearance was fine and imposing; and his manners were free, amiable, and captivating. His powers of endurance were great, both for physical and mental effort. Noted as he was for his devotion to the chase and the prodigality of his amours, he never neglected for either any business of State, and decided himself on every important matter. Though he had little education, his natural talents and good memory supplied the deficiencies. His letters are remarkable for spirit and ease, and his speeches were always vigorous and original, and he had a gift for composing songs, some of which are still popular. As for his amours, the account of these would make a list as long as that of Leporello, and naturally some of them were not of a very refined character; his amorous temperament broke out again with singular violence in the last years of his life in his passion for Charlotte de Montmorency.

The first great question which occupied the attention of Henri IV. after the peace of Vervins was the affair of the marquisate of Saluzzo, which the Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, with his avidity for increase of possession, had

forcibly possessed himself of in the days of Henri III., to whom the marquisate had fallen by hereditary right. The king, wearied at last with the duke's perfidious stratagems and delays, declared war against him at Lyons—a war which ended naturally in the rapid defeat of Charles Emmanuel, who was forced in consequence, by the Peace of Lyons, to cede La Bresse to the French king, who in return allowed him to retain Saluzzo.

The Peace of Lyons was signed on January 17, 1601, and a little more than a month previously, at Lyons also, on December 9, 1600, the king had consummated his marriage with Marie de Medicis. The marriage of Henri IV. with Marie de Medicis had long occupied the attention of the king, the court of France, the Pope, and all Europe. It was certain that the death of the king without immediate heirs would be the signal again of civil war among next claimants to the crown. No stability of the government in France seemed possible so long as Henri was without male issue, and of this there was no hope so long as the first marriage of the king with Marguerite de Valois remained undissolved. Marguerite and the king had for many years lived apart, the queen concealing the last wantonness of a scandalous life in an old *château* in Auvergne. Her husband might put forward the infidelities of his wife as excuses for his own. But no passion; with the exception of a passing devotion to Corisande, the Countess of Gramont, had taken any serious hold upon him until he met with *la belle Gabrielle* in 1590. It is most characteristic of the age of Henri IV. that his love for Gabrielle d'Estrées should have reached the importance of an event of European significance, and that she was encouraged by the approval of noble Protestant ladies, among whom was the Princess of Orange, to aspire to share with Henri the throne of France; and, had a premature death not snatched her away, it was not impossible for her to have reached the object of her ambition. Among the Protestants it was the general wish that, if Henri married again, he should marry a French wife, and that he should marry again was the general wish of the French nation, who dreaded the possibility of a disputed succession if he died childless. Gabrielle, however, the *Charmante Gabrielle* of the king's own *chanson*—whose *refrain*, 'Cruelle départie,' has sounded so plaintively in the ears of millions of French men and women—died suddenly, just as her empire over her royal lover seemed to be most assured, and just as her ambitious hopes seemed to be brightest. She perished of a premature childbirth, not without strong sus-

picion, however, of having been poisoned—a suspicion which has been accepted as fact by Sismondi, Michelet, and other historians. The chief evidence, however, for this seems to be the opportunity and place of her death, and the distortion of her features after her decease. Gabrielle, lately created Duchesse de Beaufort, died on April 10, 1599, being then twenty-eight years of age.

The king, as soon as he recovered from his first burst of sorrow, reconciled himself to his life, and admitted to the ambassadors of the States-General *qu'il cognoissoit la mort de jene la duchesse un coup de ciel, et qu'il vouloit en faire son proffit*. Accordingly the proceedings for obtaining a papal divorce were pushed forward at Rome, and the negotiations for a marriage with Marie de Medicis, which were already in progress during the lifetime of *la belle Gabrielle*, were resumed with renewed activity, when a fresh passion took possession of the king, by no means more commendable than that for the Duchesse de Beaufort. *La charmante Gabrielle* died in the spring. Before the end of the summer Henri was desperately in love with Henriette Catherine de Balzac, Mademoiselle d'Entragues, the daughter of Marie Touchet, the mistress of Charles V., and the Sieur d'Entragues, one of the most corrupt courtiers of the time. The love of Mademoiselle d'Entragues was made a matter of barter and sale by her father; he demanded 100,000 crowns, a marquisate for his daughter, and moreover, to save appearances, exacted a written promise from the king that in case he received Mademoiselle d'Entragues as a *compagne* he would espouse her if she had a son. The king humoured father and daughter in this strange demand; he signed such a promise, and showed it to Sully, who had the courage to tear it up. The king wrote, however, another, and soon Henriette d'Entragues, under the name of the Marquise de Verneuil, succeeded to the place lately possessed by Gabrielle d'Estrées. As for d'Entragues herself, she was, without being beautiful, bewitching, with a thin, lithe figure, and lively in spirit and in body, a great contrast to the soft, languishing, full-blown graces of *la belle Gabrielle*. She had a thousand times over assured the king that his promise of marriage to her was meant but to satisfy her parents; as soon, nevertheless, as she became Marquise de Verneuil and *enceinte*, she beset the king with serious assertions of her pretensions. The king's ministers, however, allowed the king to amuse himself with his mistress and her matrimonial pretensions, and continued quietly persisting in the great political and financial alliance with the house of Medici, which was to create for Henri, through the Pope and the Grand Duke, a great position in Italy, . . .

Marie de Medicis was twenty-seven years of age when she was married to Henri IV. All the magic and magnificence of the pencil of Rubens, as displayed in the gallery of pictures painted in her honour, and which are now at the Louvre, have been unable to invest her with any charm or delicacy of person. A tall stout woman, with large arms and a full bust, she had nothing about her which was not in her husband's eyes *bourgeois*. The king's mistress always designated her as *la grosse banquière*. Two circumstances, however, rendered the marriage acceptable to Henri IV.'s ministers. The first was the rich dowry which was to be expected from the Medici family; secondly, the hope which they entertained of getting the ear of the Pope through the all-powerful Cardinal de Medici, and also of getting a French Pope elected at the next Papal vacancy. The marriage had in point of fact been arranged for some time, but was delayed by the breaking out of the war between France and Savoy. The contract for the marriage between the king and Marie de Medicis was signed at Florence on April 25, 1600. The king had asked for 1,500,000 crowns, but was content to secure 600,000. The marriage itself was solemnised by proxy in the Tuscan capital on October 5, and consummated at Lyons on December 9. During the intervening nine months Henri carried on correspondence with his intended wife and with the Marquise de Verneuil at the same time; and the chief difference between the two series of letters is that the terms of affection towards the legitimate love are more decorous and stately; those towards the illegitimate one, if somewhat coarse, are more hearty and passionate. The marquise, however, became *enceinte*; and since she and her family possessed Henri's written promise to marry her in case of her having a son, and as his devotion to her was still excessive, this caused a fresh anxiety to the councillors of the king, from which, however, they were relieved by a thunderstorm which brought on a premature confinement. The domestic interior of Henri, as established in the Louvre, where legitimate and illegitimate children were brought up together, was one of the strangest on record; and it must have been almost as hard to keep peace in his own harem as to establish the internal affairs of his kingdom on a peaceful basis.

This latter task he took in hand immediately after the conclusion of the war with Savoy. Henri IV. found himself face to face with two oppositions, which it was necessary to reduce to order—the aristocracy and the extreme religious parties. The former had lost confidence in their powers of open revolt, and sought to establish their ends by means of conspiracy.

The religious faction, however, refused to withdraw a tittle of their pretensions. The Huguenots still held firmly to the sword, and confided in those strong places which had so powerfully helped to place the king on his throne. The Catholics were arrogant in their numerical strength and in the fact that they had constrained the king to abjure his religion and to come over to their party, and looked on him as a foe who was seeking only for an occasion to return to his old creed, and to avenge himself for his humiliation. The Huguenots, however, showed themselves to be the more distrustful and defiant of the two parties. After what they termed the apostasy of Henri, they looked for a new period of persecution, and they organised themselves anew in their old republican fashion. France was divided out into Protestant circles, each of which had its own council, composed of deputies appointed by election, to watch over its safety and administration. Every circle appointed one deputy to the general council, which consisted of twelve members, who undertook the direction of this Huguenot state. A revenue was raised upon all the Huguenots for the expenses of organisation and for war contingencies. The Huguenot republic was, in fact, a state within a state, which possessed a regular army with about 200 strong places, with experienced soldiers like Bouillon and La Trémoille for generals, and with Du Plessis Mornay for a statesman.

Long and obstinate was the contention between the king and the Huguenot chiefs, who, not comprehending the difficulty of the king's position, reproached him loudly with ingratitude, and threatened to break out into open revolt. After endless discussion it was arranged that the Huguenots should retain their military organisation; they were to have their two hundred towns and castles and other strong places, and the expenses of the garrison of seventy-five towns and fortresses were to be paid by the king himself. This arrangement was to be good for eight years, after which period the strong places were to be given back to the king, who would appoint Protestant governors for life.

The military position of the Huguenots being thus secured, after two further discussions between the Huguenot chiefs and the royal commissioners, the famous Edict of Nantes was signed on April 15, 1598. This admirable edict, which closed the long period of the wars of religion in France, marks the dawn of a new epoch, that of toleration in Europe. The preamble is remarkable, since it grounds the reason of the edict on the necessity of giving security for the re-establishment of

the Catholic worship in the places in which it had not yet been reintroduced (as Béarn, La Rochelle, Nîmes, and Montauban), as well as on that of satisfying the complaints of his subjects of the reformed religion. He had delayed hitherto the publication of such a measure, since the edict says :

‘La fureur des armes ne compatit point à l’établissement des lois. Mais maintenant qu’il plaît à Dieu commencer nous faire grâce de quelque meilleur repos, nous avons estimé ne le pouvoir mieux employer qu’à pourvoir que son saint nom puisse être adoré et prié par tous nos sujets ; et s’il ne lui a plu permettre que ce soit pour encore en une même forme de religion, que ce soit au moins d’une même intention et avec telle règle qu’il n’y ait point pour cela de trouble ou de tumulte entre eux.’

He decided then to give to all his subjects a ‘general clear, firm, and absolute law,’ a perpetual and irrevocable edict, and ended by a prayer to Divine grace to make his subjects comprehend that after their duty to God and to their king, the chief foundation of union, tranquillity, and peace, and the re-establishment of the State in its pristine splendour depended upon its observance.

Henri used every means in his power to cause the edict to be obeyed. But the royal commissioners, one of whom was a Protestant, the other a Catholic, met, as they travelled about in the provinces, with much opposition in carrying its provisions into effect. The Calvinists opposed the revival of the mass and the restoration of Church property, sometimes with arms, and the Catholic priests and magistrates opposed the opening of Protestant places of prayer. On both sides the priests and ministers thundered forth denunciations at the godless proclamation. The Pope himself, Clement VIII., was incensed at first, but the French cardinals, Joyeuse and Ossat, managed to allay his apprehensions. The prestige of royal power since the accession of Henri was infinitely increased, and the commissioners shared in the new respect it had gained, and enforced the will of the monarch everywhere. Every measure of pacification was adopted. The priests on both sides were warned to banish all polemical or political tirades from their sermons, and the very names of Papist and Huguenot were forbidden to be used under penalty of a heavy fine, while all administrative and judicial authorities were instructed to proceed against offenders with the utmost rigour. The result was that in the year 1600 the edict was in full operation throughout the whole kingdom.

No greater proof, however, of the newborn vigour which had been imparted to the monarchy, can be given than the

ease with which Henri IV. extinguished the conspiracy of which the Marshal Biron was the chief, and the stern execution of the sentence which was his due. This famous conspiracy of Marshal Biron dates back to the time of the visit of Charles Emmanuel to Paris in the affair of Saluzzo. This intriguing spirit, conscious that he was about to fail in his main object, endeavoured to indemnify himself by fomenting all the discontented wounded vanities and interests angered by the searching reforms of internal administration and by the return to orderly government, as well as by arousing the old spirit of feudal independence which had been of old so productive of calamity to France. But, strange to say, it was not among these that the duke found his chief ally. His great success was the seduction of the most famous of Henri's generals—his own familiar friend whom he had overwhelmed with honours and substantial marks of affection. The emissaries of Spain and Savoy failed not to discover in Biron a willing instrument for fomenting disorder in France, and for taking the lead in a conspiracy which should effect, if successful, the dismemberment of France, the death of the king, the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty, and held before him the bribe of a royal marriage and of an independent principality. Biron was, by order of the king, tried for high treason by the Parliament of Paris. The great lay peers of the Parliament refused to come; they were afraid equally of acquitting and condemning the accused. His tribunal was composed of all the judges of the courts of Paris, two hundred and twenty-seven in number. The proofs were too clear and numerous to leave him any chance of escape, and he was condemned to death, while all the grace which his family and adherents could obtain for him was that he should be decapitated in a court of the Bastille instead of on the Grève. He underwent his punishment on July 31, 1602. The trial and execution of Biron had made an immense sensation not only in France but throughout Europe. Notwithstanding all the patience and long-suffering of Henri IV. towards Biron, he foresaw full well that so exemplary an act of punishment would have the most beneficial effect in quieting the spirit of revolt among the great nobles of France, and establishing the royal dynasty in security.

The Spaniards and the people of Savoy, on the other hand, looked forward, at the news of Biron's execution, to a general insurrection in France among the Catholic party. But all remained quiet, and not a word even of censure was uttered against the king. Henri behaved with great leniency to all the

accomplices of Biron ; only a few of the chief conspirators in the provinces shared in Biron's fate. The Comte d'Auvergne, after full confession, in which he implicated the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, was forgiven, as was also the Prince de Joinville. The Duke de Bouillon was the only one who kept aloof from the court, but he, too, met later with retribution. And the general conviction resulting from this conspiracy of Biron's and its suppression, both at home and abroad, was that the monarchy of France was based anew on an authority which might set at defiance the envy and machinations of the great nobles, and the malignant enterprises of disaffection and revolt.

Contrary, utterly, to the system which prevailed in Spain, the fashion of governing of Henri IV. was quite personal. And yet such was his readiness and clearness in managing business matters, that he devoted but two hours a day to State affairs ; contriving, however, in these two hours to get through an immense amount of business. When there was no regular council sitting, his ministers made their statements to him as he walked up and down the room. After hearing every question, he gave a brief and rapid decision, in which, generally, there was nothing to be changed. What he wanted in culture and acquired information was supplied by the instructions of his ministers, by his own knowledge of men, his own experience and intelligence, and his marvellous instinct for what was right and fit. In the weightiest matters of foreign policy he called a few chosen members of his privy council about him. He listened to their discussions either leaning against the niche of a window or walking up and down, and gave his decision on the result in a few words. Everything in the man depicted activity and energy. When he gave audience to foreign envoys, they never found him sitting down. He heard them either standing or walking to and fro, and made reply. From morning to night he was in bodily motion, and hence it was that he became impatient when sickness grew upon him with increasing years. Never was any business deferred, if possible, to the morrow ; it must be brought to an end at once if once discussed. At times he was extravagant in gifts and marks of favour both to friends and enemies ; but all his truly important posts were distributed only according to merit or the advantage of the State. In such matters no supplication was of any avail ; he preferred looking out himself for the proper persons, and did this without being applied to by them, and often even quite in their absence. In this way De Vin was made Governor of Calais, Lesdiguières a marshal, D'Ossat and La

Rochefoucault cardinals, while they were quite away from him, and without their having any suspicion of their approaching advancement. The two chief ends of policy which Henri ever held in view were the consolidation of the French monarchy and the abasement of the House of Austria. The real purpose of his foreign policy was shown by his exclamation on one occasion when he imagined that the ambassadorial rights of France had been treated with contempt by the Spanish Government. 'I swear by Heaven, when I have once brought my affairs in order, to wage such a war that they shall repent ever to have forced me to lay my hand to my sword.'

As for the internal tranquillity of the country, the gold of the Escorial continued to find its way into the cabinet of the king and to corrupt his most trusted servants. The conspiracy of the D'Entragues, in which the Comte d'Auvergne and the Duc de Bouillon were engaged, was, next to the conspiracy of the Marshal Biron, the most dangerous plot with which Henri had to deal in his reign. The family D'Entragues, the relatives of the Marquise de Verneuil, the king's mistress, were at the bottom of its formation. Through the disclosures of the Comte d'Auvergne, the complicity of the Duc de Bouillon was laid bare not only in this conspiracy but in that of the Marshal Biron. Henri, after having by a wary diplomacy isolated Bouillon from his Huguenot adherents at home and his royal protectors abroad, and quieted the agitation fomented by Spanish gold, besieged Bouillon himself in his own fortress of Sedan, and compelled him to surrender, upon which the king admitted him to a full pardon on terms less rigorous than seemed advisable to his ministers.

The examples of Biron and Bouillon operated like magic on the rebellious spirits of the great nobility, who had so long been accustomed to consider revolt from their allegiance as a sort of right in the troubled times of the monarch. Nor did Henri proceed with less perseverance and rigour to bring the lesser nobles, the lesser tyrants, the governors of towns, the *commandants de places*, the seigneurs into subjection, to extirpate brigandage, and to establish that peace and security throughout the length and breadth of France which is an indispensable condition for the well-being of all industry and commerce.

The frightful disorder which had resulted from the wretched government of Henri III. and the fury of the League had penetrated into every branch of the administration of the State and into every institution on which the vitality of a State is

dependent. The curse of civil war had fallen like a corroding blight over the whole land, and struck it with sterility. Agriculture, the most primitive industry of mankind, had fallen into such a state that the whole country lived perpetually on the verge of a famine. In 1595, when the nation found itself at length liberated from anarchy and foreign invasion, and under the protecting rule of a humane monarch, such, according to an edict of Henri IV., was the state of the country: 'We find
' our subjects reduced to the point of falling into imminent ruin
' by the cessation of labour, which is nearly general throughout
' the whole country. The vexations to which labourers have
' been exposed have made them quit not only their ordinary
' work and business, but also their houses, so that farms now
' are unoccupied, and almost all the villages uninhabited and
' deserted.' When the farmer and peasant farmer began to endeavour to recultivate his fields, he employed none but his own hands and those of his children; he had no money for hired labour. The consequence was that the landless peasantry flocked towards the towns, and, in spite of all precautions, established themselves there and increased the sum of urban poverty and misery; for in towns, too, through the absolute want of security prevailing throughout the country, both ordinary and skilled workmen were thrown out of employ, and rural and urban mendicants disputed with each other for the insufficient pittance of public charity.

'In Paris,' we are told by L'Estoile, 'everything was so dear, especially bread, that none among poor people had half a meal. Processions of poor folk thronged the streets to such an extent that there was no passing. On Monday, March 4, there were counted, in the cemetery of Saint Innocent at Paris, seven thousand five hundred and sixty-nine poor people. On Saturday the number of poor was increased in Paris by two-thirds, six or seven thousand having entered the day before. . . . From all sides poor members of Jesus Christ are brought to the *Hostel Dieu*, so dry and attenuated that they had no sooner entered than they gave up the ghost. On Saturday, February 10, one of the guardians of the *Hostel Dieu* told my son-in-law that from January 1 up to that day four hundred and sixteen persons had died in the *Hostel Dieu*. According to the report of the guardian and governors of the *Hostel Dieu*, six hundred and odd persons died there in the month of April. On Friday, March 1, a woman was burned opposite Saint Nicolas des Champs for having killed two of her children with her own hand, she having been brought to do so, as she said, through hunger and having nothing to give them to eat.'

Indeed, for thirty-six years all France had been continually swept by hordes of armed men, little different from brigands, who were more destructive than locusts. During these inter-

minable civil and religious wars the man-at-arms had been accustomed to live at the cost of the farmer and the peasant; not only to demand from him food and shelter, but to carry off his cattle, and by threats and torture to extort from him his money and his goods. Even after the wars had ceased troops of disbanded soldiers, styled *routiers* and *malandrins*, paraded about the country, making the roads insecure and practising their old habits of plunder on the unfortunate cultivators of the soil. Of this lawless state of things even the ruined and degraded provincial *gentilhomme*, both on the side of the king and of the League, did not hesitate to avail themselves, by swooping from their *châteaux* and donjons from time to time down on the farmers and the peasants, ransacking their homesteads, barns, and henroosts. They even adopted the habits of veritable brigands by lying in wait for travelling traders at the fords of rivers or at the entries of the forests, and despoiling them of their merchandise, by carrying off travellers reputed to be rich, imprisoning them in their dungeons, and submitting them to torture till they had paid sufficient ransom.

France was perhaps at that time the most wretched country in Europe. The population was decimated and half-starved, and numbers had fled from a soil given over to rapine and ruin. Not only was agriculture nearly extinct and half of the country uncultivated, but all internal trade had ceased between town and town, as well through the insecurity of the public roads, as because the greater part of them had disappeared. Whatever industry there was was exercised for home consumption in the interior of the towns, and was of the most primitive description.

Against this state of things Henri IV., from the moment that he felt himself sufficiently strong, made relentless war. He set himself at once to work, as he himself states in one of his edicts, ‘d’arrester les excès insupportables, injures et violences que recevoient ses pauvres subjects du plat pays par l’oppression et barbare cruauté de la plupart des gens de guerre.’ Consequently, on February 24, 1597, he published an edict which prohibited men-at-arms from trespassing on the fields and lands of the farmers, and ordering the governors of the provinces to take measures for pursuing them and cutting them in pieces. On August 4, 1598, he published a still more stringent *ordonnance* respecting the right to carry arms, in which it was forbidden to persons of any quality or condition whatsoever to carry arquebuses, pistols, or any other firearms on the high roads; even the *gentilshommes* were only to be allowed to use them on their lands for purposes of sport. The

whole population were empowered to make arrests in the carrying out this decree, and if necessary the tocsin was to be sounded to call for assistance. For a first offence the punishment was confiscation of the weapon and imprisonment, for the second death. Nor was this all. He caused the refractory gentry to be attacked in their very strongholds of brigandism, and many a dismantled castle owes its ruined bastions and battered donjon to the artillery of Henri IV., and the vigour with which he followed up the establishment of such security in the country as rendered commerce, industry, and agriculture again possible.

Henri found a worthy assistant in this work of restoration and advancement of the resources of the country in Sully, although Sully opposed the king in some of his important designs. Everyone knows the famous aphorism of Sully, 'Que le labourage et le pâturage estoient deux mamelles dont la France estoit alimentée, et les vraies mines et trésors du Pérou,' and that other expression of Henri IV., spoken to the Duke of Savoy in 1600: 'Si Dieu me donne encore de la vie, je ferai qu'il n'y aura pas de laboureur de mon royaume qui n'ayt moyen d'avoir une poule dans son pot.' The care of Henri IV. for the welfare of the industrial interests of the country was doubtless in some part due to political considerations; but it proceeded also in perhaps greater part from the great love he bore his subjects. He spoke of them all, both high and low, as his children, and also spoke of his people as though they were his own flesh and blood. On the eve of the campaign of Cleves and Juliers, which he was never to enter upon, he heard that some companies which he had sent on to Germany had plundered some peasants' houses in Champagne. He said to the captains who remained in Paris, 'Partez en diligence, donnez-y ordre, vous m'en répondrez. Quoi, si l'on ruine mon peuple, qui me nourrira, qui soutiendra les charges de l'Etat, qui payera vos pensions, messieurs? Vive Dieu! s'en prendre à mon peuple, c'est s'en prendre à moi!'

It is no small proof, too, of the perspicacity of Henri IV. in the matter of political economy, that he was even in that age a persistent free-trader. In his *lettres patentes* of March 12, 1595, he lays down distinctly the principles of free trade.

'L'expérience nous enseigne que la liberté du trafic que les peuples et subjects des royaumes font avec leurs voisins et estrangers est un des principaux moyens de les rendre aisez, riches et opulents. A ceste considération, nous ne voulons empescher que chascun fasse son profit de ce qu'il a, par le moyen et bénéfice du commerce.'

vi In spite of some temporary defections from the principle of

free trade, he adopted it so completely in corn that he permitted his subjects to sell their corn to Spain even in time of war. In consequence of these wise regulations the condition of agriculture of France rapidly improved. 'The French,' said one of the observers of the time, 'do not require much time to recover themselves; their climate and their laborious character make them pass quickly from a state of want to abundance.' The wise regulations of the good king in the matter of free trade in corn remained in force until the reign of Louis XIV., who with Colbert established a system of prohibition, with what deplorable results, both in the reign of Louis XIV. himself and in that of Louis XV., the reader of history well knows.

The king's attention seemed indeed to be ubiquitous; no fault or failing in any direction seemed to escape his quick eye, and whether in the Louvre, or whether at Fontainebleau, or whether on journey in the provinces, he carried on the State business equally well, and no danger or distress beset a distant province at any time without some remedy being devised for it immediately in the royal brain. Many of Henri's most important edicts, like the Edict of Nantes, were published while the king was on a royal progress. His position as an independent monarch enabled him to choose his ministers, not, like a constitutional sovereign, from the members of one party, but from all the various parties into which the French people were then divided; and he surrounded himself with able councillors and helpers. He had a rare and wonderful insight into character and capacity, and the invaluable gift of putting always the right man into the right place; thus Villeroy and Jeannin, two of his secretaries, were zealous Catholics and ancient Leaguers, while Sully was a Huguenot. The names of Villeroy and Jeannin are identified with the king's administration of foreign affairs, but it was he alone who dictated his foreign policy, in which Villeroy and Jeannin were his mere instruments, used by him to carry out a line of policy to which they were in their convictions diametrically opposed. They were, however, devoted to the king, having passed over to the side of the monarch as soon as he became a Catholic. Their sympathies were, however, entirely Spanish, as they showed at the death of the king. For the purposes for which the king made use of them they were excellent workmen.

Maximilien de Béthune, Marquis de Rosny, has arrogated to himself in his memoirs a much greater influence in the foreign policy of Henri than he really possessed. During the latter part of the king's reign he was frequently consulted on such

matters, but Henri always remained his own foreign minister. It was in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and especially in the administration of the finances, that his influence was chiefly remarkable. In these his merits were inappreciable. In the reorganisation of the industry of the country he gave his attention chiefly to agriculture, his rough and rugged nature being rather opposed to the introduction of the silk industry and the manufacture of other fine fabrics which Henri succeeded in bringing into the kingdom in spite of the objections of his minister. As an administrator his dexterity and power of insight were most remarkable, and he was well versed in the knowledge of artillery and engineering affairs, but he had also great defects which unfitted him completely for diplomatic matters, and which drew upon him an immense amount of hatred among his contemporaries, although much of this was brought upon him by his inflexible severity in the uprooting of abuses. He was proud, pompous, overbearing, stern, and avaricious. He had, however, one especial quality which recommended him to the king—he was impartial, not to say indifferent, in matters of religion. Although nominally a Huguenot, he had recommended the king to become a Catholic, and, to the horror of his co-religionists, styled the Pope ‘the Holy Father.’

The success of Sully in restoring the financial condition of the country was marvellous. The public debt in 1596 amounted to nearly three hundred millions, that is, to one hundred millions of pounds sterling of our money, an enormous sum for that period, besides the debt of the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, amounting to about forty-one millions, the revenue of the country amounting only to about twenty-five millions, of which, when the charges upon it were paid, only nine millions, that is, about three millions of pounds sterling, remained for public expenditure. In 1609 Henri IV. asked for a report on the general condition of the kingdom, and Sully showed that he had paid off a hundred millions of debt, that the arsenals were crammed with arms, cannon, and ammunition, and the ports of the Mediterranean were full of war-galleys, while the amount of revenue attributed to public expenditure was not nine millions as in 1596, but sixteen millions, without reckoning four millions coming from the royal demesnes and other sources. And after all the regular expenses had been paid, the king had at his command a surplus of twenty or twenty-two millions, of which sixteen or seventeen lay in corn in the towers of the Bastille, and the remainder was in bills payable at sight. Such was the change produced in twelve years by a wise adminis-

tration of the finances, to accomplish which Sully necessarily displayed an immense amount of energy and watchfulness. He had hitherto been simply a man of war, and a stranger to civil business, but he entered on his financial career, as it were, sword in hand, and he smote mercilessly right and left into the forest of abuses which he found existent. As Michelet says, he stopped his ears in order not to hear the cries of the abuses which were to be abolished. At every blow they cried, one and all, like the enchanted trees in the forests of Tasso. He inaugurated, in fact, under royal governance, a kind of revolution—a revolution against the usurpations of the rebellious nobility, revolution against the irresponsible authority of the governors of provinces, revolution against exactions of foreign creditors, the Gondi and the Zamets, to whom the public revenue had been mortgaged, revolution against the holders of public offices, *contrôleurs*, *receveurs*, *comptables* of all sorts, who managed to escape from rendering their accounts under the cover of patronage. At the same time he imposed on all the *seigneurs*, both lay and ecclesiastic, who levied tolls on road and river, the condition of keeping roads and bridges in repair under pain of forfeiture. In a few years, under Sully's energetic control, perfect obedience was secured. Commerce was free to circulate, and so were the public forces, and the *seigneurs* were kept in awe by the very communications they had helped to create. The forests were submitted to a system of government control. War was proclaimed against the poachers and the soldiery who had become mere robbers and armed marauders. The rivers, too, were placed under royal protection, and were re-peopled with fish, and it was forbidden to fish in the spawning season. The manufactures and fine fabrics for which France has been chiefly distinguished date from this reign, and the credit of establishing these must chiefly be given to the king, for Sully was averse to the establishment of any kind of luxurious industries. And it is to be remarked that the finer industries of France have all been created under the influence of protection, while it must be observed that Sully was, in his objection to the establishment of these industries, a stubborn free-trader.

Sully based his objections to the introduction of the silk industry not only on the free-trade principle that the culture and manufacture of *articles de luxe* should be abandoned to those who already produced them with the greatest facility, but he also objected to manufactures generally, that the sedentary and stifling character of manufacturing toil would dis-

accustom the French to that life of motion, fatigue, and activity in the open air which makes an agricultural people so capable of furnishing good soldiers. The king, however, found two most capable agents to second him in his industrial projects—Olivier de Serres, the author of the famous *Théâtre d'Agriculture*, to the reading of which the king devoted daily half an hour, and Barthélemi de Laffemas, the author of vast projects for the regeneration of French industry, both of whom represented to the king the damage which ensued to the country by the enormous sums of money which were exported yearly to Italy and other countries for the purchase of raw and manufactured silk, and for gold and silver stuffs. With the aid of these industrial reformers the king introduced the cultivation of the mulberry tree throughout the greater part of France. He himself had mulberry trees planted in the Tuileries and at Fontainebleau, and private enterprise imitated everywhere the royal initiative. Under the direction of Laffemas, as controller-general of the industry of the country, cuttings of mulberry trees and eggs of the silkworm were distributed gratis throughout the country, and large tracts of France became covered with the culture of mulberry trees; and Sully even allowed himself to be convinced against his will of the utility of the new industry, and introduced it into his government of Poitou. The immense success of the silk industry in France is a great factor in the commerce of the world, and some years ago Henry Martin stated that the production of silk goods in France reached about three hundred millions of francs. Not only silk manufactures but those of silver and gold cloth, of mirrors, crystal and glass ware, were created or extended by Henri IV.

He was, too, one of the great creators of the city of Paris. All the streets of the Marais named after the provinces through which he had travelled and fought so painfully in the south—de Berri, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge—were built by the king. Also the Place Royale, built in imitation of the squares of Turin and Milan. In the Quartier Saint-Marceau he founded the manufacture of the Gobelins, destined to eclipse the once famous tapestries of Arras; and his fine statue on the Pont Neuf exhibits the king with a genial smile in the very centre of the Paris of his own creation, which is the most picturesque and striking of all the parts of the beautiful capital. Who has not regarded with admiration that splendid view of central Paris seen from the balconies of the Louvre, and comprising the Île de la Cité, the Palais de Justice, the Pont Neuf, the Pont de Change, surmounted by the grand towers of

Notre-Dame, the chief features of which scene recall the memory of Henri IV.? The Louvre and the Tuileries also owed much to him in the way of increase and embellishment.

The large views of the French king extended across the Atlantic, where he encouraged the Champlains and de Monts in their grand schemes of colonisation, and the founding of a new France in the new world. His vast schemes of land drainage, of canalisation, one of which was to unite the Mediterranean with the Atlantic, his projection of new systems of communication by land as well as by water, his army and artillery reforms, would alone require several pages to do them justice. He was in fact unwearied in investigating personally into the condition of his kingdom; and the homely way in which he acquired his information is well described by Matthieu:—

‘Quand il alloit par pays, il s’arrêtoit pour parler au peuple, s’informer des passants, d’où ils venoient, où ils alloient, quelles denrées ils portoient, quel étoit le prix de chaque chose. Et remarquant qu’il sembloit à plusieurs que cette facilité populaire offensoit la gravité royale, il disoit : “Les rois tenoient à déshonneur de savoir combien
“ valoit un écu, et moi, je voudrois savoir ce que vaut un liard, com-
“ bien de peine ont ces pauvres gens pour l’acquérir, afin qu’ils ne fussent
“ chargés que selon leur portée.” ’

If in the history of the reign of Henri IV. we can study the methods by which a nation may be raised from the deepest gulfs of misery and healed of the wounds of faction, in the history of Spain under Philip III. we can observe the methods by which a great nation can be sunk to the lowest degree of abasement. The chief difference of all was, as we have said, in the character of the two monarchs. France had the happiness to be governed by a wise, provident, humane sovereign, while in Spain an incapable monarch really abdicated his throne, and gave up the reins of power to his incapable and vicious favourite. The history of the reign of Philip III. is in reality the history of the reign of Duke Lerma.

The older Philip III. grew the more he gave himself up to sensual pleasure. He overate himself at meals of solid flesh four times a day, so that his stomach was perpetually deranged; and in order to get rid of his unpleasant sensations he had a truly childish pleasure in aimless travelling and change of place. The whole court accompanied on such occasions, so that his daily travelling expenses amounted to about 3,000 ducats a day. His journeys and his hunting excursions kept him almost entirely in the country. If he remained long in one place, his *cnnui*, besides its usual resource of gambling,

had to be enlivened by festivities, balls, comedies, varied with burnings of heretics. Better than his rival Henri IV. in this respect, he kept always faithful to his queen, Margaret of Styria, and they were inseparable.

He was not, however, quite without culture, and spoke most of the languages of his subjects as well as Latin. He granted audiences easily and in a good-natured way. But however favourably he might seem to be impressed, nothing whatever was gained; for representations by word of mouth he totally ignored as soon as they were uttered, and all petitions and written remonstrances which were put into his hand he handed over to Lerma without even looking at them. Close as was the affection between Philip and his wife, the latter durst not, for fear of Lerma, request the smallest favour of her husband. Lerma even cross-questioned the king as to what he and his wife talked about in their bed-room, and he even examined the queen's letters, so that the poor lady declared that she would sooner live in a convent at Gratz than be queen of Spain.

Lerma was in fact the absolute ruler of the Spanish monarchy; he made cardinals, conferred dignities, and held supreme control over the ecclesiastical and state revenues. As for the foreign politics of the country, from 1598 to 1610, the best that can be said of them is that no new great wars were entered on, although the resources of the country were squandered away in small ones; for, owing to the meddling over-reaching nature of Spanish rule, the country was always engaged in some contest or another. Besides continual war with the Dutch provinces, there were useless expeditions to Algiers and Ireland.

But it is when one regards the internal condition of Spain that the pernicious nature of Lerma's influence becomes most apparent. The public money was under his administration squandered in a fashion which would have been sufficient to ruin the nation in the days of its greatest prosperity. The Civil List, for example, in the days of Philip II. amounted to about 400,000 ducats (about 400,000*l.*), while in the days of Philip III. it amounted to 1,300,000 ducats, or about the same number of pounds sterling.

Lerma, although a member of the illustrious family of Sandoval, had entered as a poor man into the State service, and yet in the beginning of the year 1602 he possessed a fortune of two millions of ducats (2,000,000*l.*), with a revenue of about 200,000 ducats. But this was not sufficient for him. The quantity of offices and monopolies with which he contrived to invest himself was stupendous; he

was president of the Madrid police, intendant of the royal palaces in the capital, and of all the royal parks and country seats, general of all the Spanish cavalry, he had the monopoly of the tunny fisheries on the coasts of Spain, and the revenues of these posts, augmented by grants of favour bestowed by the king, amounted in 1611 to 900,000 scudi; while his valuables, furniture, wardrobes, &c., were calculated to amount to six millions of ducats, or about six millions of pounds sterling of our time. And all these monstrous sums of money were extorted from an impoverished people daily growing poorer and poorer under his own disgraceful administration; and when money became scarce in the royal treasury through the shameless robberies of Lerma and his associates, the latter under feigned names advanced money to the king at usurious interest.

The greed, too, of the favourite for landed possessions was equal to his avarice in the matter of money. The map of Spain was sprinkled all over with his castles and possessions. In Valladolid he had the largest palace in the city. In Madrid a splendid villa and a whole line of palaces belonged to him. Few months passed without some great purchase of lands or houses. His love of aggrandisement naturally spread to his relatives and dependents. The Duchess of Gaudia, who was beloved by the queen and the whole court, was deprived of her office of *camerara mayor*, with insult, in favour of the Duchess of Lerma. He endeavoured, too, to make his office hereditary in his eldest son, like a veritable *maire du palais*. A granddaughter of his of five years of age was married to a boy of the noblest families in Spain, and dowered with a portion of the State revenues. The whole State, indeed, with all its dignities, orders, titles, and revenues, seemed destined to become the private property of the family of Sandoval. The very tutor of his sons was made first canon of Toledo, then bishop of Valladolid, with an income of 200,000 ducats a year, and then, in the year 1603, General Inquisitor of Spain. The most trusted secretaries of the duke, who counted with him as his right and left hands, were Pedro Franqueza and Don Rodrigo Calderon. The former was the son of a liberated slave, both were of low condition, and both men of insatiable avarice, accessible to every kind of bribery, and both were advanced to the highest honours, and their children married to the sons and daughters of nobles. The first was made Conde de Villa Longa, the latter a gentleman of the royal bed-chamber.

Thus Lerma had beset every important post in the adminis-

tration with his own connexions and creatures; and he sat as it were like a huge spider in his web, in the middle of a labyrinth of craft and violence, and allowed no one to arrive inside it who did not belong to his own circle. He kept the king always in his power, and allowed no impression to reach him except through himself. The Council of State under this reign was an empty form. Lerma consulted it on nothing, but, with the aid of his creature Franqueza, settled all the most vital questions of State by his own authority. Everyone who stood in his way, or whom he considered as not friendly to his despotic authority, was set aside or imprisoned in the most ruthless fashion. Neither did there exist any institution in Spain which could really put any check on this fatal rapacity which was daily exhausting the vital forces of the nation. After the fatal day of Villalar, when the *Comuneros* of Castile suffered their final overthrow, the Castilian Cortes had but a mere shadow of authority; and although in other provinces, in Aragon, in Valencia, and Catalonia, and the Basque provinces, the representative bodies made some resistance to the royal exactions, and the discontent of the populations at times rose to a dangerous height, nothing occurred to check the downward course of the monarchy. The kingdom had already reached a depth of misery and want which astonished foreign observers, who little, however, could imagine the still deeper depths of abasement to which the kingdom was destined to descend in the days of Charles II. The administration of justice was the only branch of the State institutions which could compare favourably with those of France, yet on the outside of this there was a monstrous tribunal, that of the Inquisition, which cast a hue of gloom and terror over the whole country. Every tribunal of the Inquisition furnished forth an *auto de fe*, at which from ten to thirty people were burnt before the eyes of royalty, nobility, and people. The nobility had, since their ejection from the Cortes of Toledo by Charles V., lost all public significance. Both lay and ecclesiastical nobles deserted their castles and their abbeys to frequent the court, where they exhausted their incomes in useless show, while their castles fell to ruin, their fields lay waste, and their tenants grew poorer and poorer. The feeling of caste had taken such root in Spain, that from the grandee down to the poorest hidalgo, every kind of remunerative occupation was considered degrading, and much of the same feeling still exists in the country. And this foolish pride has as much as anything contributed to the decadence of Spain. For bad as its government was, it would not have grown up or

been tolerated among the people, had they not in great measure deserved it.

The financial state of the country showed its desperate condition more clearly than anything else could do; only, on account of the intricate and confused nature of its financial system, it is very difficult to get a comprehensive and clear view of the subject. The most extraordinary and ruinous tax was that of the *alcavala*, by which a tithe of the price of any commodity was paid to the Government on every transaction of sale and barter. This, the most senseless of all taxes, brought yearly to the State an income of three millions of ducats. Then there were the customs, which existed not only at the boundaries of the country, but between province and province. Professor Philippsen has shown great patience in unravelling the tangled web of Spanish finance history, which was no light matter, considering its utter disorder and the different kinds of taxation prevalent in various portions of the country. A network of inner barriers of tolls and taxes existed in the country, to the destruction of all freedom of commerce, each one of which formed a division between different systems of finance. Thus in Andalusia, the divisions of the ancient little Moorish kingdoms still existed, and the customs and finance were levied in five districts just as if each was an independent kingdom. Imported goods coming into the interior from the coast had to pay tithes for harbour dues, called *el diezmo de los puertos*, and the Government, thinking it wrong that goods proceeding in a contrary direction should not be taxed in a similar way, invented tithes for harbours existing by fiction in the interior of Spain, and called 'the tithe of the dry harbours,' *el diezmo de los puertos secos*. In Seville there existed a special tax levied on goods exported to the Indies, called the *Almorarifazgos*. Wool, the chief article of export of Spain, paid a tax first of one-tenth, a value which was then augmented by two-sevenths. But the wool was not even sufficiently taxed on the exportation. The Spanish finance minister found means to tax it even on the backs of the flocks of sheep which travelled backwards and forwards in spring and autumn from the plains of Estremadura to the mountains of Asturia. These paid the yearly tax called *servicio y montazgo*. In Seville one half per cent. besides the *alcavala* was paid for all goods bought and sold in the town.

Every industry in Spain was taxed in a fashion which made it surprising that any manufacture remained in the country. It is evident that the tax of the *alcavala* itself was

sufficient to kill most industries, for if a manufactured article began by being taxed in the raw material, and then was taxed afterwards at every stage of its process towards finish, it would clearly in many cases end by paying more in taxation than it was worth. We have, too, before mentioned the disdain of industrial pursuits which prevailed throughout Spain; it is not surprising then to learn that among an indolent people gambling was a favourite occupation, and the taxes paid on playing cards amounted in value to nearly half of all the taxes paid on manufactured goods. Monopolies also contributed to the income of the country, and the whole of the indirect taxes of Spain amounted to about 7,613,852 ducats or pounds sterling—a sum greater than the whole present revenue of Belgium without that derived from railways, and the wealth of Belgium must be immensely greater than that of the poverty-stricken Spain at that time. When to the indirect taxes of Spain are added the direct taxes, those levied on the clergy, the *quintos* or fifth parts taken from the precious metals imported from South America, the extraordinary gifts exacted from the Cortes and provincial assemblies, the whole yearly revenue of the Spanish monarchy amounted to about 25,000,000 ducats. And this money was forced out of the pockets of a starving people, for whom the Government did nothing in the way of helping them to the best privileges of social and civilised life—which did nothing in the way of providing them with means of transport by land or by water, which was, as we have seen, one of the first objects of care with Henri IV. And besides this the people had their Church tithes to pay. ‘Is it a wonder,’ asks Professor Philippsen, ‘that under such intolerable burdens, and under such disadvantages, every kind of production has sickened more and more under Spanish rule?’

The expenditure of the country is still more difficult to calculate than its revenue on account of the reckless and confused fashion in which money was thrown away in accounts. A great portion, as has been seen, was squandered on favourites. Lerma would get from the king presents amounting to 50,000 or 100,000 ducats at a time by the announcement of the arrival of the silver fleet. The great drain upon the Spanish exchequer was the constant war with Flanders. Spain was, in fact, tributary to Flanders. It was reckoned in 1608 that she had expended 200,000,000 ducats on her wars in the Netherlands. But not only the Netherlands, Italy also, even Hungary and Dalmatia, were constant drains on the Spanish resources, for the prestige of the House

of Hapsburg had to be maintained all over Europe. All over Europe, too, crowds of Spanish pensioners were scattered about: there was hardly any court on the continent where any movement was going on in which Spanish spies, and Spanish bribes, and Spanish intrigues were not flourishing. But the worst drain of all upon the Spanish Budget was the debt left by Philip II., which amounted at the accession of Philip III. to 100,000,000 ducats at extravagant interest—some portion of them at 16 per cent. For the payment of this debt the greater part of the revenues were pledged to the State creditors, who were mostly Genoese. As the debt went on increasing more and more of the revenues became pledged to pay the interest of the debt, so that at last nothing remained for court expenses, and in the spring of 1608 none of the royal officers had received any pay for a year and a half, and seemed to have no hope of getting any, and their state of misery offered a frightful contrast to the prosperity of the favourites. To avoid bankruptcy or a general arrest of all the movements of the State, the Spanish Government in 1601 hit upon a characteristic device, and this was to send out sealed orders from Madrid to all the corregidores and presidents of tribunals in Spain to be opened only on a certain day. When the day came it was found that the orders contained injunctions for taking a catalogue of all the gold and silver plate in the possession of nobles, ecclesiastics, and private persons, with a view of confiscating a portion of it to the public use. The edict, however, excited such opposition that it was never carried out. The Government then hit upon a stranger method of raising money. In 1604 they obtained a brief of the Pope for giving absolution to all Portuguese suspected of Judaising in return for a good round sum of money. In this manner 1,860,000 ducats were raised, to the disgust, however, of the orthodox, and especially of their archbishop and others, who protested against the *autos de fe* being defrauded in this manner. They then had recourse to the commonest but most ruinous course of all bankrupt and dishonest governments—the alteration of the value of the coin. In October 1603 it was declared by a royal edict that all copper, double and four maravedi pieces, should pass for double their value. The Government contrived by this means, by taking up all the old copper money and uttering it again at double value, and by issuing more copper money, to clear about 6,320,440*l.* The consequence of this decree was that gold and silver disappeared from the country. They attempted

to remedy the matter by substituting an alloy of silver and copper for the copper, but the effect remained the same.

After the first eleven years of Lerma's rule the financial condition of Spain may be summed up as follows:--The capacity for payment of taxes had been so strained to the uttermost that the power of enduring taxation at all diminished year by year. More than four-fifths of the revenues of the country were mortgaged to creditors. There was such a deficit in time of peace that it could only be covered by pledging still more of the State revenues, and these depended on such contingencies as the arrival of the silver fleet from South America.

The wretched condition of the provinces in Spain, and the senseless method of taxation, had a most unfortunate influence on the well-being of the population. The pages of the most loyal writers are full of complaints of the misery of the people. The general poverty of the population was subject of mockery with the foreigner, who declared that *Espagne* should be called *Espargne*.

The Government did not provide for its people the first condition of social life—security, either within or without. Its foreign trade by sea was decimated by Dutch, English, and French corsairs, and robber troops, often consisting of disbanded soldiers, inhabited the mountain fastnesses, and harried the whole country. Thus the Spaniards had other drains upon their resources than the taxes of the Government. They had black mail to provide for robbers at home and foreign corsairs abroad. The colonies, too, shamefully governed as they were, were far from benefiting the people of Spain by increasing the consumption of Spanish goods; for since there were no manufactures in Spain, and the Spaniards had a disdain of all commercial enterprise, the real trade of Spain with the colonies, of which Spain had nominally the monopoly, was in fact carried on by foreigners under Spanish names, and they imported foreign wares into the colonies, which had to be paid for in Spanish silver and gold, and the consequence was that the ingots of gold and silver imported from Peru and Mexico merely passed through the country, and none remained in it. In 1606 the East and West Indian fleets landed ten million ducats of gold and silver at Seville, and a few weeks afterwards the dearth of gold and silver was as great as ever. It was calculated that the yearly value of the imports into Spain was 39,500,000 ducats, and that of exports was 19,500,000 ducats, so that the overplus of imports against exports was about 20,000,000*l.* sterling. It must be

added that in addition to all other taxes and duties the export duty on all articles was at one time 30 per cent., and the import duties equally high, although France and England after much difficulty succeeded in getting these enormous duties reduced. The commerce, in fact, of the country perished through over-protection, while the manufactures of Spain, which had once held a high place, perished through neglect and fiscal folly, as is instanced by the decay of the production of the once famous cloth of Segovia, and the disappearance of the silk looms of Seville, which once maintained 130,000 workpeople. The iron manufactures, too, of Biscaya utterly ceased, and the excellent iron ore of the country was, as now, exported from Spain, manufactured in other countries, and in that form re-imported into Spain.

If such was the case with trade and industry, agriculture, which was considered beneath the notice of Spanish statesmen, who were far from recognising the truth of the maxim of Sully, fared still worse. The interests of commerce have oftentimes been considered by statesmen a sufficient pretext for hostilities, and preferred to those of agriculture; but never was the latter treated with such contempt as in Spain. The unfortunate husbandman was bound down by a set of laws and regulations which affected his harvest from the moment of sowing his corn till the hour of his selling it in the market. In the first place he was not allowed to hedge in or fence his fields. This prohibition dated from the times of the wars with the Moors, when, on account of the insecurity of the times, the breeding of sheep and cattle was the most secure and profitable branch of husbandry; and this prohibition, utterly unfitted for civilised and settled times, was preserved by the society of the *Mesta*, a company of sheep-owners, who, as before mentioned, twice a year drove their sheep backwards and forwards from the plains of Estremadura to the mountains of Asturia. The object was that the sheep-owners might have free grazing ground for their million-headed droves during the whole length of their journey. It is in great part owing to this senseless regulation that the treeless condition of the interior of Spain is due, for no husbandman would plant a tree with the prospect of its tender rind being nibbled and the tree killed, often as soon as planted; while the cultivation of his land was naturally conducted on the most slovenly principle, since he had little certainty of not seeing his harvest destroyed before his eyes. Other prohibitions equally insensate beset the husbandman; he was forbidden to change his culture from grass to corn, and from

corn to grass, and in the plantation of fruit trees the very number of trees to be planted was prescribed for him. To complete the absurdity of State oppression under which he laboured, the very price at which he was to sell his corn was prescribed for him.

Professor Philippsen thus sums up the disadvantages under which agriculture perished in Spain :—

‘ Thus was agriculture on all sides degraded and oppressed. The condition of the peasant was despised; the greater part of the State burdens were imposed upon him; countless flocks of sheep destroyed his wheat crops without leaving him a hope of redress; regulations as to the price of his harvest robbed him of the greater part of his reward; police tutelage surrounded him at every step; the richest portions of the soil were either bound in entail or devoured by monks, and this made the value of the land increase without limit. The constant recurrence of festivals encouraged idleness and increased the price of labour. Students, officials, and the countless servants of the nobility increased the number of idlers. How could it be otherwise but that under such circumstances Spanish agriculture should go utterly to ruin ? ’

Periods, consequently, of excessive high prices and famine were of frequent occurrence. In the year 1608 the misery of the province of Galicia was so great that in the district of the town of Santiago 1,500 people died of hunger two months before the new harvest. Indeed, on account of the utter want of roads and bridges, people might be suffering famine in one province while in a neighbouring one they were revelling in abundance. And yet while the great mass of the nation was devoured by want and misery, while the peasant was poor or starving, the merchant ruined, and the noble indebted, the upper classes made parade of the most senseless and tasteless extravagance in dress, in houses, in furniture, and in the maintenance of retainers. Every day some new and costly fashion came up, and there was a rage for foreign articles of apparel. No courtier but must have his rich and broad lace cravats, and his gold-laced garments of Chinese or Italian silk. They wore English cloaks, Lombard hats, German shoes, with linen from Holland, Florence, and Milan. Their shoes were overlaid with scales of gold and silver, kept in their places by little nails with diamond heads. ‘ The walls of their houses,’ says a contemporary, ‘ being of gilded stucco, the chimneys of jasper, the columns of porphyry, required rooms abounding in costly ornaments and countless cabinets, which only serve for show and symmetry; many and the most various kinds of buffets, with inlaid work of many-coloured precious stones,

‘or of silver and ivory, and many thousand kinds of various woods brought from Asia.’ The sideboards, too, were loaded with silver plate, while the very flower-pots were of silver.

All this splendour of dress, house, and furniture required an immense number of attendants to keep up the state of the master. The smallest nobles, like the *grandeos*, must fain have their secretaries, majordomos, chamberlains, cooks, under-cooks, scullions, coachmen, grooms, water-bearers, pages, armed retainers, &c., besides a similar posse of attendants for their wives. And the number of this mass of idle *valetaille* was reckoned at hundreds of thousands. Yet with all their tasteless extravagance there was no real enjoyment. Their food and drink were of the plainest and scantiest; their gigantic palaces were without elegance or comfort.

All the causes above described did more to depopulate Spain than war, colonisation, or sickness, although pestilence and endemical disease were common enough in the country. As examples of the rapid depopulation of the towns may be quoted Burgos and Leon, the former of which sank from 7,000 to 900, and the latter from 5,000 to 500, in a quarter of a century, while many places were wholly deserted and stood in ruins. Even in Toledo 4,000 houses stood empty in 1607, and in Valladolid 3,000. In addition, however, to all the above causes of depopulation must be added the great draft of men for the army, for which it is reckoned that 150,000 were taken in nine years. The Spanish army was indeed still the largest and the best in Europe, its old system of organisation remaining intact from the days of Charles V. The discipline was extremely severe, and desertion was punished with death. Recruiting was rendered easier in Spain by the esteem in which the profession of arms was held. Common soldiers addressed each other as *señores soldados*, and citizens and even officers addressed them in the same terms. If they did their soldierly duties well, they were allowed every kind of license towards simple citizens. In their marches they had free quarters in a friendly as well as in an enemy's country, and the news of the approach of a *terzo* or Spanish regiment was received in advance with faces of terror, so dreaded were the ways of the rough and haughty soldiers of Spain.

From all the historical, social, and financial conditions under which the Spanish nation had been educated, there arose a strange amalgam of national character, concerning which, as Professor Philippsen observes, there is a remarkable unanimity among the observers of the time.

‘In all descriptions,’ he says, ‘of the Spaniards of the seventeenth
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century they come before us as proud, *chevaleresque*, haughty, bigoted, enduring, and temperate, but on the other hand untameable in their passions, hard, dilatory, adventurous and cruel—like the ruins of a proud building, which exhibits some of the grand nobility of earlier times, but which is yet for the most part in a tumble-down state, dark and repelling, and filling the spectator with the conviction of its speedy entire destruction. An excess of the *soldatesque* spirit, an excess of the ecclesiastical spirit, unavoidable results of the whole Spanish history, were above all things the fateful cause which threw the whole people into an almost incurable malady.'

To this sketch it may be added that in no other country did the horrible *autos de fe*, which represented the excess of the ecclesiastical spirit, ever come to be regarded as a national sport—just as national as the bull-fights which still represent the *soldatesque* and adventurous character of the ancient Spaniard. Nothing in fact threw the fanatical character of a Spaniard into greater anger than to be deprived of the excitement of an *auto de fe*.*

This wild fanaticism and grim intolerance of the Spanish people was taken advantage of by a perverse government to carry into execution a measure which, though long designed, was put finally into execution under the government of Philip III.—a measure from whose destructive effects Spain has never recovered, viz. the expulsion of the Moriscos. The immediate cause of this fatal resolve was the discovery in 1605 of the conspiracy which the Moors of Valencia had formed, after long negotiations with Henri IV., for getting possession, with French assistance, of the capital and province of Valencia. Professor Philippsen's researches have brought out in more detail the relations of Henri IV. with the Moors of Spain; but this episode is the most melancholy in the history of the French king, for he doubtless had little idea of the fatal results which his dealings with the Moriscos would bring on that unhappy people. Previous insurrections in 1590 and 1591 of the Moors had so exasperated the dominant spirit of intolerance in Spain, that at this time the state of oppression in which the Moriscos were living had become past endurance. To such tyrannical rules had no nation ever yet been subjected. The conditions under which they had submitted to the rule of Ferdinand the Catholic had been shamelessly violated by every succeeding monarch; every imaginable kind of vexation and oppression had been resorted to not only to convert them to

* We read in Cabrera: 'Llegó orden del Inquisidor General á las diez de la noche para que se sobreseyes (el auto de la fé), de que la ciudad quedó muy escandalizada, y todos los que habian venido á verlo.'

Christians, but to deprive them of their habits, usages, and customs, and even of their very mother-tongue. Every Moor who spoke Arabic, who bathed in a bath, danced a Moorish dance, played on a Moorish instrument, slept out of his house, changed his place of residence without permission, or was found with a pointed knife in his possession, was punished with a hundred lashes of the whip or sent to the galleys for four years. Other regulations as severe restrained their intercourse with each other and with the old Christians, *los Christianos viejos*. The wife was bound to denounce the husband, the father the son; while the great proprietors of the soil, whom the Moors had enriched by their marvellous industry, vied with each other in their measures of extortion. 'He who has Moors' has gold' passed into a proverb. The advantages which the proprietors drew from their Moorish vassals naturally led them to wish to retain them on the soil; and as long as they continued to influence the government severe decrees were issued forbidding the Moors from approaching the coast. For many of the more adventurous and high-spirited of this unfortunate race contrived to escape away into Algerine and other corsairs of their kindred race which were cruising constantly about the coast. The Moors, however, had more deadly and more relentless enemies who knew nothing of self-interest; these were the Dominicans and other members of the Church of Rome, who regarded the conversion of the Morisco as a fruitless and impossible undertaking, and wished to deliver the orthodox soil of Spain from contamination by a miscreant race. The Moors themselves gave too much colour to the conceptions thus formed of them. They never went to the churches except from fear of punishment, and were often dragged thither by the police. At the elevation of the sacrament they made wry faces, and sat with their limbs in distorted postures. Women pinched their children so that their cries might drown the sounds of the bell when rung at the most solemn moments of mass. They told jokes and strange stories to the priest at confession; and when the sermon came on they put their fingers in their ears and made such scuffling with the feet that nothing could be heard. When their children were baptised, they washed them anew in warm water as soon as they got home as though to remove a foul stain. The horror and contempt which, in this and numberless other ways, they contrived to express at the Christian creed and Christian institutions and ways of life, naturally excited the animosity of their Christian neighbours and of the priests with whom they were constantly in contact.

Although the ecclesiastical bigots of Spain, headed by the Dominican Bleda and Don Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, had long been agitating both at Rome and at Madrid to get Pope and king to adopt their plans for the total extirpation or expulsion of the Moors, they made little way until the intolerant Pius V. had succeeded to the milder-natured Clement VII., and until the Duke of Lerma, whose tranquillity began to be much troubled by the Moorish question, was gained over to their side. Lerma being won over, the king was won over, and all remaining scruples were quieted in the king's mind by the knowledge that the measure itself was approved of at Rome. Singularly enough, the day on which the king signed the edict, after hearing mass and calling for the grace of Heaven on his work of desolation, was the Feast of St. Dominic.

All the horrors which ensued in carrying out this awful decree have been often described, but Professor Philippsen's account of it is very graphic and minute, and gives a fresh interest to the narrative. What is new in his pages is a more exact recapitulation of the retributory evils which so cruel an enterprise brought, economically and historically, upon Spain. On a moderate calculation, the country was deprived of nearly half a million of most industrious inhabitants, 50,000 of which perished by the hardships of the voyage. But clerical fury was not yet satisfied: the very last descendant of the hated race must be extirpated from the holy soil of Spain. In 1611 even the Christianised Moriscos, who had been allowed to remain, were banished, and every banished Moor who was found again in Spain was punished by being sentenced to the galleys for life, and bands of spies were maintained in all the chief ports, in order to keep watch on the arrivals by sea; of the numbers of which proof is offered by the fact that the Conde de Salazar, in 1613, collected 800 of such unhappy creatures from five villages, and conducted them to the galleys. It should be observed that the better classes of the population of Spain showed more humanity and more wisdom than the government, and encouraged the poor creatures to come and settle down again among them; since amid the sandy wastes of Africa, the green fields of Spain, which they had enriched with their labour, had the attraction for them of a lost Paradise.

The sad results, which every intelligent observer foresaw would follow from this expulsion of a whole people, did not fail to arrive quickly. Girolamo Soranzo, the Venetian ambassador, communicated his conviction in a despatch to the Signoria towards the end of 1609: 'The injury which Spain

‘ will receive from that measure cannot be estimated,’ and Richelieu himself characterised it, in his *Mémoires*, as ‘ the most audacious and most cruel resolve of which the history of all time makes mention.’ A cry of horror passed through Europe as the dreadful tale was circulated, with, of course, all possible exaggerations, of which one was that 30,000 Moriscos, men, women, and children, had been thrown into the sea.

The general hatred of the Spaniard throughout Europe, and especially that of the Protestants, was infinitely increased by this measure; but the economical and financial disturbance and ruin which followed, affected more deeply the welfare of the individual and the nation. Professor Philippsen calculates that the Moors carried out of Spain, in gold and silver coin and in movable valuables, property to the amount of about three and a half millions of ducats. And as the Moors took away all the best coin, and left nothing but the debased mintage behind, this abstraction alone caused immense financial confusion throughout the land. All such industries, too, as remained to Spain had been in the hands of the Moors; the cloth of Murcia, the silk of Almeria and Granada, the leather of Cordova, all held a high reputation, but from that time they were never heard of more. The lower kinds of industries, such as potteries, carpet-making, rope-making, shoe-making, and others, suffered equally. The Moors, too, had been the great bankers of the country, and being able to give higher interest than the Spanish bankers, they held in their hands, in trust, the greater part of the moneys of widows and orphans and religious bodies, and the majority of these found themselves deprived of a large part of their income by the departure of the Moors. The great banks of Spain, that of Valencia and that of Barcelona especially, became utterly bankrupt. The agriculture of Spain, which was generally in the worst possible condition, now ceased utterly in many parts of the country. The fields lay untilled and gave no harvest, and the immense wastes called the *despoblados*, the unpeopled districts, now began to have an existence. As was natural, the cultivators of the poorer parts of the soil of Spain came forward to take possession of the rich farms vacated by the Moorish cultivators, while the poor dry soils which the intricate and ingenious system of canalisation of the Moors had alone rendered productive, fell back into a state of waste. Many districts, formerly thickly peopled, remained without a living soul, and the houses and cottages upon them fell into ruins. The only people in Spain who profited by the expulsion were, as was natural, the Duke of

Lerma and his family. The duke contrived to squeeze for himself 250,000 ducats out of the flying Moriscos; his eldest son, the Duke of Uceda, 100,000; the Conde de Lemos, the husband of his daughter, about the same sum, and other members of the family in the same proportion.

While thus in Spain the powers of dissolution and death were, under the guidance of a perverse, corrupt, and senseless government, let loose over the whole country, the mild and provident rule of Henri IV. had already healed the wounds which civil war had inflicted upon France. Industry and commerce had reached a flourishing condition, the population had increased, the financial power of the whole nation had become vigorous; and the taxes, although proportionally reduced, gave richer returns. The national debt had been diminished, the war treasury was full, and the arsenals were piled with arms, cannon, and ammunition of all kinds. Peace and order reigned throughout the kingdom, and the internal antagonism between Catholicism and Calvinism, between the monarchical power and feudal pretensions, was, if not entirely set at rest, yet removed into the background and reduced to silence. In his foreign relations the king had been equally successful. The last twelve years of the reign of Henri IV. were intended by him to be a mere prelude to the accomplishment of his great design, the abasement of the power of the House of Hapsburg, and patiently, year by year, while he was feeding and fostering the vital forces of his people, he contrived, by a subtle and farsighted diplomacy, to place himself at the head of the anti-Spanish party in Europe. He was content, during this period, to avert the blows which were aimed at him, to goad on the enemies of the House of Hapsburg, and to give them such scant support as he prudently could. His first great success in diplomacy was the establishment of peace between the Republic of Venice and the Papal See, where hostilities seemed almost inevitable. By this peaceful victory, which he owed as much to his correct judgment and the adroitness and readiness of his diplomatists as to the consideration which his well-filled arsenals and new levies gave him with foreign powers, his reputation was immensely increased in Europe. But a still greater diplomatic victory was reserved for him in 1609, in the leading part which he took in the conclusion of the twelve years' truce between Spain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The fact of the peace of the Netherlands having been brought about by the influence of the French king raised France still higher in public esteem than the arrangement of the Venetian-Papal difficulty. In the latter case a war was merely averted, in the former it was con-

cluded after half a century of embittered conflict. On June 22, 1609, the States-General wrote to Henri IV.: 'We assure your Majesty that next after God we thank your hands for the maintenance of this State, and that we and our descendants shall feel ever bound to recognise this with unending thankfulness and devoted service.' Pope Pius V. could not himself forbear from expressing his admiration for the dexterity and prudence which gave Henri IV. the position of being regarded as the umpire of Europe without drawing a sword or firing a shot. But this same peace, which had brought such honour to France, was quite as derogatory to the name and greatness of Spain. After forty years of incessant fighting, and after countless expenditure of blood and treasure, Spain, which aimed at the dominion of the world, had not been able to conquer a handful of rebel fishermen and sailors. The recognition of the sovereignty of the United Provinces by this ambitious, bigoted, and inflexible power was the outward and visible sign in the eyes of Europe of its decadence, and announced at the same time the victory of the cause of political and religious freedom over that double form of despotism with which Spain endeavoured to oppress her subjects.

It is during the two or three years preceding his death, when his active career was cut short by assassination, that we have most to admire the active, comprehensive, and far-sighted political wisdom of Henri IV. There was no movement which took place in any part of Europe which he did not attempt to turn to account, and, by means of it, to make fresh allies for the great purpose which he meant to be the crowning glory of his life. The time now seemed ripe, and before the chill of old age set in, while his heart and mind were still young, as was shown too scandalously in his strange passion for Charlotte de Montmorency, he determined to begin his great design of the liberation of Europe. Much has been fantastically invented about this great design, based chiefly on the pages of the untrustworthy memoirs of Sully. It has been supposed that Henri IV. had in contemplation a great scheme for remodelling the map of Europe and founding a Christian republic, formed of a free federation of independent states. After the searching criticism to which Professor Philippsen has subjected the memoirs of Sully, this legend will no longer be repeated; but what Henri IV. really had in view was the abasement of the house of Austria as the great enemy of religious tolerance and national independence in Europe, and of Spain as one of the chief members of it. With the eyes of true political genius Henry IV. had seen how the preponderance of power which Spain and Austria had

exercised in the destinies of Europe from the days of Charles V. was to be transferred to France, and his whole reign from the Peace of Vervins was a preparation for attacking the might of Hapsburg not only in its citadel but through all its bulwarks and outer defences ; and the war which he meditated was to be carried on with the aid of allies not only in the Netherlands, but in Germany and Italy. In Italy Henri IV. had long been carefully preparing his way for an alliance offensive and defensive with the Duke of Savoy—an alliance which assured him of the support of one of the most powerful states of Italy, and of the ingress and egress by the Alpine passes necessary for the security of all military operations south of the Alps. And not only might he regard Savoy as completely won over to his side, but also Mantua and Venice. Nor in Germany was he less active ; and although his negotiations for influencing the German electors in the choice of a successor to the unfortunate Rudolph were not eminently successful, yet he brought about a confederation of the German Protestant princes at Ahausen, whose rapid extension throughout Germany secured him a united body of allies in the very heart of Germany. How an event long foreseen, the vacancy of the succession of the duchy of Juliers and Cleves, the possession of which at that time was of the utmost importance on account of its position between the territories of rival Protestant and Catholic powers, made Henri IV. at once pass from the stage of speculative politics to that of active energy and prepare for war on an immense scale, while he endeavoured to find allies among all the Protestant powers of Europe, and how the knife of Ravallac put a stop at once to the workings of his active and politic brain and to the beatings of his human heart, is too well known to detain us here. The hand of a miserable assassin put a check to the march of the thousands of French troops already on their way to the frontiers charged with the execution of designs which might have averted the 'Thirty Years' War, and advanced by a century the cause of religious freedom and national independence in Europe.

We take leave of Dr. Philippsen's volumes with regret. They are not only full of interesting matter, but the style is generally worthy of his theme. If it is not so simple, lucid, and terse as that of Ranke, it has different qualities of rich, graphic, and vigorous abundance, although this leads sometimes to repetition and an involved construction which makes his pages sometimes somewhat difficult to read. A good translation of the work would be a desirable boon for the British public, and would be worthy of a permanent place in every good English library.

ART. IX.—*The Phenomena of the Electric Discharge with 14,400 Chloride of Silver Cells.* A Discourse by WARREN DE LA RUE, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., delivered at the Royal Institution, Jan. 21, 1881. London.

THE frequently-quoted remark that history repeats itself is certainly borne out by the records of scientific invention. Not very long after the discovery had been made that an inflammable and illuminating gas could be distilled out of coal, and burned, as it streamed out of pipes, both for heating and lighting purposes, a company was formed, as will still be remembered by many readers of the present day, which undertook to render the gas 'portable' otherwise than by pipes, and to deliver supplies of it for household use in carts. This in the case of the gas was accomplished by pumping it into strong iron cylinders, and by then allowing these mechanically condensed stores to flow back out of the reservoirs through a minute orifice and in a continuous stream when a restraining tap was turned. Now, if there be any agent with which human ingenuity is familiar that would seem unlikely to be amenable to such handling as storage for transport, this certainly might be expected to be the case with electricity, the most impatient and refractory of the natural forces which are dealt with by man. A few short weeks ago any speculative innovator, who had proposed to deliver condensed electricity for domestic use, like milk, in cans at the door, would certainly have been looked upon as a very wild and impractical visionary. Yet this seems to be very nearly what can now actually be done according to the recent announcement that four leaden cans of condensed electricity have been sent from Paris to Sir William Thomson at Glasgow by a special messenger, delivered safe and sound at their destination, and since examined and experimented upon by the distinguished electrician to whom they were forwarded. Sir William Thomson found that after the journey of seventy-two hours there was still stored up in the four leaden reservoirs electrical force enough, if put to mechanical work, to raise one million pounds one foot high. One of the four cells was discharged and then re-charged from Sir William's own battery in the laboratory at Glasgow, and after ten days it was found that it still contained power enough to lift 260,000 pounds one foot high. The case containing the four cells sent from Paris to Glasgow was a wooden box one foot square, and weighed, with its contents, seventy-five pounds. Each of the four cells

packed in the interior was a cylinder of lead five inches in diameter and ten inches high.

The principle involved in this ingenious piece of apparatus, technically distinguished as the secondary battery of M. Faure, is essentially an example of the now universally accepted doctrine of the conservation and transmutation of energy. A current of voltaic electricity is turned into static chemical force, which, when left to itself, returns spontaneously again into the state of an electrical current. The primary current is in the first instance stored away in the cell of the secondary battery by the retentive grasp of chemical affinity, but the grasp is exercised in such a way that the stored charge can be given back piecemeal, and with comparatively trifling waste or loss by the gradual loosening of the chemical adhesion. In the old process of storing portable gas the storing was a simple act of mechanical compression. A large bulk of elastic gas was mechanically squeezed into a small space, and was then allowed to resume its original volume by streaming out from its prison-house under its own resiliency through a minute opening provided for its escape. In M. Faure's electric store-cell the tenacious attraction of chemical affinity takes the place of mechanical pressure, and the chemically-held electricity is allowed to stream back as a current by the slow resolution of the temporarily established combination.

The material agents which are employed in the performance of this ingenious piece of electro-chemical legerdemain are very homely substances; those, namely, that are familiarly known to every one as lead, and red-lead or minium,* which, as its trivial designation imports, is a body that itself contains lead as one of its own ingredients. The red-lead is, however, in one sense a remarkable substance. It has a complicated composition, and it is upon this complication that its serviceable character in the matter of the storage of electricity depends.

Red-lead was for a long time conceived to be merely a sesquioxide of the metal; that is, an oxide standing intermediately between the protoxide, the form that is combined with the smallest charge of oxygen which can establish a definite and fixed combination, and the peroxide, which is the form which is combined with the largest charge that the metal can receive. It is now known, however, that this is not the real state of the

* A commercial product, so called because it was in the first instance procured from a red earth occurring upon the banks of the river in Spain known to the old Romans as the Minius. ‡

case. The red-lead is a mixture of equal parts of the protoxide and sesquioxide of the metal. It is formed by exposing pure lead to a heat of 700° , whilst a current of air is caused to play upon it. This red-lead does not unite chemically with the strong mineral acids, as most of the metallic oxides do, and it gives off a considerable quantity of oxygen when raised to a red-heat, and is by that means converted into the protoxide. It is thus a compound body which is prone to a double-sided action—a drawing in of oxygen by its under-oxidised constituent, and a giving out or exhalation of oxygen by its more fully oxidised ingredient.

The secondary or condensing battery which has been contrived by M. Faure consists properly of two plates of lead, which are both coated with the minium, or red oxides of lead, covered up with porous felt, and then rolled into the form of a spiral scroll. The two scrolls are placed side by side in a vessel of acidulated water, and so constitute a kind of passive voltaic couple. A strip of the lead is left projecting from each of the scrolls to the outside of the enclosing case, so as to afford the means of completing a circuit connection with the poles of an ordinary voltaic battery. When these leaden strips are brought into communication with the wires of an external battery, and the circuit is rendered complete, a chemical action begins, and a voltaic current is established through the spiral plates. The red-lead upon the plate which is in communication with the positive terminal or electrode of the battery is then gradually more highly charged with oxygen, so that its suboxidised ingredient is converted into a peroxide of the metal, whilst at the same time the more abundantly oxidised element in the plate which is connected with the negative pole is reduced to the state of unoxidised metallic lead. This goes on until all the red-lead has been fully oxidized upon the one plate and deoxidised or reduced to the metallic condition upon the other, and the chemical change then ceases. In this state the lead-battery is charged. The voltaic current has turned all the available red-lead on one element of the couple into a peroxide of the metal, and has reduced the red-lead upon the other into metallic lead, and it is this which generates the store. The electricity is stored up as a fixed and highly oxidised chemical compound upon the positively electrified plate, and if the connexion with the charging battery is then severed by disconnecting the wires with the leaden strips, the store remains fast locked in a chemical embrace in the reservoir into which it has been in this way insinuated.

If, however, the couple which has been charged by this procedure is now closed up into a circuit of its own by bringing the two terminal leaden strips into metallic connexion, the work which has been accomplished by the external battery is reversed or undone. The red-lead which is associated with the positive plate is forthwith reduced to the metallic condition, and the red-lead which covers the negative plate is, in its turn, converted into peroxide, and all the while that this reconversion is in progress a current of voltaic electricity flows in the opposite direction to that which was pursued during the charging of the battery. The static chemical force which was fixed as an imprisoned charge is restored to the state of a retrogressively flowing electric current. The dynamic energy acts, as it were, in a backward direction. The set of its operation is reversed, and this ebb and flow of the electrical energy—this forward and backward play of the current—can be reproduced any number of times at the discretion and will of the operator. The store-battery can be first charged to repletion, and be then allowed to run itself out, the oxygen being heaped up on the positive plate of the couple in one case, and upon the negative plate in the other. But during the temporary suspension of its activity which intervenes between the charging and discharging, the apparatus may be made an object of transport. It may be charged at one place, and then be carried away to be discharged at any other distant one, as in the case in which the specimen store-battery was carried from Paris to Glasgow. So long as the opposite plates of the couple are kept isolated or disconnected, the store is held fast in its imprisonment. As soon as they are brought into conductive communication the store is drawn off by a gradual discharge, and during the progress of its escape it is, of course, available for any purpose to which dynamic or moving electricity can be applied.

It is one essential condition of the voltaic battery that the metallic plates of each couple or cell shall be of unlike material. In the most common form the one plate is composed of copper, and the other of zinc. If both plates were of copper, or both of zinc, it is hardly necessary to say no current would be produced, although they were duly connected up into circuit outside of the liquid menstruum of the cell in the usual way. It is the unlike character of the plates placed in contact with the liquid which sets up a preponderant current in one direction. When the leaden elements of M. Faure's battery are first immersed in their cell, they are identically and absolutely alike. They are both plates of lead covered over

with a coating of the red oxide, and there is consequently no current set up, even although they be joined into circuit. As soon, however, as they have been in this coupled-up state subjected to the influence of the external or charging battery, all is substantially changed. By the action of the current the one plate becomes more abundantly oxidised, whilst the other plate is more nearly approximated to the condition of a pure and unoxidised metal. The condition for the establishment of an independent current—that is, the physical dissimilarity of the plates—is therefore by this means brought about, and consequently when they are left to themselves their own current begins to flow, and as it flows the reduced plate of lead is reoxidised, and the highly oxidised plate is reduced, until the original equality of condition in the two plates is restored, with the consequent exhaustion of all electric power, but with return of the capacity to be again rendered unlike, and electrically active, through the renewal of the external disturbing influence. This really is the essential point of M. Faure's process. The latent battery is quickened into electric life by the extraneous agency of a current supplied from without. Professor Tyndall has pointed out that this method of bringing a passive battery into an active state was, in the first instance, conceived by an earlier experimenter, Herr Ritter, of Liegnitz. M. Planté then afterwards improved upon Ritter's plan by employing lead for the homogeneous plates, and by rendering them unhomogeneous and electrically active by a current of electricity. The distinctive characteristic of the more recent process of M. Faure is that he adopts red-lead as the coating of the homogeneous plates, and by its adoption constructs a secondary battery of very considerable power, and of proportionally increased utility.

This invention of an actually available apparatus for the storage and transport of electricity is undoubtedly an incident which deserves all the attention it has received. But it is nevertheless, it must be remarked, not so absolutely a new method of procedure as has somewhat too generally, at the first glance, been conceived. It is more properly an ingenious and very meritorious extension of the principle before most serviceably applied when the so-called constant batteries were devised and brought into use. The leviathan voltaic battery, for instance, which has recently been constructed and employed by Dr. De la Rue, is, after all, of the same generic character as the apparatus of M. Faure in all but the attribute of ready portability. In it the source of electrical action is a solid electrolyte, which discharges a continuous current

of voltaic electricity in consequence of the spontaneous conversion of a chloride into the pure metallic state; and with it the reduced metal can be used, exactly as in the arrangement of M. Faure, over and over again after renewed combination with chlorine. The apparatus for this reason is known as the chloride of silver battery. A flat wire of pure silver is coated with a thick deposit of dry and solid chloride of silver, and this is placed with a companion rod of zinc in a cell charged with a weak solution of an ammoniacal salt. When the battery is brought into active operation, the chloride of silver is gradually changed into pure spongy silver, and the activity of the battery does not cease until all the chloride has been reduced into uncombined silver. But this does not ensue until after a considerable length of time, and when it has taken place the reduced silver may be used over again, but it has to be first removed from the cells in order that it may be recombined with chlorine by one of the processes ordinarily employed by the chemist for that purpose. The chief difference, therefore, between the procedure of Dr. De la Rue and of M. Faure, is that in the former case the reconstruction of the exhausted chloride of silver entails the tedious intervention of manipulative interference, instead of being accomplished, as in the red-lead battery, by the mere throwing in of a voltaic current. In the chloride of silver battery the apparatus, when once set up, is as essentially an accumulated store of electric force as the battery of M. Faure. The store is supplied by the hands of the chemist when he turns metallic silver into the chloride of the metal, and it is gradually drawn upon and turned to account as the chloride is reconverted into pure silver, and the setting free and discharge of the electrical current go on as long as the process of reduction is continued. If in the case of the chloride of silver battery any plan could be devised for recharging the reduced silver with chlorine by means of a voltaic current furnished from another battery without separating and emptying the cells, the identity of the two cases would be very nearly complete.

But no plan has been yet devised [for recharging the chloride of silver battery in this convenient way. When the chloride has been exhausted by its entire conversion into spongy silver, the whole battery has to be taken to pieces, and to be re-set up by hand after the rechloridising of the silver, and that this is not altogether an agreeable operation to have to undertake will be at once plain when it is understood what the process involved in the case of Dr. De la

Rue's large battery, where there were 14,400 cells to deal with. This splendid piece of electrical apparatus was used in its full power for the first time at an evening lecture of the Royal Institution, given on January 21 in the present year. Upon that occasion an artificial auroral display, and other very beautiful luminous effects in vacuum tubes, produced by the combined energy of the 14,400 cells, were exhibited. Now, the construction of this battery for the purpose of the lecture was commenced in June, 1879, and was not completed until August, 1880. A fortnight was occupied in the mere filling of the cells with the liquid in which the rods had to be immersed. It was estimated that the penetrating or disruptive force of this piece of apparatus, which is by far the most powerful voltaic battery that has yet been brought into operation by human hands, was about the 243rd part of that of a veritable flash of lightning, capable of striking one mile through the air. The entire battery was contained in twelve cabinets of somewhat considerable dimensions. It must, therefore, be understood that in this form, at least, it could not be looked upon as a portable piece of apparatus. It is simply upon the ground that it is a store reservoir of electrical force, that the store is maintained by similar chemical means, and that it is set free for use by the same expedient of a spontaneous return of a metallic compound into the state of a pure uncombined metal, that it is compared with the invention of M. Faure. As a mere concentration and store of reserved energy it is a very perfect piece of apparatus indeed. In one tolerably large battery of the same construction which Dr. De la Rue has been using for some time in his own laboratory, the electrical action was maintained without any perceptible diminution of power for three years.

But the secondary battery of M. Faure is portable as well as being a reservoir or store, and this is the distinctive merit which marks it out as an advance upon other forms of constant battery. A Faure apparatus weighing 140 pounds gives storage enough for a power that can do the mechanical work of a horse for an hour. It might, therefore, be easily packed away in a wheeled carriage, which it is itself competent to drive for that period of time. Compared with the chloride of silver battery, the arrangement of M. Faure exerts a higher energy for a more limited interval, and it is on that account that it is adapted for transport. Sir William Thomson, in speaking of this plan for converting electricity into a storable form, which can be packed away and drawn upon piecemeal as it is required, correctly likens it to the winding up of a clock. The

chloride of silver battery is certainly in that sense like a clock, and it is like a clock which can go for months and even years without renewal of its motor impulse when it has once been wound up. The Faure battery, on account of the greater concentration and intensification of energy, requires more frequent winding, but it is an ample compensation for this that it possesses the remarkable advantage of being windable by means of another electrical battery. It can be recharged with equal facility either by a few Grove's cells, or by a steam or water driven magneto-electric machine, and it is this feature, no doubt, which has so signally drawn to it the attention of practical men. Sir William Thomson is already obviously inclined to look upon this invention as the direction in which the hitherto unmanageable problem of the application of the electric light to the ordinary purposes of domestic life is most likely to be solved. He conceives that household Faure batteries may hereafter take the same position for the supply of light that cisterns now hold for the supply of water.

Professor Osborne Reynolds, of Manchester, who, on the other hand, entertains a less sanguine view of the promise of the new invention than some of his compeers, is largely influenced in his scepticism by the consideration of the inferiority of the red-lead battery as a transportable store of force to coal. Coal, we know, is sent by steamships and railways as a source of motor power half over the world, and there is as much potential energy in an ounce and a half of coal as there is in seventy-five pounds of M. Faure's lead-batteries. One pound of coal judiciously brought into play can lift eleven million pounds one foot high. But this, it must be remembered, is not all that has to be taken into account. It is only one aspect of a many-sided question. The ounce and a half of coal cannot be recovered when it has been consumed. When once it has been burned there is an end of it, at any rate so far as all human agency is concerned. It is only the subtle power of nature itself that can get back the coal out of the oxidised vapour into which it has been dissipated, in order that it may be used over again. But it is the very essence of M. Faure's battery that its material ingredients are used over and over again. They are indeed, for all practical purposes, indestructible. This, therefore, at once suggests the yet further thought, that when all the coal stores of the world have been consumed it may not be amiss to have some alternative and less rapidly exhaustible stores of moving force to fall back upon, even if they should prove to be more costly, and in connexion with this consideration it must also be kept in mind that the newly-

born power is yet in the most tender days of its infancy. It is but a first tentative effort of a new inspiration of the inventive faculty. When it is as old as steam-driven machinery, in all probability less ponderous applications of the method will have been devised. And yet again it may not be amiss also to remember that in the marvellous economy of nature there is room for small offices as well as great. Every new discovery in the end finds for itself its application and place. In reference to this Sir William Thomson pertinently says, as a rule we do not in the arrangements of our household life turn our backs upon our water-cans and cisterns because we find that water can be more economically distributed by pipes than by pails. The cans will not be used where the pipes can be employed. But they will, nevertheless, beat the pipes out of the field for special services to which they are better adapted. Elastic hose and force pumps will never take the place of tea-cups. So also will it assuredly be in the end with these new methods of electrical storage and transport. The electrical hand-can of M. Faure will have its opportunity and use. The principle it involves is a real discovery. The purpose, however, of this brief article is rather to draw attention to a hopeful birth than to prophesy or forecast a career. It is in this spirit, therefore, that the fortunes of this youngest offspring of inventive ingenuity are now left, without further attempt at vaticination, to the final arbitrament of time.

ART. X.—*Landlords and Tenants in Ireland.* By FINLAY, DUN. London: 1881.

THE January number of this Journal contained an article on the then critical condition of affairs in Ireland, and on the duty the Government had to perform: first of all, in restoring order and in maintaining the law; secondly, in providing such remedial measures as would (without violating either the rights of property or the fundamental laws of political economy) remove those evils which really exist, and foster the growth of a happier state of relations between different classes in that country. Since that time the energies of the Government and of Parliament have been almost entirely given up to the performance of these two duties. It is right that those of us who can look calmly back upon the work of the past half-year, and at the present state of affairs in Ireland and in Parliament, should state fully and fairly their impressions of the progress of events, and their hopes of the future.

There is at the present time (and it cannot be wondered at) a tone of despondency among thoughtful Liberals not natural to that generally sanguine section of the body politic. In the political society of the metropolis, a weeping philosopher, were he to arise, would find a numerous following. Though there is matter to account for it, this mournful spirit is unworthy of the Liberal party. It is time for these mourners (would that they were also mutes!) to consult

‘ What reinforcement they might gain from hope,
If not what resolution from despair ; ’

for to complain continually of the present, and at the same time to despair loudly of the future, can have no effect but to weaken the efforts of the only men who adhere in practice, as in speech, to the old Whig doctrine that Reform is the only sure buttress against Revolution. If, therefore, honesty compels us to express some dissatisfaction with much that has occurred during the last few months, and here and there to doubt whether all the benefits promised us will result at once from the legislative projects of the Government passing into law, our remarks at all events will not be dictated by any feeling of hopelessness as to the future of either Ireland or of this country.

The present Ministry contains men of first-rate ability, and it is admirably representative of the various shades of opinion held by the different sections of the Liberal party. Measures

of reform brought forward by such a Government must necessarily show a certain character of compromise, which will tend to alienate extreme men, without conciliating those who are opposed to any substantial changes. An 'extreme man' and a 'satisfied man' are a contradiction in terms. There is no possibility of converting the one into the other. Hence we are not surprised that the Parnellite faction, which professes to represent the Irish people, proclaims its dissatisfaction with the ministerial Bill. No measure would satisfy these men, some of whom are avowedly endeavouring rather to bring dissolution upon the Empire than benefit to the Irish portion of it.

Before discussing the great remedial measure of the present session, let us consider what has been done, and what is being done, to maintain the law. No mistake could be made more fatal to the interests of the Liberal party, or more injurious to Ireland, than the association in the popular mind with a Liberal *régime* of any weakness of purpose in this the first duty of Government. The laws are what we ourselves have made them. If we do not like them, we can alter or repeal them; but while we maintain them upon the Statute Book, our dignity as a nation is concerned in their enforcement. It is not only our self-respect that requires this. The liberty and safety of those who are otherwise defenceless depend upon a firm and fearless administration of the law. This, we need hardly say, has been the language steadily held by the leading members of the present Cabinet. Whether from the Lord Chancellor or from Mr. Gladstone at the Lord Mayor's dinner, from Lord Hartington in the House of Commons, or from Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham, the country has been told that the Government knew its duty in this respect, and would do it. To language of this kind the country has never been dead; indeed, the immediate response occasionally evoked by it has almost startled in its vehemence those who were but giving expression to the universal sentiment of law-abiding Englishmen. But the country cannot content itself with mere words, however brave; and it cannot be denied that the lawlessness prevailing in Ireland during last winter, and still existing in some portions of that country, is enough to make loyal citizens blush to think of.

It is not that the number of crimes against person and property (though very great) has amounted to anything approaching the figure reached in previous times of disturbance. When Lord Grey had to propose 'coercion,' he had a far blacker list to show. Mr. Forster, by taking enormous precautions, has succeeded in protecting life. But, as Lord Har-

tington, we think, put it, the question we had to deal with was rather between one law and another. Was the law of the land or the law of the Land League to prevail? 'Two authorities were up, neither supreme,' and it is not too much to say that the public 'soul *ached* to know how soon' the confusion thence ensuing was to be put down. In spite of 'brave words,' throughout the winter the confusion increased, and it was admitted to its full extent by the Government upon the early assembling of Parliament, and by the efforts made to bring to justice the leaders of the Land League.

In the long and turbulent discussions which for weeks and months followed the introduction into the House of Commons of the Protection of Life and Property Bill, an important question which had disturbed and perplexed the minds of many Liberals was too much lost sight of. No responsible politician would hesitate, if the Government could not govern without this exceptional authority, to grant it them. Ireland must be governed somehow. But it has never been satisfactorily explained to what cause was due the paralysis which apparently afflicted the Irish Executive throughout all its branches. Ireland was full of troops, and of a police force armed and drilled like troops; and, on the whole, considering the difficulties of the time, protection of life *was* efficiently afforded to those threatened but not-to-be-frightened individuals who chose to brave out the winter in their own country. But what was requisite was that people should be able to live freely under the law, to trade as they liked, to bargain as they liked, to contract and to pay debts as the law allowed them. In this respect liberty was not preserved, and things reached their climax when a seller of cattle found himself forbidden to send a cargo of oxen from an Irish seaport to an English town. These were times of emergency, and action was required on the part of the authorities. It has never been said that they had not sufficient force at command; but, for some reason not explained, the unwillingness to support the law by force went so far that it was taken for weakness, and hence a deplorable state of affairs has resulted.

We frankly confess that we dislike 'Coercion Acts.' We infinitely prefer to have recourse to a vigorous enforcement of the ordinary law of the land. The very notion of giving power to the Chief Secretary and Lord Lieutenant to imprison without trial and on 'reasonable suspicion' (that is, practically on police accusation) any number of Irishmen, is intensely repugnant to the feelings of every Liberal. But the only alternative to this was, and is, vigorous action by the Executive; the

infusing spirit into magistrates and police by those above them; the making clear to them that, in case of difficulty, the Government would 'see them through.' The Irish are a credulous people, and they must be strangely ignorant of the character of the present administration; for there can be little doubt that a belief was common among them that the Government did not, in private, dislike the continuance of the land agitation, but rather tolerated it as likely to be favourable to their party interests and to the land reforms which they had in view. Preposterous as was this notion, the inaction of authority gave it countenance. 'Throughout Ireland there has been unfortunately a remarkable absence of energy on the part of loyal people, of any willingness of persons of position to take responsibility upon themselves. Occasionally even, actual timidity has been shown, without apparently much sense of the disgrace attaching to it.* Had the active been encouraged and the weak discountenanced and dismissed, had it been made manifest that soldiers and police would be employed even at the risk of bloodshed ensuing, rather than that liberty under the law should be trampled on with impunity, we cannot but believe that such disheartening legislation as marked the first two months of the present session would have been avoided. Unfortunately coercive legislation rather than vigorous administration was the policy pursued. There are now in the Irish gaols over a hundred 'suspects,' including a member of Parliament and a priest; but the state of Ireland still remains 'disturbed.' Remedial legislation of a very sweeping kind and on quite novel principles is to be tried; but its operation in producing contentment must necessarily be slow, and firmness of administration will more than ever be required if the new system is to have a fair chance of success. Only by such firmness, we feel confident, can further troubles, ultimately ending in civil war, be avoided.

One word as to the position of the Land League. The League is a combination to prevent the fulfilment of contracts—that is, to prevent the performance of duty enjoined by the law. Should the law tolerate systematic action to defeat itself? The Government have rightly answered this in the negative by the

* A letter appeared in the 'Times,' signed 'An Irish Magistrate,' to the effect that, were the writer required to give evidence for the Crown in the trial of the Land Leaguers, *he should decline to attend*, on the ground that it was not safe to offend the League. This gentleman was, of course, not of the stuff of which, in troubled times, magistrates should be made.

action they took against the leaders of the Land League. But the prosecution failed, and the combination to break the law, to force others to break it, or to help them in breaking it, still flourishes. Under the new system a tenant's legal duty will be somewhat changed. The law will order him to pay his landlord not a *contract* rent, but an *officially fixed* rent. It will be still possible to combine against eviction and against the payment of rent, and if such a course is pursued we hope the Government will not hesitate to break up the combination and to uphold the law.

Mr. Finlay Dun, in his useful book describing in detail the agricultural condition of many estates which he had visited, thus writes in his introduction:—

‘The landlords of Ireland are comparatively few in number, and many hold large estates. The tenants are numerous, their farms are small; one half of the holdings are under fifteen acres. Nearly half the area of the island is owned by 750 proprietors, each enjoying upwards of 5,000 acres. Many large estates unfortunately illustrate the evils of subdivided tenancies, too small to furnish decent subsistence for their holders. In the poor county of Mayo, for example, nine owners hold upwards of 20,000 acres, or together half a million acres, being considerably more than one-third of the county. At the opposite extremity of the social scale, with few intermediate connecting links, are half a million small occupiers, half of whom pay, on an average, 6% of annual rent.’

And though in recent years, owing to the consolidation of holdings, the number of very small occupiers has decreased, there are still 117,580 holdings—that is, one-fifth of the entire number in Ireland—of less extent than five acres. Mr. Tuke, writing of the West of Ireland, tells us that

‘it is of the utmost importance to realise the fact that farms under ten, fifteen, or twenty acres of land, according to its quality, are too small to support a family. It matters not whether a man has fixity of tenure, or, being a peasant proprietor, has no rent to pay; he cannot, unless he has some other source of income, live and bring up a family’ upon these patches of ground.’

The great bulk of land under cultivation is held under parole yearly tenancies; and it is the general rule that the tenant, not the landlord, undertakes such improvements as are made.* To this rule, however, there are important and noteworthy exceptions. We again quote Mr. Dun:—

‘On many Irish estates, not only the cultivation of the soil, but its more permanent equipments, have been mainly effected by the tenant, sometimes holding under a long lease, more usually with a parole agreement running from year to year, with a six months’ notice to

quit, which by the Act of 1877 was extended to twelve months. On many estates the labour and outlay, usually of small occupiers, has gradually reclaimed the bog and reduced the stony mountain side to some sort of cultivation. The landlord generally has contributed to these improvements much less than his compeer in England or Scotland would have done. Houses, buildings, fences, and drains, seldom so substantially or thoroughly made as in Great Britain, but often fairly answering their purposes, in many instances have also been the work of the tenants. In this way, as already indicated, as a matter of equity, has grown the occupier's recognised possessory interest. Hence results the hardship of arbitrary eviction. Hence, moreover, arises one of several difficulties in determining the vexed question, what is a fair rent?'

We are further told, however—

'that in marked contrast to the general Irish practice, under which landlords delegate to middlemen or occupying tenants the substantial improvement of their property, are the estates which for generations have been systematically managed on what may be termed English principles, where permanent equipments have been chiefly effected or paid for by the landlord. On the best of these estates pains have, moreover, been taken to roll into one conveniently-sized farm several of the small, often scattered, pendicles, on which even the most industrious and thrifty tenant could scarcely earn a bare subsistence.'

It is not for the sake of the tenantry on such estates as these that any necessity is felt for sweeping legislation.

The Irish tenantry, however, as a rule, squatted upon insufficient patches of poor land, which they have themselves reclaimed, are the yearly tenants of landlords too often entirely absentee, generally of another religion, and belonging, as they are told by agitators till they believe it, to an alien and a hostile race. The law gives these landlords the power of taking to themselves the benefit of the tenants' improvements, a power which the Land Act of 1870 has not in practice been found to take away.* A very small number of landlords abuse their legal rights; but we fully believe Mr. Dun that 'the fact that 'exorbitant advances of rent are sometimes made, and are 'possible, affords wide-spread material for agitation.'

When we find such a different condition of things existing in Great Britain and in Ireland, is it altogether surprising that a land system which answers in the one should entirely break

* The old legal maxim as to the permanent improvements of tenants, viz., 'Quicquid plantatur solo, solo cedit,' was freely translated by the late Mr. Justice Shee, 'Tenants' improvements, landlords' perquisites.' The Land Act of 1870 changed this, the law henceforth *presuming* that improvements are the tenants'. This Act, however, has been found insufficient to check *increases of rent* in consequence of tenants' improvements, the benefit of which, therefore, is still liable to be taken by the landlord.

down in the other? And that the land system of Ireland *has* completely broken down, could alone make prudent the adoption of such experimental legislation as is now proposed to us. Whatever may be the cause of it, our land law does not suit the instincts of the Irish people. We have to deal with a parliamentarily governed country, a country where free institutions exist; and even could we succeed in prolonging the existence of an objectionable landed system, it has become entirely beyond our power to make that system work satisfactorily.

On a smaller scale, in the anti-tithe war, we have had previous experience of a general Irish strike against payment of an unpopular charge. The Government at that time made great efforts. It lent to the clergy one million sterling, and took upon itself the collection of tithe, which the clergy had been unable to extort. Yet it failed absolutely in forcing payment, and the million sterling was lost to the nation.*

Besides the popular dislike to the existing land system, we must also bear in mind the effect of the Land Act of 1870. Till that time landlords and tenants were, in the eye of the law, merely contracting parties; the bargain being *express* where there were leases or agreements, *implied* in the common case of yearly holdings. This legal conception of the relationship of landlord and tenant did not, we think, in very many districts of Ireland, square with the facts of the case. That the squatter on a few acres of bog in Connemara did really agree every year to take his holding from his landlord for another year on terms settled between them, could not be asserted. There he was, as his ancestors had been before him, making the land of such little value as it was, yet according to law always liable to be forced to pay as much rent as the

* A curious account of an anti-rent war is given in Sir C. Lyell's 'Tour in North America.' It seems that the occupiers of land in the State of New York refused to pay certain rents reserved to the representatives of the original Dutch settlers. 'The courts of law gave judgment, and the sheriff of Albany, having failed to execute his process, at length took military force in 1839, but with no better success. The governor of New York was then compelled to back him with the military array of the State, about 700 men, who began the campaign at a day's notice in a severe snowstorm. The tenants are said to have mustered against them 1,500 strong, and the rents were still unpaid, when in the following year, 1840, the governor, courting popularity, as it should seem, while condemning the recusants in his message, virtually encouraged them by recommending their case to the favourable consideration of the State, hinting at the same time at legislative remedies. The legislature, however, to their credit, refused to enact these, leaving the case to the ordinary courts of law.'

landlord chose to demand on pain of eviction. His condition should have been treated as one rather of *status* than of *contract*; and had the Land Act of 1870 turned him into a kind of copyholder, subject only to certain fixed charges, while leaving untouched those express bargains which *were* made between man and man in the hiring and letting of land, it would have been far less doubtfully viewed by those who think that most grown men are not only competent to make a bargain, but should adhere to it when made.* The Land Act of 1870 did most assuredly contain the 'germ' of much that has since sprouted into life. The application of 'compensation for disturbance' to specific written contracts it is not very easy to explain. If a farmer on application for a farm contracts to take it for five years and to leave it at the end of that time, why, in the name of common sense, should he be paid compensation for then leaving it? Compensation for his improvements it is quite right that he should have, but why for *disturbance*? It is clear to everyone now, though it was not so to its authors at the time, that the Land Act of 1870, in giving rights in addition to, or rather contrary to, the provisions of their contracts, made the tenants part proprietors of the land. With the law in this condition, and with such dissatisfaction towards it in the public mind, few will deny the necessity felt by the Government of fresh legislation.

We now approach the Land Law Bill of the present session. 'There is not a step,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'which we have taken in reference to this measure, which has not been taken under an overwhelming sense of responsibility.' Even now, after all the discussion to which it has been subjected, we do not think its full import is very generally apprehended. Undoubtedly the fundamental idea pervading the whole measure is this: that it is desirable that the cultivator should own the land he tills, either absolutely or subject to certain officially fixed payments and the performance of certain statutory duties.

No wonder the responsibility is deeply felt of introducing a measure resting on such a basis as this. Whatever may be the fate of this particular bill (and we hope sincerely it may become law), the fact remains that these views have been propounded by a responsible and powerful Ministry, and it has become impossible henceforth to treat the question absolutely *de novo*. Mr. Gladstone introduced the bill in an

* The exceptions to the Act are leases of thirty-one years and holdings of over 50*l.* rental, where the parties have contracted themselves out of the Act.

elaborate speech on April 7, and it hardly required such a significant event as the contemporaneous resignation of the Duke of Argyll to point out in how many particulars the proposed legislation ran counter to principles hitherto dear to Liberal statesmen. Mr. Gladstone, in a later speech, declared that the 'one really Radical proposal in the bill' was the establishment of a Rent Court, 'undoubtedly a great departure from the principles of free contract.' This proposal almost necessarily entailed the introduction of more or less 'fixity of tenure.' If fair rents were to be established by official authority between landlord and tenant, the action of the court would be reduced to a nullity, were the tenancy left liable to immediate determination by the act of the landlord. Again, if land, instead of being let at the market rate, is let at a 'fair rent,' i.e. at something less than it is worth, it necessarily follows that the tenant will have a property in his holding which others will be willing to pay him for. To fix by law a 'fair rent' creates a tenant-right, and to render this in every case saleable is but to give legal effect to transactions certain to be very frequent.

Thus the bill establishing *fair rents* introduced also, though subject to certain limitations, *free sale*, and a *fixity*, if not an absolute perpetuity, of *tenure*. In fact, the three F's had gained the day, as the Report of the Bessborough Commission had previously made it clear would be the case.

Mr. Gladstone justified his departure from accepted principles by the remark that the circumstances of Ireland made this departure necessary, and by stating that he had introduced provisions into the bill to enable people to return in the future to the ordinary principles of contract.

Many friends of the Government have foolishly taken up a position abandoned by the Prime Minister, and have maintained the consistency of the Government Bill with the doctrines of political economy. It is hardly necessary for us to remind our readers that hitherto reformers of the land laws have shown their zeal in efforts to *throw off* legal restriction upon dealing in land. As in commercial affairs, it was thought that freedom in buying and selling, and hiring and letting, would tend to the benefit of the State. A few years ago, Mr. Arthur Arnold, a well-known land reformer, wrote a book entitled 'Free Land.' About the same time another work was published by another reformer, one who had received the praises of Mr. Bright,* and of the late Mr. John Stuart Mill,

* Mr. Bright, in his preface to Kay's 'Free Trade in Land,' writes :

for his writings on land subjects ; we mean the late Mr. Joseph Kay, Q.C. In one of his chapters Mr. Kay expresses dissatisfaction with the title chosen by Mr. Arnold, viz. 'Free Land,' as likely to mislead, stating his own preference for the expression 'Free Trade in Land,' as conveying more accurately the aspirations of reformers. We wonder which expression *least* suits a system of which a Rent Court is to be the basis, and in which statutory conditions and statutory terms are to be compulsorily substituted for the common consent of the parties to a bargain.

It is too common to hear the principle of a Rent Court supported upon grounds which are 'protectionist' and nothing else. It is said that in Ireland the competition for land is great, and the supply small; that the desire to hire being greater than the desire to let, the would-be tenant is under a compulsion to which the landlord is not exposed, and hence there is no 'freedom to contract' in the case. The two are not on an equality; therefore the would-be tenant must be protected from the competition of other would-be tenants, or the price offered will be unduly high.

So it is argued in this year of grace 1881. The idea has grown up that persons are not 'free to contract' unless each party can with equal indifference accept or reject the proposed bargain. Unless this 'equality' exists, bargains made between grown-up men should be void at law.* It would be unworthy of this Journal that a single page should be devoted to exposing such balderdash as this. When a man can buy mutton chops cheap, not because *they* are plentiful, but because *he* is hungry,

'The author is always just; he seeks to give *that freedom to the soil which our laws have given to its produce, and which they give to personal property of every kind*; he would leave to their free action the natural forces which tend to the accumulation of landed property on the one hand, as well as those which tend to its dispersion on the other; he would so change our laws as to give to every present generation an absolute control over the soil, free from the paralysing influences which afflict it now, from the ignorance, the folly, the obstinacy, or the pride of the generations which have passed away.'

* We cannot here refrain from noticing the truly eccentric legislation of last year with reference to ground game. Excellent reason had been shown in the devastation committed by ground game for denying legal protection to such vermin; but the course pursued was to leave hares and rabbits their privileges at law, and to make void any contract not to kill them. To have taken from ground game the protection of the game laws would no doubt have led to an immense diminution in its quantity. Parliament did not, on this occasion, choose the better part, for it preserved the rabbits, and only abolished the bargain.

or when the law supplies him with coals at half the market value because the coalowner and he are not on an 'equal footing,' we shall have to treat afresh a good many matters, which it was fondly believed political economy had set at rest.

We must point out, however, what we think *does* justify the Rent-Court portion of the Bill. It is impossible to treat the present relations of Irish landlords and tenants as being of a normal kind. On the contrary, they are strained to the very utmost, and we see the full necessity of setting up for the time some authority to intervene or arbitrate between two sets of angry disputants. We have not merely to regulate the land trade, we have also to compose bitter strife—a fact sometimes forgotten by those Liberals who have shown a laudable zeal in the cause of their old friend Political Economy. The *ultimate aim* of the Bill, as we have already said, is to bring about the union of virtual ownership with occupation. We are building up a new system, and we must go through a state of transition from the old to the new. It is to tide us over this period that a Rent Court is required. If Ireland is really to be a prosperous agricultural country, where farming is to become a business; if industrious, money-making men are to replace the idle and improvident peasantry, to whom it is a mockery to give the name of farmers; if, in short, the time should come when the land of Ireland is looked upon, as the land of England and Scotland is looked upon, as the basis of an important trade, rather than a provision for the maintenance of a crowded peasantry always verging on pauperism, *then* we have little doubt that State intervention to fix the price of land will be thought as barbarous and impolitic, and as injurious to the interests of that country, as we should think it if proposed to us on this side of the Irish Channel. We share the hope of the Duke of Argyll that at some future time the State will be able to retire from 'the duty of dry-nursing every Irishman in the making of his bargain for a farm.'

Leading men of both political parties, considering the circumstances of the time, are apparently* agreed in the establishment of a tribunal to fix 'fair rents;' but upon what principles the court is to act in fixing them, as to what in fact is *meant* by 'fair rent,' there is the widest difference of opinion. The length of discussion in Committee of the House of Commons on the 'free sale' clause was due chiefly to the fact that considera-

* The opposition of Sir Stafford Northcote and the vote taken in Committee of the House of Commons against Clause 7 as amended, amounted to little more than a formal protest.

tions more proper to the discussion of Clause 7 could not be excluded. We are by no means sure that this clause in its original form deserved the censure cast upon it so freely by members on both sides of the House.

In the Bill, as originally brought in, the clause ran as follows. The tenant was to be enabled

‘ to apply to the court to fix what is the fair rent to be paid . . .

‘ A fair rent means such a rent as, in the opinion of the court, after hearing the parties and considering all the circumstances of the case, holding and district, a solvent tenant would undertake to pay, one year with another. Provided that the court, in fixing such rent, shall have regard to the tenant’s interest in the holding, and the tenant’s interest shall be estimated with reference to the following considerations; that is to say,

‘ (a) In the case of any holding subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom, or to any usage corresponding therewith . . . with reference to the said custom or usage.

‘ (b) In cases where there is no evidence of any such custom or usage . . . with reference to the scale of compensation for disturbance by this Act provided (except so far as any circumstances of the case, shown in evidence, may justify a variation therefrom), and to the right (if any) to compensation for improvements effected by the tenant or his predecessors in title.’

This clause clearly recognises two distinct interests in the land: the landlord’s rent and the tenant’s interest in the holding. It has been strongly maintained, however, that if the court was only to leave *as rent* what would remain after deducting the annual value of a tenant-right enhanced by unchecked competition, or after deducting ‘at the compensation ‘for disturbance’ scale of the Act, the tenant’s interest would so ‘eat into’ the landlord’s rent that the latter would often absolutely disappear, while in all cases it would be seriously diminished. The action and proposed action of the legislature has been summarised as follows:—The Land Act of 1870, not with the object of giving the tenant a property, but merely to secure him in his holding, entitled him to be paid compensation in some cases equal to seven times the rent, *if he should be disturbed in his holding*. The next step is to recognise this as *a right to a property in his holding when he is not disturbed*, and to make this assignable at the highest price ‘that can be ‘got for the same;’ and the last step is to fix the landlord’s right of property, by considering what is left over and above the tenant’s interest so fixed by competition in the open market.

The Government apparently has been struck with the force of some of the objections raised to this clause, for the Attorney-General for Ireland now proposes to leave to the court to

determine the 'fair rent' without making any distinct reference to the tenant's interest in the holding. This is not likely to satisfy the friends of the tenants; and it cannot be denied that if, as the clause stood originally, the court would have had power to sacrifice the rent to the tenant-right, so in this new clause the court might sacrifice the tenant-right to the rent, by fixing such sum as a solvent tenant would pay from year to year were there no premium to be paid as well. We hold, therefore, that the Attorney-General's amendment will not satisfy the requirements of the case, and that a fresh modification in the terms of the clause is required.*

All through the lengthy discussions on the Free Sale clause of the Bill, confusion constantly arose from the non-recognition of a clear division between the landlord's and the tenant's interest. The Free Sale clause and the Fair Rent clause must be taken together, and it is only by a clear apprehension of the effect and the tendency of these two clauses that the Bill can be understood. Mr. Gladstone, in introducing his measure, told the House of Commons that tenant-right was the result of tenants' improvements, of land-hunger coupled with land-scarcity, of the occasional willingness of an incomer to give a 'pretium affectionis,' or fancy price, to buy out an occupier, and of 'the additional value evidently tacked on to 'every yearly tenancy' by the Land Act of 1870.

Now Mr. Isaac Butt's Bill of 1878 had dealt with 'fair rent' as follows:—

'In fixing the rent . . . the chairman shall proceed as follows. The rent to be fixed shall be that which a solvent and responsible tenant could afford to pay, fairly and without collusion, for the premises, after deducting from such rent the addition to the letting value of the premises, *by any improvements made by the tenant or his predecessors in title*, in respect of which the tenant, on quitting his farm, would be entitled to compensation under the provisions of the Land Act.'

It is unnecessary to point out the wide distinction between the tenant's interest, as defined by Mr. Butt's Bill, and as described in Mr. Gladstone's speech. The interest of the tenant,

* The latest phase of the Fair Rent clause consists of an addition by Mr. Charles Russell to the Attorney-General's amendment. The court is to fix a 'fair rent,' and in so doing is to have 'due regard to the 'just interest in the holding of the landlord and tenant respectively.' This secures a proper recognition in the Act itself of both interests; but it of course gives no assistance whatever in determining what interest belongs to landlord and what to tenant. We are afraid that, as usual, 'everything will have to be left to the court,' so that, without a judicial decision in each particular case, it will be very difficult for landlord and tenant to know what their interests are.

according to the latter, includes far more than what is covered by the definition of Mr. Butt. We are told again and again (and we cannot be told too often) to recognise existing facts, *and the fact is* that a tenant *has* an interest much beyond anything connected with his improvements. What is this interest, the Government steadily refuse to define in their Bill. Sir Richard Cross in vain attempted to have it defined as ‘such interest as under any contract, express or implied, between himself and his landlord, or by any legal custom or usage, he may then have in unexhausted improvements, or in the unexpired term of the tenancy.’ This definition was not accepted; and it is clear that it would not give effect to the very object of the Bill. Mr. Davey, in the discussion, pointed out that ‘what the tenant had to sell was what he had got;’ and though this definition at the time raised a laugh, and even caused the leader of the Opposition to quote the old couplet—

‘That he should take who had the power,
And he should keep who can’—

it puts shortly and accurately the true position of the tenant. If such a cause as the competition for land is to be taken as enhancing the ‘tenant’s interest,’ with reference to which the landlord’s rent is to be estimated, we have advanced very far beyond the position of Mr. Butt. It is very probable that the newer views of the tenant’s interest correspond more truly with the general Irish sentiment in regard to it, and we hold that the law should attach legal protection to that which general public feeling habitually regards as ‘property.’ But we would humbly ask whether something would not be gained if the Ministry would ‘recognise existing facts,’ and the fact established by the full discussion to which the Bill has been subjected is that what the tenant has to sell is ‘the land.’ *This* is, in truth, the tenant’s interest. The landlord’s interest is in a rent-charge, regulated officially from time to time. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, in his very able speech on the second reading and in other speeches, has recognised this as the inevitable tendency of the Bill. He was not afraid to advocate the fixing once for all on small holdings of such a rent-charge, and the treating of tenants, while remaining subject to this, as the owners of the land. This effect of the Bill is somewhat concealed by the constant intervention of ‘the court’ between landlord and tenant. Let us consider this for a moment.

The Free Sale clauses of the Bill apply universally. The ‘statutory conditions’ attach only where application has been made to the court, or where there has been an increase of rent. Thus a landlord has a right to receive his present rent, or a

judicial rent, but what rights of ownership has he beyond these? In an ordinary tenancy he has the right of pre-emption of the tenant's interest at a value *to be fixed by the court*, he has the right to refuse an incoming purchaser on grounds *deemed reasonable by the court*, he has the right to evict his tenant on payment of compensation *to be fixed by the court*.

Where the statutory conditions have attached the landlord has the right to receive the judicial rent during fifteen years, and the tenant is only to be removable on the breach of one of these conditions, which are as follows:—

1. Punctual payment of rent.
2. Abstaining from persistent waste.
3. Permission to landlord to enter on the holding for such purposes as mining, cutting timber, making roads and drains, hunting, &c.

And it has been explained with respect to these 'breaches' that *the court* would not allow a forfeiture of the tenant's interest where damages would be a sufficient compensation. Where these conditions have attached in consequence of an increase of rent, the landlord is to be allowed to resume possession, if *the court* should deem it good for the estate, or for the labourers thereon, and on such terms of compensation as *the court* may approve.

The general effect of all this is to preserve the landlord's right to his rent, but, so far as the management of the estate is concerned and the choice of tenants, to set up a court to do what is reasonable in the circumstances of the case, i.e. to put into commission many of the ordinary rights of ownership.

Mr. Charles Russell proposes at the end of a fifteen-year term 'that a new statutory term shall be deemed to have begun upon the same terms as to rent or otherwise as the last preceding statutory term.' Thus the power of resumption of the landlord would be indefinitely postponed. We are not arguing against this, or against the provisions of the Bill; we merely wish that the effect of this legislation should be clearly understood. Hitherto in the House of Commons, whenever it has been found difficult to adjust matters between landlord and tenant, there has been a marked tendency to 'leave everything to the court.' Naturally so, for to have to settle by statute in *all* cases the relations between people who ought in *each* case to be able to settle them for themselves, would be too heavy a burden to lay upon the shoulders of Parliament.

At the present moment, therefore, the tendency is to increase the power and widen the jurisdiction of the court. The tendency of future legislation, unless we are much mistaken, will be precisely the contrary, namely, to limit the interference of the

court, thereby leaving intact the rent to the landlord and the general rights of ownership to the tenant.

The question has been much discussed whether it is wise to give free sale indiscriminately to all tenants, present and future, small and large, the squatter upon three acres of bog in Connemara or Kerry, and the prosperous tenant on an estate managed on the 'English system,' and whether it is not necessary to protect tenants against the compulsion of competition by fixing an official value upon the tenant-right, as is to be done in the matter of rent. Mr. Gladstone, in the speech already quoted, had lent some colour to this last contention. 'If a court is to be called on at the will of the tenant to limit the annual receipt of the landlord, and to fix what we in this Bill have called a judicial rent, then I do not see upon what principle you shall say that the tenant-right of the tenant is to be subject to no similar and analogous limitation.' Probably the limitations here referred to were the landlord's right of pre-emption at a price fixed by the court, and his right of raising the rent. The best answer to the proposal officially to fix the price of tenant-right is the impossibility of preventing a purchaser paying and a seller taking a larger price than the regulation price. Office rules of estates have often put a limit upon the price of goodwill, but it is found that though between outgoing and incoming tenant only the regulation price would be given in the office, yet that *outside* people could not be prevented from carrying out their own bargains on their own terms.

In order to confine the application of free sale to the smaller tenants, an attempt was made to exempt from the operation of the clause tenants of more than fifty pounds rental, who it was considered would be able to protect themselves by contract. This proposal met with no favour; neither did a proposal to exclude 'future tenants' from its operation, though it would evidently be necessary before the Bill passed to provide for cases where landlords had bought up the tenant-right, or otherwise the tenants of such landlords would be able to sell over again what they had already disposed of and had been paid for. There was manifested further in committee, as the discussions proceeded, a feeling in favour of putting 'present tenancies' and 'future tenancies' on the same footing as regards the general operation of the Bill; but it is hardly likely that the measure will receive any great alteration in this respect.

The point, however, upon Clause 1 which gave rise to most difference of opinion in the House of Commons, and which will probably yet receive careful consideration from the

Government, is as to the advisability of exempting from its operation estates managed on the 'English system.' In case of holdings of over 150*l.* rental, landlords and tenants may contract themselves out of this or any other provision of the Bill. In all other holdings, however, its application is obligatory, and contracts contrary to its provisions are made void.

The Bessborough Commission had reported strongly in favour of applying one land law to the whole of Ireland, and this view was given effect to by the Bill. Section 7, however, which enables a tenant to apply to the court to fix a 'fair rent' by subsection 8, empowered the court altogether to refuse the application 'where the holding had theretofore been maintained and improved by the landlord.' The Government, therefore, had made it manifest in the Bill that in their opinion the same treatment was not necessary for English-managed estates as for the far larger number where, by virtue of their own improvements, the tenants might have equitably acquired a larger interest in their holdings. Mr. Heneage accordingly proposed to add to the clause the following proviso:—'Subject to the discretion of the court, the provisions of this section shall not apply to the tenancy of any holding which has heretofore been maintained and improved by the landlord or his predecessors in title.' The amendment would have created no new distinction; it would merely have given wider effect to one already recognised in the Bill.

In spite of the Bessborough Commission it is possible to doubt whether uniformity of the law over a country differing so widely as does one district of Ireland from another is very much to be desired. A perusal of Mr. Tuke's 'Visit to Donegal and Connaught in 1880,' and of Mr. Finlay Dun's careful descriptions of the estates of certain large landowners, discloses differences as great as often exist between one country and another.

We have already seen how Mr. Tuke impresses upon his readers the impossibility of the small squatter tenantry of the west prospering upon their wretched holdings, and he tells us that out of 126,500 holdings in Connaught no fewer than 70,775 are under fifteen acres. Let us turn from this to the pleasanter aspect of affairs observed by Mr. Dun on Lord Fitzwilliam's estates in Wicklow, Kildare, and Wexford, extending to more than 91,000 acres. Here for several generations, we are told—

'One or more members of the family have taken an active personal interest in the property, have spent considerable portions of the year at Coolattin, and have devoted money, time, and trouble to education, charities, and the improvement of the widely scattered population, as

well as to developing the resources of the thin, poor land which constitutes the bulk of the estate.'

Mr. Dun then tells us how middlemen have disappeared, how cottages have been built, how a railway has been brought into the neighbourhood, how the excessively small holdings have been reduced in number, and how by an enormous outlay on schools, hospitals, and useful charities, as well as by direct expenditure upon the farms themselves, a state of contentment and prosperity has been everywhere diffused. According to English notions the farms would still be considered small, for we find no fewer than 1,070 holdings under 20 acres, 351 at a rental between 20*l.* and 50*l.*, 107 between 50*l.* and 100*l.*, and 95 at a rental over 100*l.* 'The rents range from 2*s.* 6*d.* 'an acre for mountain land and bog, to 45*s.* for useful grass 'land near towns and villages.' In reading of the benefits which have been poured upon this property we are not surprised to find that

'Lord Fitzwilliam derives but small pecuniary advantages from his Irish estates. He does not appropriate 1 per cent. per annum from their gross value. . . . 13,000*l.* was the total amount which passed to his private account in 1879. Nearly three-fourths of the gross rental is spent upon the property. The money returns are small, but the prosperity, peace, and progress spread through a wide area have hitherto been large.'

Highest compliment of all, it is admitted by Mr. Parnell that the Fitzwilliam tenantry have refused to join the Land League.

Of course such estate management as this cannot but be exceptional; still the estates managed upon the English system are large, and the Government acted wisely in allowing the Rent Court to refuse to disturb what it could not possibly improve. To leave well alone, whenever he can do so, is the statesman's best policy. The good results achieved on these estates have been greatly due to those proprietary sentiments of which the Duke of Argyll writes. Great supervision has been exercised. According to Mr. Dun, 'no idler, drunkard, 'or evil-disposed man is allowed to remain in Lord Fitzwilliam's employment.' Should free sale under the Act be introduced on such estates as these? Should any tenant be able to make over his holding to any assignee for the best price that could be got for the same? This was the point involved in Mr. Heneage's amendment. In debate many speakers mistook the effect of the amendment, which it was declared forbade a tenant to sell his holding. Now all the amendment proposed was to prevent free sale accruing *under the Bill*. It thus relegated the tenant to his position at

common law, under which, as Mr. Gladstone has repeatedly insisted, he has the right of assignment, unless he has contracted with his landlord not to exercise it. The amendment did not take away the tenant's right of assignment, but it prevented a contract not to assign, made with such landlords as Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Leconfield, from being treated as mere waste paper. In fact it would have enabled landlords of this sort to exercise some supervision in getting about them an industrious and improving tenantry. No wonder that while the Government majority upon the Land Bill usually approaches, and often exceeds, a hundred, it fell on this occasion to twenty-five.

We have considered this Bill, so far, with reference to the effects likely to be produced on the general welfare of the Irish people, rather than with reference to the special interests of particular classes. Much has been heard of confiscation of landlords' property, of 'robbery wrapped up,' and so on. For our part we do not expect it injuriously to affect the pecuniary interests of the landlord class. On the contrary, the right of free sale, which the tenantry will henceforth enjoy, will provide an additional security for the landlord's rent. The discussion of the Irish land question has brought out pretty clearly that, whatever may be the case here and there, the difficulties of the tenantry have not been due to general high-renting. When Mr. Parnell became aware that the landlord as well as the tenant was to be enabled to go to the court to fix a 'fair rent,' he declared in the House of Commons that this would lead to a general rise of rents—a remarkable admission, considering the quarter whence it came. Still the Bill *does*, it cannot be denied, greatly interfere with what have hitherto always been considered rights incident to landownership. If we are not much mistaken, there underlies the Free Sale and Rent Court portions of the Bill the principle, which time will more clearly bring out, that the occupier should own the land, that the landlord should only have certain money rights over it. In the earlier portions, as well as in those sections which more directly aim at establishing a farming proprietary, we see the same fundamental idea, namely, the union of ownership and occupation in the same hands. This is the great idea upon which the Government are endeavouring to build, and if it for the time trenches on the 'proprietary sentiment' of existing landlords, we must remember how weak in a multitude of cases that sentiment has been.

We are told that one-third of the landlords owning more than fifty acres are absentees from Ireland. Leases for lives and for very long terms of years have been frequently granted.

As a rule, all improvements have been left to the occupiers. Thus landlords have often been little more than recipients of rent even under the existing law, and if under the new one their rent is well secured to them, we do not know that they will have much ground to complain.

The immediate success of the measure will depend upon whether the Rent Courts can obtain the confidence of the public in the immensely difficult duties which they will have to perform, and whether their decisions when given are firmly upheld by the power of the Executive. Its ultimate success depends upon the character of the Irish people and their power of looking to themselves to produce their own prosperity. There is every reason to hope that the boldness of the Government in endeavouring to build up a new system, rather than to patch up the old one, will in time be rewarded as it deserves by the growth of a happier condition of affairs than has yet been known in Ireland. The very small holdings undoubtedly require consolidation, and the overcrowding of population on the land must be diminished. When this has been done, and when a considerable class of farming proprietors has grown up, we hope we may be able to trust to the good sense of Irishmen, and the 'free action of natural forces' (about which Mr. Bright writes), to maintain and increase the agricultural prosperity of the country. We have in Ireland to deal with political as well as economical disorder, but we can hardly doubt that were the agricultural and social conditions of the country to become more settled, political discontent would rapidly diminish.

The Bill, still slowly struggling through Committee of the House of Commons, will shortly be subjected to the vigorous criticism of the Peers. That they will reject the measure we do not believe, but that they will introduce numerous modifications and additions to it is certain. Already the good effect of thorough discussion in Committee of the House of Commons is apparent. The Bill has been greatly simplified; and in accepting such amendments as the permission to landlord as well as tenant to apply to the court to fix a fair rent, and in the new treatment of 'fair rent' itself, the Government have shown a laudable readiness to meet with consideration and respect such suggestions as do not impair the efficiency of the Bill. This is not one of the cases where a cry of 'The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill,' can be allowed. On the contrary its details must be thoroughly canvassed, and changes freely made where they seem to be required. It is because the Government recognise this that we hope to see the measure finally pass into law. Before the Bill leaves the Com-

mons, there are thorny points to be settled; we have seen that 'fair rent' has not yet been explained, and there are other matters which must cause difficulty, such as the exclusion of current leases from the operation of the Bill and the question of how arrears of rent are to be dealt with. There is the further question whether compensation ought to be given in respect of the injured rights of landlords; and, last of all, there is the all-important subject of the constitution of the Land Commission. On all or any of these questions discussions may arise which will endanger the Bill and the Ministry, unless a spirit of compromise should prevail. Were the present Bill thrown out, it is difficult to see how even the most ultra-Conservative Ministry could avoid legislation founded on the same lines. We believe most Irish landlords are themselves in favour of the Bill passing; and we can only hope that the temper of the Irish people, if the Bill does pass, will be such as to give the new land system a fair trial.

After all, the practical view of the question is this: Will this measure accomplish the two grand objects of restoring peace and the authority of law in Ireland, and will it essentially promote the prosperity of the Irish people? If we were well assured that these objects would be attained, we should not be inclined to lament even the sacrifice of our own principles to Irish ideas, and we should acquiesce in the application to Ireland by the Irish of doctrines entirely opposed to our own experience. The grievance of Ireland seems to be that she has not flourished under British legislation, and she demands a system of her own—a method of treatment of her own invention of a totally different character. This is a matter not of reason, but of faith. The leaders of opinion in Ireland profess to believe in remedies singularly opposed to the experience and the convictions of all other civilised countries. The Parliament of the United Kingdom replies, though with a large sacrifice of its own judgment, let these remedies be tried. They affect Great Britain only indirectly, and they are supposed to be what the great majority of the people of Ireland desire. This is the best apology to be made for an experiment in legislation of so peculiar a character. Whatever our own opinion may be, we shall heartily rejoice if it is crowned with success in Ireland, and it ought at least to be accepted as a conclusive proof that the legislature of the United Kingdom will make any sacrifice to promote the welfare of the Irish people.

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ART. I.—*Christian Institutions.* Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: 1881.

WHEN this volume was published, few probably anticipated that this, one of the most characteristic of Dean Stanley's works, was to be his last. It was known that for some years the shadow of a great sorrow had rested on his life, and that his grief, which scarcely became lighter with the lapse of time, had somewhat abated his bodily strength. But there was no apparent reason for thinking that the voice which for a long series of years had been heard whenever truth was to be vindicated or wrong exposed would in a few months be silent, or that the pen would soon fall from the hand which was never weary of working for the cause of righteousness. They who had followed him through every stage of his career with feelings of growing admiration and love indulged the hope that they might long be cheered by his fearless antagonism to all rigid narrowness and unjust intolerance. Others, who regarded the results of his work with mingled wonder and perplexity, were half afraid of the light which he might yet throw on questions of the deepest moment; and others, who were conscious that between his convictions and their own there lay an impassable gulf, looked forward with nervous impatience and alarm to the blows which he might yet deal on that which they called truth, but which he cast aside as falsehood. But neither these hopes nor these fears were to be realised. A short illness showed that his powers of resistance were not what they had been, and for the public generally the tidings of his death came with something of the startling suddenness

which marked that of his master and friend at Rugby. Henceforth for a constantly increasing multitude the memory of these two illustrious men will be inseparably linked together, and the fearless integrity of Arnold will be reflected in the undaunted charity and far-reaching love of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. But they who knew him best and valued him most will the soonest feel that for him there could be nothing happier than the ending of his earthly toil, that he had indeed done a great work, and that the time of rest was come for one who never allowed the weight of sorrow which oppressed him to interfere with his duty, to chill his affection, or to damp his zeal. They will see that the influence of a life such as his could scarcely be felt in its fulness before he had joined the great company for whom faith has given place to sight; and the conviction will be more and more pressed home upon them that his acts and his words must, now that he is taken from us, have results more momentous than hitherto they had looked for.

This conviction will in the highest degree be strengthened by the volume which contains his latest published thoughts, and which in truth surveys the whole field of Christian belief and practice. But the impressions left after a careful study of its pages will not be due to any unusual display of learning, nor to any special vividness of description, whether historical or local. The chapter which relates the history of the council and creed of Constantinople will scarcely be one of those to which the reader will be inclined again and again to turn. The plan of the work excludes indeed, or at least leaves scanty room for, the lifelike pictures of men or of places with which the Lectures on the Jewish and the Eastern Churches abound, for the vivid colouring which brings back every incident of the desert wanderings of the Israelites in his 'Sinai and Palestine,' for the insight into personal character which marks the portraits of the sons of Zebedee, of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the 'Sermons on the Apostolic Age.' But they who heard these sermons more than five-and-thirty years ago could not but feel that they were listening to a man whose life would remain undisturbed by the angry storms of theological debate and controversy, while they might perhaps be led to think that the substantial truth rested with him rather than with those who plunged into the fray with the vehement eagerness of zealots and partisans. The promise of good work given by Arthur Stanley in the vigour of his early manhood was bright indeed. The richness of the ripened harvest may well be looked on as surpassing the hopes of those

who expected the most from his unswerving sincerity; and in none of his previous works is this sincerity more conspicuously displayed than in the essays on the Institutions of Christendom which form his parting gift to the world of English thought. From first to last the man speaks in his book. There is not the least attempt to evade a difficulty, or to throw a veil of convenient obscurity over his own conclusions. Here, still more plainly perhaps than ever before, he stands in a region whose serene tranquillity cannot be ruffled by the unwholesome blasts of religious strife; and he is removed from the turmoil of battle, because above and beyond the working of all ecclesiastical systems, in and through the growth of all organisations, however imposing, majestic, or exclusive, in all that makes them sources of blessing or fountains of mischief, he sees the evidence of a Divine work never broken, never foiled, although often retarded, and steadily advancing to the great consummation which will bring with it the victory of truth over falsehood, of righteousness over evil. The keynote of the whole book is struck in the opening sentences of the preface, and every page which follows will only show more clearly that in those sentences Dean Stanley fully meant what he said. He starts with declaring his conviction that ‘underneath the ‘sentiments and usages which have accumulated round the ‘forms of Christianity . . . there is a class of principles—a ‘religion as it were behind the religion, which, however dimly ‘expressed, has given them whatever vitality they possess.’ It is this religion in which he lives; not as though his life could be separated from the religion, or be looked at as something out of and apart from himself. The religion is his life, and this life depends on the working of the Divine Spirit which is working also in all who do not deliberately shut it out.

It follows that the sentiments and usages of the great society which forms the Church of England must, like all other churches, have vitality by virtue of the religion which underlies them all. But it was Dean Stanley’s belief that the Church of England had preserved the spirit of the ancient faith more nearly and more thoroughly than any other of the communions of Christendom; and therefore he claimed to feel for it a thorough and genuine loyalty. This loyalty implied no idea of its absolute faultlessness; but he never supposed that the English Church anywhere made profession of such faultlessness or infallibility. What he did believe was that in her system of doctrine as well as in her discipline the faith and the practice of St. Peter, St. Paul, or St. John, and of their immediate converts, were reflected more clearly and faithfully

than in any other portion of the Christian Church. If any desire to know what he held this faith to be, and what truths were signified by the several forms under which it is expressed, they will find in these pages an answer the meaning of which it is impossible to mistake. It is true that the confession which he makes shows the working of the historical mind which insists on tracing everywhere the phases through which any given belief has passed; but in every case there remains the fundamental truth on which alone the fabric of Christianity has been reared. In the creeds of the Eastern and Western Churches he discerns the framework furnished by the baptismal formula which consists 'of the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' The giving of the first name is 'the peculiar revelation of the Divine Nature made by Christ himself;' and nothing can be allowed to set it aside or to qualify it. 'To be assured that there is One above us whose praise is above any human praise—who sees us as we really are—who has our welfare at heart in all the various dispensations which befall us—whose wide-embracing justice and long-suffering and endurance we all may strive to obtain—this is the foundation with which everything in all subsequent religion must be made to agree.'* But the remembrance of this name of Father, the revelation of which Dean Stanley assigns as the work of natural religion, may become vague and dim, and the bringing of it so home to us that we shall not forget it or lose it is 'the object of the second sacred name by which God is revealed to us.' In the manifestation of history the life of Christ is 'the Word, the speech that comes to us out of that eternal silence which surrounds the unseen Divinity. He is the Second Conscience, the external Conscience, reflecting, as it were, and steadying the conscience within each of us. And wheresoever in history the same likeness is, or has been, in any degree reproduced in human character, there and in that proportion is the same effect produced.'† This revelation scatters to the winds all the monstrous notions which, as in the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey,' can represent the action of the deities as altogether more selfish, tyrannical, and debased than those of their worshippers.

'If in Christ the highest human virtues are exalted to the highest pitch, this teaches us that, according to the Christian view, in the Divine Nature these same virtues are still to be found. If cruelty, caprice, revenge, are out of place in Christ, they are equally out of place in God. To believe in the name of Christ, in the name of the

* *Christian Institutions*, p. 269.

† *Ibid.* p. 271.

Son, is to believe that God is above all other qualities a Moral Being—a Being not merely of power and wisdom, but a Being of tender compassion, of boundless charity, of discriminating tenderness. To believe in the name of Christ is to believe that no other approach to God exists except through those same qualities of justice, truth, and love which make up the mind of Christ.'

The Word made flesh was thus 'the union of religion and morality, was the declaration that in the highest sense the image of man was made after the image of God.* But as the natural religion, in which the name of the Father was made known, may become vague and abstract, so the historical religion represented in the life of Christ 'may become perverted, distorted, exhausted, formalised;' and men may thus call themselves Christians who bear about with them nothing of His spirit. Hence there is revealed to us another form of religion, and that is spiritual religion; and by this is meant 'the inspiring breath, without which all mere forms and facts are dead, and by which all intellectual and moral energy lives. It means the inward spirit as opposed to the outward letter. It means the freedom of the Spirit, which blows like the air of heaven where it listeth, and which, wherever it prevails, gives liberty.'† The revelation of this name is thus the revelation of the abiding Comforter; hence

'to believe in a Presence within us pleading with our prayers, groaning with our groans, aspiring with our aspirations—to believe in the Divine supremacy of conscience—to believe that the spirit is above the letter—to believe that the substance is above the form—to believe that the meaning is more important than the words—to believe that truth is greater than authority or fashion or imagination, and will at last prevail—to believe that goodness and justice and love are the bonds of perfectness, without which whosoever liveth is counted dead though he live, and which bind together those who are divided in all other things whatsoever—this, according to the biblical uses of the word, is involved in the expression "I believe in the Holy Ghost."'

From this belief flow, by a logical necessity, the articles which form the later additions to the Creed.

'The Universal Church, the Forgiveness of Sins, are direct results of the influence of the Divine Spirit on the heart of man. The hope of the Resurrection of the Dead and the life of the world to come are the best expressions of its vitality.'

It is easy to see, it is impossible not to feel, that the baptismal formula thus interpreted raises us into a region where controversy and the intolerance which springs from a supposed

* *Christian Institutions*, p. 274.

† *Ibid.* p. 276.

exclusive and absolute possession of truth find no congenial atmosphere. It is the expression of a belief in an abiding and eternal reality, in a continuous process, the character of which is not affected by the notions which men may entertain about it. It embodies a faith which, so long as it is held in sincerity and without perversion, cannot possibly lead to quarrels or persecution; it has therefore no necessary connexion with propositions addressed to the intellect rather than the heart. The moral, Dean Stanley asserts, is the only important aspect of the doctrine; and hence the amplifications in the Eastern and Western creeds appear to him to have 'but a very slight bearing on the nature of the revelation in Jesus Christ.*' He quotes the words of Bishop Thirlwall, who declares that they entirely miss the point, and he has no hesitation in dismissing Pearson's elaborate exposition of this article of the creed as conveying no spiritual instruction whatever. So far as Pearson's dogmatic utterances are concerned, it remains uncertain whether the Being of whom they speak is 'good or wicked, mild or fierce, truthful or untruthful;' but it is to this very question that the mind and the heart demand a clear and definite answer, and in Dean Stanley's belief this answer is given by the practical working of Christianity. 'Wherever we are taught to know and understand the real nature of the world in which our lot is cast, there is a testimony, however humble, to the name of the Father; wherever we are taught to know and admire the highest and best of human excellence, there is a testimony to the name of the Son; wherever we learn the universal appreciation of such excellence, there is a testimony to the name of the Holy Ghost.†'

If here the objection be raised that such a confession as this makes light of, or even puts out of sight, the organisation of Christendom, and forgets that the Christian Church is a society with paramount claims on the obedience and submission of all its members, with officers to whom is entrusted a divinely delegated power which enables them to pass judgment on offenders in things spiritual, and to inflict the penalty due for their offences—that to these officers belongs the administration of sacraments which are also divinely instituted, and that on this due administration depend the spiritual life and the salvation of each Christian man, the reply is furnished by the historical method which Dean Stanley never failed to apply in every case in which there was even a possibility that lapse of time might have brought about modi-

* *Christian Institutions*, p. 272.

† *Ibid.* p. 281.

fications or changes either of doctrine or of practice. On every one of these points the appeal was to the tradition of the society or the authority of the book; and the controversy should accordingly be carried to the tribunal to which the appeal had been made. It was idle to rest on the Tridentine doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharistic sacrifice until some attempt had been made to ascertain the forms of the institution in the earliest ages; it was of little use to urge the claims of a high sacerdotalism until it should be determined that these claims were warranted by the records on which they were alleged to rest, or were admitted or even known in the times of the apostles or their immediate successors. Nowhere, perhaps, in this the last volume given to the world in his lifetime, or in any other of his works, has the historical method been applied with greater force than to the subject of Absolution, the pivot on which all theories of priestly power must turn; and the importance of the conclusions reached with reference to it lies not only in the fact that, unless we steadily keep them in view, it is impossible to understand Dean Stanley's career in any of its stages, but in their bearings on the future history of the Church of England. It was his conviction that these conclusions exhibited the doctrine and the mind of the English Church; and it may be said without fear that the general acceptance of these conclusions is a necessary condition for the accomplishment of those changes which are indispensable to the increase of its efficiency in ways likely to win the confidence and loyal affection of the great body of the people.

The theory of sacerdotal absolution, it is obvious, can be maintained successfully only if it can be shown to have proceeded from the fountain-head of Christianity; and the proof of this must in its turn be sought in the history of the twin theory of the apostolical succession. That there is in the Gospels the mention of a power of binding and loosing, of remitting and retaining sins, is a manifest and indisputable fact; the question is only as to the nature of the power and the agency by which it is exercised. When these words were uttered by our Lord, they were not uttered for the first time; and if His hearers understood them at all, they must have understood them in the sense which at that time they bore. They must have explained them by a reference to the binding and loosing of the Jewish schools, with which they must have been more or less familiar; and in this case they must have known that the words designated simply the declaring of what is right and what is wrong—the imposition, in short, or the

removal of an obligation. With the promise that this power should be exercised by the disciples is closely connected the promise made to St. Peter; and the meaning of this promise is brought out with special care in the volume on the Apostolic Age. In the vivid picture there given of the great apostle, the spiritual judgment which drew down on him his Master's blessing marks the moment of transition from Judaism to Christianity, and is exhibited decisively in the sequel of his career. It was exercised again in the supreme crisis which presented itself in the application of the gentile Cornelius. The future of Christianity was in the balance, and there was the pressure which sought to incline it in favour of a modified Judaism. But Peter was true to the Divine guidance, by obedience to which he had made his first confession, and the promise made to him was absolutely fulfilled. The opening sentences of his speech to the centurion removed the burden of an unbearable yoke, and threw open the gates of heaven to the whole human race. But with the death of Peter the purely personal and historical parts of our Lord's promise came, in Stanley's belief, by the very force of the terms, of necessity, to an end.

'Never again can Jewish zeal and Jewish forms so come into contact with the first beginnings of Christian faith—never again can mortal man find himself so standing on the junction of two dispensations—the Church once founded can have no second rock—the gates once opened can never again be closed—the sins which were then condemned, the virtues which were then blessed, the liberty which was then allowed, the license which was then forbidden, whether by word or deed of the first Apostle, were once for all bound or loosed in the courts of heaven, never again to be unbound or bound by any earthly power whatever.' *

But there is a sense in which the words are applicable, or have been applied, to all Christians. 'He who has Peter's faith,' said Origen, 'is the Church's rock; he who has Peter's virtues has Peter's keys.' We do not say that Dean Stanley entered very thoroughly into the Augustinian or Hildebrandine theory of the Church; but it was no insensibility to the greatness of an idea which led him to draw the line between the powers of the whole Christian society and the privileges of its officers. He could, even under the dome of St. Peter's, discern an undoubted truth in 'the majestic inscription traced in colossal characters round the cupola which overhangs the apostle's grave—' *Tu es Petrus et super hanc Petram*

* Apostolical Age, p. 98.

‘ “*ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum.*” ’ But for him its significance lay in the spiritual force of Christian opinion, that is, of a mind acting in accordance with the Divine Mind. It is the strengthening of this faculty which is implied in the promise that the Comforter should lead the disciples into all truth; and the sense thus given to the words he pronounced as adequate to the occasion as it is certainly true.

‘ In the new crisis through which the world was to pass, they—the despised scholars of a despised Master—were to declare what was changeable and what was unchangeable, what was eternal, what was transitory, what was worthy of approval, and what was worthy of condemnation. They were to declare the innocence of a thousand customs of the Gentile world which their Jewish countrymen had believed to be sinful; they were to declare the exceeding sinfulness of a thousand acts which both Jews and Pagans had believed to be virtuous or indifferent. They were empowered to announce with unswerving confidence the paramount importance of charity and the supreme preciousness of truth. They were empowered to denounce with unsparing condemnation the meanness of selfishness, the sacrilege of impurity, the misery of self-deceit, the impiety of uncharitableness. And what the first generation of Christians, to whom these words were addressed, thus decided, has on the whole been ratified in heaven—has on the whole been ratified by the voice of Providence in the subsequent history of mankind. By this discernment of good and evil the apostolic writers became the lawgivers of the civilised world. Eighteen hundred years have passed, and their judgments in all essential points have never been reversed.’ *

If the words thus retain ‘an amply sufficient force and solemnity,’ it must be confessed that the tables are curiously turned on the champions of sacerdotalism, for in the formation of these judgments the clergy of Christendom have borne on the whole, it must be admitted, a strangely inadequate part. Of the several keys which may unlock the heavenly gates the key of knowledge has been but sparingly used by the long line of Roman pontiffs. Slavery has been placed under the ban of Christendom; but it has been so placed chiefly by the efforts of laymen like Wilberforce or Clarkson, in opposition more or less to the influence of the clergy. Dean Stanley was well aware that by thus speaking he might draw on himself the charge of disparaging the ordination services of the English Prayer Book; but the danger was one which for him brought with it no dismay. The facts still remained that for the first twelve centuries the words which convey to the priest the

power of absolving the penitent after confession were never used for the ordination of any Christian minister ; that in the Eastern Church they are never so used ; and that in the Roman Church they are found not in an essential but only in an accidental adjunct of the office. The argument, if sustained, would thus have the fatal effect of proving too much ; for, if the words be indispensable to the validity of the commission, it would follow that every single ordination of the first twelve centuries and the ordinations of the Greek and the Latin Churches to the present time are all invalid. The Anglican theory is, in truth, the growth of little more than yesterday. The ancient practice and the ancient belief are sufficiently indicated by the alternate absolution of the priest by the people and of the people by the priest in the forefront of the Roman liturgy ; and the point on which the chief stress is to be laid is that the form which it has more recently assumed tends to weaken or shut out the true Christian faith in the forgiveness of sins.

No less dangerous, in Dean Stanley's belief, has been the mischief wrought by the comparatively modern sense given to the phrases which are regarded as forming the Eucharistic language of the New Testament. Here again the fact that this language was used in all its sharpness is not disputed. It is, on the contrary, received as the most striking expression of the highest spiritual truth, a truth which the later theological glosses obscure or put out of sight. By a natural and necessary process the food and the drink which support material life must be taken as images of the real food which maintains the life of the soul or spirit. But the former is the shadow, the latter is the substance. By a transition not less natural and not less necessary the image of the bread and the wine leads to that of the flesh or body and the blood ; and in either case the words point to the same eternal reality, to the fact that spiritual life depends on a living union with God, on actual harmony with the Divine Spirit. To interpret the discourses of the fourth Gospel, in which these figures are employed, by a reference to a rite not yet instituted, is not more absurd, although it may be less repulsive, than the heathen delusion which represented the Eucharist as a cannibal's feast. As he dwells on the inward and unseen reality, Dean Stanley's language attests the depth of the conviction with which he rose through the symbol and sacrament to the direct union between the Divine and the human spirit, of which the outward sign is the assurance and the pledge. It was impossible for him to accept the words in any sense which would weaken or destroy the belief in this great spiritual fact. It was impossible for him

not to see that on this point an equation might be drawn between the language of the fourth Gospel and the language of the first of the Johannine epistles. In the former we have the declaration: 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him;' in the latter we are assured that he who dwells in love dwells in God and God in him. The flesh and the blood of Christ are thus the precise equivalent to the love of the Eternal Father. In this assurance he rested joyfully and thankfully, finding here a stay and support which could never be furnished by theories of transubstantiation or of any other modes which made the Divine presence dependent on the material symbols. Love, or, in other words, the desire to be made like to God, is the one condition for spiritual growth; and love is therefore set forth as the fundamental essence of the highest life of God.

'It is this love,' he adds, 'stronger than death, this love manifesting itself in death, this love willing to spend itself for others, that is the blood of the life in which God is well pleased. Not the pain or torture of the cross—for that was alike odious to God and useless to man—but the love, the self-devotion, the generosity, the magnanimity, the forgiveness, the toleration, the compassion, of which that blood was the expression, and of which that life and death were the fulfilment. . . . It is therefore not only from Calvary, but from Bethlehem and Nazareth and Capernaum—not only from the Crucifixion, but from all His acts of mercy and words of wisdom—that the blood of Christ derives its moral significance. As so often in ordinary human lives, so in that Divine Life, the death was the crowning consummation; but as in the best human lives, as in the best deaths of the best men, so also in that Divine death, the end was of value only or chiefly because it corresponded so entirely to the best of lives.' *

We are thus brought back to the teaching and the words of Christ, which were emphatically declared by Him to be spirit and life, and of which Dean Milman asserted that they, and they alone, contain the primal and indefeasible truths of the Christian religion which shall not pass away. There is no depreciation of the outward sign or symbol; but there is no feverish anxiety lest the absence or loss of the symbol should involve the forfeiture of the living reality. That such anxiety is utterly needless and superfluous is abundantly shown by the history of the sacrament of Baptism. Through all the changes which this rite has undergone the reality to which it points has remained almost unobscured. In every age of the Church it has signified the change from the life of sense to the life of the spirit,

the change from uncleanness to purity, from the dominion of evil passions to the kingdom of love. But in almost every other respect the character of the ordinance has been singularly changed. The recipients were baptized at first, or at least in all the instances mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, in the name of the Lord Jesus; the profession of faith is now made in the name of the Three Persons in the Holy Trinity. It is now administered, as a rule, to newborn infants, at all times of the year, by ministers of all orders in the Church; in the Latin communion it may be administered by laymen and even by women; and the affusion of a few drops of water is held to suffice for the valid administration of the sacrament in the name of the Triune God. How strangely and completely the practice of the Christian Church has on these points been modified or changed, Dean Stanley takes special pains to prove. The subject is, in his eyes, one which so deeply affects our whole conceptions of God and of man that the gravest questions of late times sink by comparison into insignificance; and thus there can be no higher duty than that of measuring the divergence between ancient theory and practice and our own. From the earliest baptisms, which find a close parallel in the annual bathing of the pilgrims in Jordan, we pass to the next phase, in which each city had but one baptistery, in which the rite was administered only between Easter and Pentecost, only by the bishop or presiding officer, and only at midnight. Stripped of their upper garments and turning to the west, the candidates first renounced Satan, his works, his pomp, and his service, and then, turning from the region of sunset or darkness to that of the rising sun, they repeated their belief in the sacred names of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Having answered the questions of the bishop, they plunged unclad into the water, and having been anointed after, as they had been before, the immersion, they were clothed in the white chrisom robe and for the first time joined in the Lord's prayer. They were thus made the soldiers of Christ, and the ordinance was thus their sacrament, or military oath. Hence baptism long remained the sacrament, almost to the exclusion of the Eucharistic feast. At the first the efficacy of the rite depended, beyond all doubt, on the intention and condition of the recipient. Later on, the change was regarded as wrought almost mechanically. Heathen children baptizing each other in mockery were held to have made themselves members of the Christian Church. It followed necessarily that the ordinance had been invested with all the virtue of a magical charm. It could wipe away all sins up to the moment of its celebration;

and hence converts of the meanest or the most exalted station, the emperor or the slave, could postpone their baptism to their deathbed, and then, as they supposed, make their peace with God. As time went on, the belief grew that the change of water into blood was effected as much in the one sacrament as in the other; and the rigidity of feeling betrayed by such notions converted the rite which had at first signified the passing of the disciple from darkness to light, from uncleanness to purity, into a formula which assured the gift of life to the recipients, and the recipients only. The hands of Jesus had been laid in blessing on the heads of unbaptized children; the later doctrine doomed infants dying without baptism not to a neutral limbus, but to the everlasting flame. Nor is it surprising that when this stage was reached, the reception of the Eucharist, to be followed immediately by confirmation, was declared to be as necessary for infants as the administration of baptism.

‘No doctrine,’ Dean Stanley emphatically remarks, ‘has ever arisen in the Church more entirely contrary to the plainest teaching of its original documents; but the further changes which have been effected in the Latin and the Anglican communions furnish not only the proof “of the total and necessary divergence of modern from ancient doctrine,” but “the best guarantee that surely, though slowly, the true wisdom of Christianity will be justified of all her children.”’

We have dwelt thus fully on Dean Stanley's history of these institutions of the Church,* not only because it embraces the whole field of Christian faith, but because it is of the utmost consequence to have a distinct view of the convictions which gave shape to his belief, and filled him with a hope never darkened and a charity never shaken. No man perhaps ever searched with greater courage and dispassionateness into the origin and foundations of Christianity; none ever clung with more devoted loyalty to the Church of which he was a minister. But it is impossible to understand his position, or to trace the workings of his mind, unless we distinctly see that in every instance his adhesion was given not to the outward expression of a doctrine, but to its inward and spiritual meaning. The former at best was but a shell or covering, shaped according

* As throwing light on that portion of the subject which relates to the history of the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, the recently published volume on ‘The Gospel of the Divine Life,’ by the Rev. Th. Griffith, deserves careful study. Few books of greater significance have appeared for many years. The method followed by Mr. Griffith differs in many respects from that of Dean Stanley; but the conclusions reached by both are the same.

to the exigencies of human speech and the circumstances of human society. The shape had been more or less modified already; it might be more or less modified again. The thought of one age might rest with more than satisfaction in propositions which to another might be not only distasteful but actually misleading; and as in many cases phrases which had served their purpose and outgrown their needs might be cast aside, so in the present language of theology there may be elements which may hereafter be rejected as no longer expressing with sufficient accuracy the truths which they were designed to teach. But his mind was so completely fixed on the kernel instead of the shell, on the truth in place of the symbol, that he could afford to await in patience the changes which the future may bring with it, while, in using the existing forms, he was careful always to dwell on the spiritual facts or realities conveyed by them. It was his lot to live through one of the stormiest periods in the religious life of this country; and he may be said to have passed through it with undisturbed serenity. But this result was due not to any timidity which withheld him from the fray, or to an indifference which regards the quarrel as one relating to matters of no moment. It was, in his eyes, a question of supreme importance that the English people should be raised above the gross and often carnal meanings which they attached to the propositions expressing their religious belief; but as to the real meaning of these propositions his own mind was never troubled. The clearness with which he realised every phase in the development of Christendom enabled him to see the gold and silver sides of the shield which the combatants declared to consist of one metal only, and to forecast the course and issue of controversies characterised by much random fighting and not a little bitterness of feeling. But although it was his wish to do the amplest justice to the positions of all the contending parties, it would be scarcely true to say that he always fully appreciated them. It was scarcely possible that he should do so. Fully convinced that all desire for goodness and all hatred of falsehood furnished in itself the evidence of the working of the Divine Spirit, he could trace the course of this work from the first faint dawn of a sense of duty to the unclouded light of the highest Christian devotion. But the failure of historical evidence for theories, which presupposed that evidence and altogether depended upon it, sealed at once the condemnation of those theories, and made him perhaps less than just sometimes to those who held them. The weakness of the historical basis on which the doctrine of the apostolical succession of

necessity rested, tempted him to regard with some indifference the great fabric of a sacerdotal Christianity. He was too much disposed to judge of a party by its leaders, and to give too much weight to the political circumstances which, in the vast majority of cases, give rise to religious movements, or determine their course. He could feel the grandeur of the idea which, by the inscription round St. Peter's dome, connected with the sovereignty of the Roman pontiff the promise made to the great apostle; but his conviction that the promise was in part personal, and in part conveyed a power to be exercised by the whole body of the faithful, made him in some degree indifferent to the condition of thought to which an outward infallible or indefectible authority in questions of faith and practice appears as the absolute ordinance of God. For himself, as for Cardinal Newman, the assurance of the being of God was as certain as the knowledge of his own existence; nor would he regard with less of sorrow or of indignation the moral weakness and the deliberate wrong-doing of mankind. But he was never for an instant tempted to infer with Cardinal Newman that this weakness and wickedness, pointing to a great catastrophe at the outset of human history, was evidence either that God had abandoned His creatures altogether, or that there must be somewhere on earth an infallible guidance to which creatures thus sinning must unquestioningly resign themselves. Here, as elsewhere, Dean Stanley admitted thankfully and eagerly the reality to which this inference pointed. There is, he insisted, the infallible guidance, there is the supreme and unerring teacher: but this guide and this teacher is God himself, the Divine Spirit vivifying and strengthening in all men the seeds of good, and striving everywhere to root out and kill the evil. It is quite possible that a sense of widely spreading mischief, both moral and spiritual, may be awakened by the acts of a government and the character of its legislation; and so far we can trace the first beginnings of the Oxford movement to feelings highly excited by the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. But the root of this feeling was the belief that the course taken by English legislation must be traced directly to the abeyance of the life and activity of the Church, to the loss of her discipline, to defiance of her authority. There was the further conviction that God can work only through an organised system, and this organised system took a form scarcely to be distinguished from that of the Augustinian City of God. In that city the gates were open to receive all who chose to enter it; but they could enter it only through the waters of baptism, and for all who, whether

by their own fault or by the force of circumstances, remained without, there was not a ray of hope. The circle of the Church was thus coextensive with the circle of the Divine mercy ; but from within it went forth everywhere the soldiers of the army of God, to assail and pull down the strongholds of injustice and tyranny, and to rescue the tyrants, not less than their victims, from the bondage of sin. That this was the calling and the work of all Christians would probably never have been in terms denied ; but in a certain special and very real sense it was held to be the work of the clergy. The priest was emphatically the champion and warrior of God, the leader of the invincible hosts before whose assaults the gates of hell should in the end go down. The burning zeal awakened by this belief filled many with a readiness to sacrifice everything for the furtherance of this mighty work ; and in this alone can we find the explanation of the energy called into action by the leaders of the Oxford school, and checked for a moment only by the departure of the most conspicuous of those leaders to the fold of the Roman Church.

But if Dean Stanley's sympathy with those who committed themselves to this modified Hildebrandism was not profound, he could extend to them the most thorough toleration. The origin and progress of the movement which owed its strength to this sacerdotal zeal Dean Stanley traced only six months ago in the pages of this Journal ; and his narrative abundantly shows that, much as he may have regretted and condemned their statements of doctrine, his voice would never have been raised in censure or rebuke had they not attempted to curtail or take away the freedom of others, and to challenge the submission of all to an authority which had come down to them by uninterrupted succession from the days of the apostles. He had no liking for the discipline of the Roman Church, for its system of doctrine, or for the moral atmosphere created by it ; but if he raised his voice against Tract XC., it was because the writer, claiming a large and indeed a portentous license of interpretation for himself, never lifted a finger or said one word which could lead to the lightening of the burden of subscription from those who felt its weight in other directions. Animosity and exclusiveness were making way on both sides ; and there was no reason whatever for supposing that the sacerdotalists, if victorious, would extend to others the liberty which they held to be the privilege of Catholics alone in their interpretation of that term. But he was as ready to fight on their behalf when freedom of thought and the right of free discussion were assailed in their persons as when the effort was made to silence Hampden for

denouncing the mischiefs involved in the technicalities of the old scholastic theology. Stanley was one who could feel little sympathy with the alarm created in Mr. Newman's mind, when the process which had for its result the vast apparatus of technical terms which Christian theology now exhibits was pronounced by Hampden to be radically vicious and wrong. It can scarcely be doubted that even in these early days he saw definitely enough that some at least of the Articles of the Church of England lay open to the objections which Hampden urged with so much vehemence against the philosophy of the Schoolmen. But lack of sympathy could not be for him a sufficient reason for remaining neutral when a writer avowing his acceptance of the general body of Roman doctrine was to be crushed by a method which could only draw more tightly the chains of subscription round all who held office in the English Church. He rejoiced, therefore, when the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who at an earlier stage had taken part in the movement against Tract XC., came forward to protest against the means adopted for silencing or degrading Mr. Ward.*

The large secession to the Church of Rome which may be regarded as having brought to an end in 1845 the first phase of the great sacerdotal movement of the present century left the theological atmosphere of the Establishment in tranquillity for a short time only. At no time had Dr. Stanley attached much weight to those charges of idolatry which Arnold had urged with something like a fierce vehemence against Newman and his followers; but in checking the plans of his persecutors he could be actuated only by the disinterested motive of resisting all efforts, it mattered not from whom they might come, to hamper freedom of thought and speech within the limits of the Church of England. The conditions of the conflict were scarcely changed by the circumstances of the

* Dean Stanley, we need scarcely say, was perfectly right in describing as entirely inaccurate the statement of Dr. Newman in his 'Apologia' that he had been driven from Oxford by the Liberals. But in truth Dr. Newman's use of this word is, to say the least, ambiguous. The Liberals against whom he entertained fierce thoughts forty years ago were political reformers or partisans who bestowed little thought perhaps on theology of any kind. The Liberals of whom he spoke at Rome on his admission into the ranks of the cardinals were men for whom any one set of notions in ethics or theology was just as good as another. In neither of these senses can it be said with any approach to exactness that such a party existed at Oxford at the time when he gave up the charge of St. Mary's.

Gorham controversy in 1850, or by the attack on Archdeacon Denison a few years later. In neither of these cases was there much promise of solid additions to be made to the stock of theological knowledge. Of the former especially, Bishop Thirlwall trenchantly remarked that 'in no other instance has there been so great a disproportion between the intrinsic moment of the fact and the excitement which it has occasioned.' The result of the controversy was to secure to the school or party to which Mr. Gorham belonged the free speech which was claimed for them by Dean Stanley himself in this *Journal* at the beginning of the strife.*

But the clouds were soon to gather in another quarter of the theological horizon; and the spirit of jealous exclusiveness was to be shown most conspicuously by the very party which had then seemed to be on the eve of expulsion from the English Church. It was precisely this requital of evil for good which was needed to draw forth the noblest side of Dean Stanley's character. Hitherto he had pleaded for liberty on behalf of men with whom he had neither intellectual nor theological sympathy, whose contention seemed to him to involve nothing but long, tedious, and profitless controversies, and from whom it was idle to expect any help tending to promote the real advancement of thought. It was quite otherwise when the storm burst on the authors of the now half-forgotten volume of 'Essays and Reviews.' His indignation was roused, as against the grossest injustice, when, with an attempt at wit which he rightly ascribed to blasphemous levity and wicked uncharitableness, these men were held up to contempt as the *Septem contra Christum* for their efforts to bring into clearer light the spirit of His teaching. With what fearless chivalry he tore to pieces in the pages of this *Journal*† the charges brought against them we need not remind our readers. But it would perhaps be not easy to determine the precise meaning of Bishop Wilberforce, the bitter assailant of the Essayists in the 'Quarterly Review,' when, on encountering the Dean of Westminster some years later, he greeted him as a brother Augur. The Dean at least had no reason to charge himself with conscious hypocrisy or dishonest reticence. He had simply spoken out, with all the force imparted by the deepest conviction, on the folly and the wickedness of all attempts to confine the human mind in swaddling clothes, and on the absurdity of such attempts in a communion

* *Edinburgh Review*, July 1850, 'The Gorham Controversy.'

† *Edinburgh Review*, April 1861, p. 495.

which had for centuries allowed a wide divergence of opinion to the several parties or schools of thought embraced within its pale. The persistence with which in each case he laid bare the hollowness of the accusations heaped up against them attested the depth of his sincerity and the strength of his resolution to fight the battle of truth and freedom at all hazards. The insinuation or the assertion that the language of the essayists was not in complete harmony with the accuser's interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, or possibly even with the real meaning of those Articles, was met by the indignant rejoinder that such a test, if applied with logical impartiality, would instantly rend the Church of England in pieces, by driving away 'all clergymen of whatever school ' who have the slightest knowledge of their own opinions and ' of the letter of the Prayer-book and Articles, beginning at ' the Archbishop of Canterbury in his palace at Lambeth, ' even down to the humblest curate who followed in the wake ' of Drs. Irons and M'Caul.'

The spirit of the assailants in this unhappy debate was to him far more hateful than the actual catalogue of charges which they brought against their victims. He felt strongly and he spoke strongly about the conduct of the Bishops of Winchester and Hereford, the latter of whom had himself passed through the fiery furnace of malignant misrepresentation, while the former had recommended to his candidates for ordination a volume of lectures setting forth positions agreeing almost exactly with those of the essayists. If by their sweeping condemnation of these writers these prelates drew forth from him an expression of astonishment that they should thus, by their recommendations and their publications, 'have lured ' young clergymen into conclusions which they now denounced ' as heretical and anti-christian,' they could lay the blame only upon themselves. But if he had to charge some of the bishops with unfairness, whether deliberate or unintentional, he protested with yet more intense earnestness against the temper of certain critics who might be supposed to belong to the laity of the English Church, if writers in the 'Westminster' and the 'National' Reviews would suffer themselves to be thus described. These unknown censors demanded the expulsion of the essayists with singular unanimity; and they would have had a full title to make the demand if they had produced any adequate reasons in support of it. But in Dean Stanley's eyes there was something peculiarly monstrous and malignant in the cynicism which set aside the lay contributor to the Essays as 'comparatively blameless,' whatever

might be his belief or his expression of it, while they insisted that the truth or falsehood of statements advanced by the clerical contributors was a matter of no consequence, inasmuch as they had parted with their natural liberty. We recur with satisfaction to the fact that our pages published to the world his protest against the notion 'that truth was made 'for the laity and falsehood for the clergy—that truth is 'tolerable everywhere, except in the mouths of the ministers 'of the God of truth—that falsehood, driven from every 'other quarter of the educated world, may find an honoured 'refuge behind the consecrated bulwarks of the sanctuary.' He might well denounce this theory of a national church as godless, and as tainted with a far deeper unbelief than any that could be charged against the Essayists and Reviewers. He might well dismiss it with the contempt which it deserved, remarking only that, in spite of all such slanders, they who can sincerely accept as a whole the constitution and the worship of the Church of which they are ministers will count it treason to the Church and to its Divine Head to desert either its ministry or its communion. He might well add, with even greater force, that if the obligations laid upon the clergy involved such differences between their belief and that of the educated laity, it would be the bounden duty of both, 'in the 'name of religion and of common sense, to rise as one man 'and tear to shreds such barriers between the teachers and 'the taught, between Him whose name is Truth and those 'whose worship is only acceptable if offered to Him in spirit 'and in truth.'

During the years which have since passed away, the anxieties of those who insist on identifying the mind of the Church or of its Divine Master wholly with their own mind have not been altogether confined to those who were supposed to have deserted the ancient ways for the wilderness of unchecked and luxuriant heresy. The antagonism roused by the working of the Public Worship Regulation Act has revealed the existence of an opposition more formidable than any which it was designed to repress; but there is little ground for the assertion that Dean Stanley failed in his consistency when he had to deal with persecutions of ritualists. No word ever fell from his lips, no act can be laid to his charge, which could be regarded as designed in any way to restrict the freedom already accorded to them within the limits of the Establishment; but he could not be expected to feel for them the sympathy which he felt for those who belonged to a more liberal school. He never pretended to do so; but he would have been, nay he was, as

ready to recognise the nobleness of self-devotion in Ritualists who were really suffering for rightcousness' sake, as in those whom Ritualists dreaded as impugnors of the authority of the Church and the pioneers of a state of lawless license. All that he insisted on was that every good act, all disinterestedness, and self-devotion, should be ascribed to the working of the Divine Spirit from which all good thoughts and all holy desires proceed. But he protested with all his might against the unwarrantable condemnation of historical critics, as though all historical critics must necessarily be desirous of undermining and destroying law, morality, and religion. Knowing the meaning which the words carried to the ears of those to whom they were first addressed, he could only look with mournful amazement on the folly of men who held up their own arbitrary sentences of excommunication as verdicts ratified in the courts of heaven. He could only pity the perversity which led some to think that they might be rightly stigmatised as cowards and cravens if they failed to stand up, as they phrased it, for the honour of their Lord by insisting on the validity of such spiritual sentences; and it was on hearing such language as this at a comparatively recent meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that he rose to offer a protest which, for its dauntless courage and generosity, ought never to be forgotten. The readers of his volume on 'Christian Institutions' will feel the full force of the words which, as illustrating his latest not less than his earliest convictions, we hold ourselves bound to quote:—

'I do not enter,' he said, 'into questions of ambiguities, into such questions as how far the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, how far the excellent Bishop of Exeter, or how far the wise and prudent Bishop of Worcester has been condemned by the speakers, or would be condemned by the resolution of this society. I leave those who deal with ambiguities to settle that as they can. Neither will I enter at length into the question whether the distracted Church of South Africa is schismatic from the Church of England, or the Church of England from the Church of South Africa. I will only say that, speaking to you as a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I am ashamed that these questions should occupy your attention, relating as they do to one who, as a propagator of the Gospel, will be remembered long after you are all dead and buried. I know that everything I say will be received with ridicule and contumely; nevertheless I say that, long after we are dead and buried, his memory will be treasured as that of the one missionary bishop in South Africa who translated the Scriptures into the language of the tribes to which he was sent to minister; the one bishop who by his researches and by his long and patient investigations, however much you may disapprove of them, has left a permanent mark upon English theology—yes, though you may

ridicule, the one bishop who, assailed by scurrilous and unscrupulous invective unexampled in the controversy of this country and almost in the history, miserable as it is, of religious controversy itself, continued his researches in a manner in which he stood quite alone, and never returned one word of harshness to his accusers; the one bishop that was revered by the natives who asked him to intercede for them with the Government, and that without reference to any other bishop of South Africa; the one bishop to whom the natives came long distances to place themselves under his protection or even to have the pleasure of looking upon his countenance. There will be one bishop who, when his own interests were on one side and the interests of a poor savage chief on the other, did not hesitate to sacrifice his own, and, with a manly generosity for which this society has not a word of sympathy, did his best to protect the suppliant, did not hesitate to come over from Africa to England to plead the cause of this poor unfriended savage, and when he had secured the support of the Colonial Office, unlike other colonial bishops, he immediately went back to his diocese. For all these things the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appears to have no sympathy; but you may depend upon it that outside these walls—in the world at large—whenever Natal is mentioned, they will win admiration; and posterity will say that among the propagators of the Gospel in the nineteenth century the Bishop of Natal was not the least efficient.'

This speech was broken by interruptions which the Dean fairly described as mockery, jeers, and gibes; but rarely perhaps have words been heard more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Him whom he and his hearers alike professed to follow and obey as their Master. It was a spirit of stern indignation against injustice; but it was a spirit also of patient forbearance even for those whose position or whose language he held to be seriously wrong and misleading, a spirit always anxious to discern a higher rather than a lower motive. We do not impute to Dean Stanley any approval of the teaching or the consistency of Dr. Colenso, but his chivalrous nature resented attacks made with all the virulence of clerical hatred, and he claimed justice for the man without reference to his opinions. So too in a still stronger case. We have no intention of plunging into the ocean of controversy connected with the name of Mr. Voysey. No one regretted more deeply than Dean Stanley the course which Mr. Voysey insisted on adopting, no one advised him more earnestly against it, no one more sincerely lamented the addition of another sect to the legion by which the religious world was already encumbered. But Mr. Voysey was one who for a long series of years had had the privilege of the Dean's friendship, and was indebted to him for kindness, the memory of which would remain fresh as at first to his dying day; and on his side the

Dean never felt even for a moment the temptation which might and would have led men of a different mould to throw over one whom it had become inconvenient to acknowledge even as an acquaintance. He remained, after the trial, as he had been before, his friend; and at their last meeting, not long before his death, he expressed his sorrow that the world generally would not give him credit for the uprightness of his motives in setting forth conclusions which must necessarily cause deep offence. It is altogether on this account that we feel impelled to cite the words in which this friend, whom he never shrank from acknowledging, aiding, and advising, offers the tribute of his gratitude to his memory :—

‘He was so good that he was blessed and rewarded by seeing only the good in others. He loved so much that he had lost the power to hate. He loved so much that it was hard for him to see his brother’s faults. But the grace of God made him what he was. By birth, by the pure home in which he was reared, by the unusual beauty and refinement of all his surroundings, by the atmosphere of peace and rest and deep respect in which nearly all his life was passed, he was fitted and moulded by a wisdom and foresight higher than ours to be a noble example, if we may not say a perfect model, of a man and a friend.’

In thus acting he was entirely consistent with the language and the conviction of his whole life. He rested with so serene a trust upon the rock on which his faith was founded, that it scarcely cost him an effort to make all due allowances for men who had taken up an unreasonable or a false position. Twenty years ago he insisted, in the pages of this *Journal*,* that even those who were most seriously wrong should be ‘treated with the tenderness with which we cannot doubt that they would have been treated by Him who blessed with His sacred presence the sincere enquiry of the doubting apostle, and to whom the craving for signs and wonders was a mark, not of love and faith, but of perverseness and unbelief.’ Above all things he hated the animosities and bitterness of controversy, and for this reason he longed to remove the causes of difference which produced this miserable harvest. These causes, he believed, could be lessened or taken away only or chiefly by reducing, so far as might be possible, the number of religious tests, trusting to the inherent power of truth on consciences animated by a love of truth. It was therefore inevitable that he should regard as worse than impolitic the imposition, on the minds of youths or men at the threshold of manhood, of a vast multitude of propositions the exact meaning of which could be

* *Edinburgh Review*, April 1861, p. 487.

grasped only after the patient study of years. In thus speaking he was only taking ground occupied by this Journal during a period now exceeding the limit of threescore years and ten. In his eyes the religious history of this country, as it came within the circle of his own experience, enforced this lesson with astonishing distinctness. Filled with the deepest assurance that a Divine work is being wrought in the world, and that the means chosen for the accomplishment of this work is the Christian Church, he strove to remove every hindrance which threatened to retard the great consummation; and he felt that few hindrances could be more formidable than those which were furnished by some of the principles avowed by the leaders of the Oxford School. In no invidious sense, but as giving them full credit for the loftiest motives, he might have spoken of them as animated by the ideal which rose before the minds of Gregory the Great or Hildebrand. Apart from the theory which made the circle of the Christian Church coextensive with that of the Roman obedience, there was enough in the characteristics of the Oxford School to suggest a comparison with the aims of the pontiff who humbled an emperor at Canossa; and the annals of the last half-century furnished abundant evidence that such aims were now Utopian. The most ambitious of the popes could not have desired for the Church a wider dominion than that for which Dean Stanley longed and laboured; but he would have attained it by giving elasticity to petrified forms and phrases, nor was he afraid of the name by which such a method might be stigmatised. He gloried in being a latitudinarian, and if taunted with the coldness of some latitudinarians, he was content to reply that there had been worldly High Churchmen and self-seeking Puritans. Tillotson had been charged with having no religion, and as being the primate simply of the atheistical wits of England. Barrow, a sufferer from like slanders, had mourned over the divisions caused by the 'broaching of scandalous names' employed to blast the reputation of worthy men; but after ages had vindicated the fair name of Barrow, Tillotson, Burnet, Cudworth, and many more. Like these great men, Dean Stanley regarded those who preferred a narrow exclusiveness to the calls of justice, judgment, and mercy, as failing in the essential duties of Christianity. It is scarcely possible for anyone to read any chapter in any of Dean Stanley's volumes without being convinced that for him no forms or symbols were of the smallest value unless they pointed and led on to a spiritual reality above and beyond them. In the battle with the Utraquists he could see that the Roman Church

was fighting for 'an enlarged and liberal view of the sacraments against a fanatical insistence on the necessity of a detailed conformity to ancient usage.'* But neither in these nor in any other ordinances would he allow it to be supposed that the external act was of equal importance with the inward meaning. His ear was quick to catch the notes of that undersong of better spirits from the earliest times, which maintains with regard to both sacraments not only that, in extreme cases, they may be dispensed with, but that their essence is to be had without the form at all. 'Tantum crede et manducasti' is a proposition strictly in harmony with this spirit, and so he sums up the question by the assertion that 'the moment the door is opened for the moral consideration of what is due to mercy and humanity, the whole fabric of the strict sacramental system vanishes, and reason, justice, and charity step in to take their rightful places.'† It is this clear distinction between the spirit and the letter, between the substance and the form, which, for those whose eyes are not closed against it, imparts to all he has written its peculiar charm and its singular power of attraction. No one had a clearer insight into the truth that spiritual things are spiritually discerned; and he was well aware that to very many, perhaps to the majority of Christians, his method and his conclusions would be alike unwelcome. But for not a few who had been wearied out with the strife of tongues, or who had begun to doubt whether there could be spiritual realities answering to forms which seemed to be employed chiefly as a battle-cry, they came with a message of healing and of hope not unlike that of which the first preachers of Christianity were the bearers to the sin-laden world of the Roman Empire.

This fact was fully acknowledged by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his speech before the Upper House of Convocation on the day following the death of his old friend. The great practical sagacity of the Primate has never been doubted, and in dealing with a career like that of Dean Stanley his remarks acquire a peculiar significance. In all that he said of the extraordinary power which the Dean exercised by the kindness of his heart, he would carry the whole body of his hearers with him; he would be expressing more strictly his own opinion when he went on to say that in his estimation his death was a great loss to the National Church of this country. This opinion coming from him must be of extreme importance, for the Primate not only recognised the fact

* *Christian Institutions*, p. 95.† *Ibid.* p. 96.

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that the English Church has comprehended amongst its members ever since the Reformation persons of great variety of opinions, but implied that in this comprehension lay her special merit, while he added that the school of thought with which the Dean was most associated had a most important part to play in the future history of the National Church. It is most satisfactory to hear from his lips the emphatic statement that in a community such as ours, in which 'a vast number hang loosely to the dogmatical statements of our, or indeed of any other, Church, while the temptation of others is altogether in the direction of scepticism,' the works of Dean Stanley had, in his belief, 'confirmed in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ vast numbers of persons who would otherwise have wandered from it.' This result, the Archbishop thought, had been greatly furthered by the historical element which pervades his writings. There can be little doubt that his judgment will be amply verified by the effect of the volume on 'Christian Institutions,' and that the influence of Stanley in the future will be far beyond any which he has exercised in the past.

In the remarks of some of the other speakers both in the Upper and in the Lower House there was a tone of indulgent appreciation of his zeal, his energy, and his kindliness, which attests the warmth of their personal affection; but, while he would have rejoiced in these expressions of their goodwill, we cannot doubt that he would have refused to occupy any position conceded to him by mere sufferance. It was his contention that his belief was not only in strict accordance with the legal requirements of the National Church, but that it was in complete harmony with its spirit, and, what was of infinitely higher importance, with the spirit of Him on whom its life depends. He went even further. No human society could be either infallible or faultless. No institutions could be maintained without growth, and growth involved the need of modifications, as lapse of time brought with it changes in forms of thought or in the moral and spiritual needs of society. The Church of England could furnish no exception to the truth of these propositions, and hence it became the duty of all its members to carry out such reforms as might after due deliberation be considered necessary. Nor did he at any time shrink from saying what these reforms should be. He saw clearly the course which the religious thought of the country had been taking for many years past, and he had little doubt as to the direction which it would follow in the future. That the Church of England would survive all such changes, and be

the stronger for them, he had the deepest assurance; but he never supposed or said that the existence of the Church of England was essential to the continued life of Christianity, or that any given forms or usages would necessarily survive a thousand years hence because they had already lived through more than a millennium. What the extent of the changes to be introduced might be he could scarcely venture to say; but he was sure that they must be neither few nor insignificant. The proof of this might be sought in the history of the past; and this proof carried with it the consolatory assurance that the life of the Church would be in no way endangered by the ordeal. He had traced the modifications which had affected the sacrament of baptism, and he had come to the conclusion that short of total abolition no changes could be more sweeping; but the needs of Christendom had sufficed to carry them all, and the same power may work with not less potency hereafter. 'It is possible that the metaphors of the Bible on this subject shall be felt to have been so misused and distorted that they also shall pass into the same abeyance as has already overtaken some expressions which formerly were no less dear to pious hearts than these.*' There is no need to be startled at the idea of changes which may not be effected for ages, possibly not at all; but the fact remains that 'in the first beginning of Christianity there was no such institution as the clergy, and it is conceivable that there may be a time when they shall cease to be.' The point of real importance is to avoid defending the institution on grounds which are not tenable, or leading people to suppose that the life of the Church is inseparably bound up with its continuance. None of these things, indeed, affect those primal and indefeasible truths (to recur to Dean Milman's phrase) contained in the words of Christ, which alone shall never pass away; but, although Dean Stanley would refuse to convert a blessing into an idol, none could value more than he valued the immense benefits conferred on the country by means of the National Church. These benefits he most clearly set forth twenty years ago in the pages of this Journal,† and he would have maintained not less earnestly in the last moments of his life that its removal would amount to a disastrous revolution. In his eyes the Church and the State are both Divine creations; they are both necessary means for the carrying on and the completion of the Divine work. The evidence

* *Christian Institutions*, p. 129.

† *Edinburgh Review*, April 1861, p. 6.

of this lies scattered everywhere. Foremost of all is the Pope, in whom he saw a constant witness not only to the earthly origin of his own greatness, but also, 'what is of more general importance, to the indistinguishable union of things ecclesiastical and things civil.'* The position of the Roman pontiff is of the highest historical interest; but at the same time it impresses on us 'the religious insignificance of much which now excites such vehement enthusiasm both of love and of hatred.' In both communions there is urgent need of reform; but more necessary than any reform is the spirit which does not shrink from reform as if it must necessarily be the sacrilegious putting forth of an arm to support the ark of God. If the disinterested love of truth which this spirit would bring with it could be kindled in the hearts of men generally, it would be impossible to set limits to the beneficent changes which might create the world anew as effectually as it was reshaped in the first ages of Christianity.

'We have but to imagine a man of ordinary courage, common sense, honesty, and discernment—a man who should have the grace to perceive that the highest honour which he could confer on the highest seat in the Christian hierarchy, and the highest service he could render to the Christian religion, would be from that lofty eminence to speak out to the whole world the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Such a one, regarding only the facts of history, but in the plenitude of authority which he would have inherited, and "speaking *ex cathedra* in discharge of his office of pastor and doctor of all "Christians," might solemnly pronounce that he, his predecessors, and successors, were fallible, and might err, as they have erred again and again, both in faith and morals. By so doing he would not have contradicted the decree of infallibility more than that decree contradicts the decrees of previous councils and the declarations of previous popes. By so doing he would incur insult, obloquy, perhaps death. But like the legendary pope [who ordered his own execution to carry out the sentence of a general council], he would have deserved the crown of sanctity, for he would have shown that quality which above all others belongs to saints in the true sense of the word. He would have risen above the temptations of his situation, his order, his office; he would have relieved the Catholic Church from that which its truest friends feel to be an intolerable incubus, and restored it to light and freedom.'†

All those who would agree in such a verdict as this Dean Stanley rejoiced to regard as fellow-members with himself of the liberal party in the Established or National Church. It is possible that he may have exaggerated the cohesion or the extent of this party; and he may perhaps have been mistaken

in discerning the continuous action of such a party in the history of the last two centuries and a half. But this is a matter of slight importance. He can scarcely be regarded as the leader of a school, or the general of an army pledged to do battle with superstition, intolerance, and injustice. But his influence during his life was not the less powerful because he was not such; nor will it on this account be the weaker hereafter. He knew well that for the welfare of the Established Church, of the English nation, and of all Christendom, nothing more is needed than the spirit of truth and of love. By that spirit he was wholly possessed himself; and we should show ourselves strangely lacking in the faith by which he was animated if we doubted its perseverance and its final victory. It may be fearlessly said that during his life he belonged to the great company of prophets or righteous teachers who are raised up from time to time to bring home to the hearts of men the real nature of faith and religion; and he so did his work as to win the love and gratitude of almost all to whom he was known, and of thousands who never saw his face. Some there were who looked on him as lukewarm in the service of the Church, or even as a traitor to the Christian cause; but by such accusations he was not greatly troubled. He knew that the work in which he had striven to take his part was the work of God; and he was content to rest in the assurance that truth must conquer in the end.

In truth there never was a member of the Established Church of England more fervently and sincerely attached to that great national institution, founded by the ecclesiastical polity of the great divines of the English Reformation, and maintained as well as governed by the laws of the realm. His most ardent desire was to assert and vindicate her truly national character, not by dogmatical exclusiveness, but by throwing open her gates to every member of this commonwealth who accepts and fulfils the law of Christ. His administration of the great Abbey, which was wisely committed to his charge, and which never had a more devoted servant, was singularly characteristic of his conception of the National Church itself. He made Westminster Abbey one of the centres of the spiritual life of England. He drew crowds within its sacred doors, without enquiring whence they came, so long as they came to worship there; and one of his last testamentary dispositions was designed to give to the people greater freedom of access to its walls.

We have confined ourselves in this sketch of the Dean's career chiefly to the part which he played in the momentous

controversies of the last forty years; and we have done so because we believe that he would have measured the significance of his own work wholly by the influence which it might exercise on the administration of the English Church, and so on the religious and intellectual thought of the country. Of those who will speak of the eloquence, the vigour, the life of all that he wrote, of the vividness of his historical narratives, and the exuberance of illustration by which he lighted up the darkest and dreariest topics, there will be no lack. But he would have wished to be remembered rather for his efforts to extend the right of full and fair discussion, and to lighten the burdens which press heavily on many consciences. This was the main object of his life; and he furthered it by the possession of gifts and powers such as fall to the lot of few. To every subject which he handled he imparted a singular charm, the charm which can never be absent when eloquence and harmony of style are used simply as instruments for the attainment of the noblest ends. His 'Life of Arnold' placed him in the first rank of English biographers; and the memoir of his father and mother, apart from the beauty of the picture drawn in it, has a wider interest as showing the influences by which his own life was moulded. Antiquarians more exact may no doubt be found; but in no other pages, perhaps, are the historical associations of a great building invested with more thorough life than in his memorials of Canterbury and Westminster, for he had made every stone of those great fabrics his own.

Of the charm of his personal intercourse, the warmth of his friendship, the brilliancy of his conversation, his touching sympathy for all who were sick, poor, or afflicted, we shall not trust ourselves to speak. To the country at large, to the Church of England, and to those who enjoyed the happiness of his personal acquaintance, the loss is irreparable. Nor can we forget that for more than thirty years he has been one of the most constant and highly valued contributors to the pages of this Journal. Almost all the articles which have been published here on important ecclesiastical subjects were either written by his pen or inspired by his counsel; and although we cannot hope to fill so great a void from any other source, we trust that as long as this Review lasts and retains its hold upon the public, it will maintain and defend the same pure and liberal principles of ecclesiastical policy of which Dean Stanley was the noblest representative.

- ART. II.—1. *Albanesische Studien.* Von Dr. jur. JOHANN GEORG VON HAIN. Jena: 1854.
2. *Analyse de la Langue Albanaise.* Par LOUIS BENLOEW. Paris: 1879.
3. *Histoire de Scanderbeg, ou Turcs et Chrétiens au XV^e Siècle.* Par M. CAMILLE PAGANEL. Paris: 1855.
4. *Chroniques Gréco-Romaines.* Publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques par C. HOPF. Berlin: 1873.
5. Κριτικαὶ Ἑρευναι περὶ τῆς Καταγωγῆς καὶ Ἐθνικότητος Γεωργίου Καστριώτου τοῦ Σκενδέρμπεη. πρὸ Μαργαρίτου Γ. Δήμιτσα. Athens: 1877.
6. *Histoire et Description de la Haute-Albanie.* Par HYACINTHE HECQUARD. Paris: 1858.
7. *Oberalbanien und seine Liga.* Von SPIRIDION GORČEVIĆ. Leipzig: 1881.

FROM the ruined walls of Otranto a range of jagged peaks may be seen on a clear day standing out in sharp relief from the pearly background of the eastern sky. A strait of little more than forty miles in width here parts the coasts of Italy and Epirus, and we are told that Pyrrhus designed to connect his evanescent conquests with his native kingdom by means of a bridge of boats spanning the Adriatic between the Acroceraunian promontory and the Messapian shore. But, in point of moral significance, this 'silver streak' of separation is wider than the Atlantic, for it indicates the great gulf dividing the history of the East from the history of the West. Those blue Chimariot mountains have formed, and still form, an impenetrable barrier against the intrusion of Western customs and culture. The heavy tread of the Roman legions has hardly left a footprint behind. Along the great Byzantine highway of the Via Egnatia, armies marched to and fro, emissaries hurried with tidings of triumph or disaster, prefects and prætors brought home with them from the East the strange and gorgeous spoil of pillaged provinces; while the barbarous tribes dwelling north and south of the vital artery of communication, indifferent to the luxury, and averse to the culture of Rome, preserved the immemorial customs, and spoke the primitive tongue, which still survive, untouched by centuries, among the mountain clans of Albania. Certain of the usages portrayed by the few recent travellers

who have penetrated their haunts,* seem as if directly borrowed from the *Odyssey*. Water for ablutions before meals is presented to each guest in succession by a female attendant, as at the banquets of Menelaus and Alkinous; meat is cut into small pieces and roasted on spits under the hungry eyes of the expectant wayfarers, precisely after the homely fashion that Homer is never weary of describing; the guest surrenders his weapons to his host in token of confidence, just as Theoklymenus resigned his spear to Telemachus, when the Ithacau prince received him on board his ship,† and as Telemachus in turn delivered his arms to Eumæus on entering the swineherd's cottage;‡ while the flight of the homicide Theoklymenus from Argos is paralleled by the wanderings of many a fugitive Albanian, who has fallen under the terrible ban of family vengeance. Indeed, we can scarcely doubt that the 'Skipetars,' or 'mountaineers' of modern Albania, are the direct descendants of the Thesprotians, Molossians, and other ancient tribes, whose manners were studied by the poet of the *Odyssey* on the mainland of Epirus, and who, even at that remote period, were already being thrust into the background of antiquity by the growing glories of the young Hellenic world.

Nevertheless, the question 'Who are the Albanians?' has been very variously answered, and is even yet involved in considerable obscurity. The district anciently known as 'Albania' lay in the angle formed by the Caucasus with the Caspian, and a kind of counter-Argonautic expedition has been invented for the express purpose of connecting *Colchis* with *Colchinium*, which, as the dilapidated seaport of Dulcigno, enjoyed last autumn a brief blaze of unexpected celebrity. Efforts directed towards establishing the Pelasgic origin of the race may be described as so many attempts to find the value of one unknown quantity in terms of another; but M. Benloew's conclusion § that the Skipetars of Epirus, as well as the rustic Albanians of Arcadia and Attica, and the islanders of Hydra and Spetzas, are the modern representatives of a population primitively diffused through the whole of the Grecian peninsula, merits attention as the result of much careful etymological enquiry. Leaving the region of speculation, we pass to the less inviting, but more tenable ground of fact.

* *Albania: a Narrative of Recent Travel*, by E. F. Knight, 1880, pp. 223-5.

† *Odyssey*, xv. 282.

‡ *Ibid.* xvi. 40.

§ In '*La Grèce avant les Grecs*,' which should be read in conjunction with the strictly etymological treatise quoted at the head of this article.

The emergence into history of the people known to us as Albanians dates from the year 1079 A.D., when a body of troops of that name figures in the army of Nicephorus Vasilakes, one of the many pretenders to empire who fill a brief space in Byzantine annals. A few years later, Anna Comnena mentions them as *Arvanitai*, the title by which they are still known to the Greeks, and of which the Turkish 'Arnaut' is an obvious corruption. That the word represents a tribal appellation of considerable antiquity appears from the circumstance that the *Albanoi*, with their chief town *Albanopolis* (the modern Elbassan), find a place in Ptolemy's geography.* It seems probable that the name, at first distinctively applied to a clan dwelling in the mountains behind Dyrrachium, was gradually extended, by one of those caprices of nomenclature apparently designed for the express confusion of etymologists, to all the inhabitants of Epirus and southern Illyria. Indeed, the term *Arberia* has still, among the 'Tosks,' or southern division of the Albanian race, a local signification, indicating the Chaonian highlands behind Avlona; while *Arbenia*, the 'Gheg' or northern equivalent, signifies the whole land of Albania.† If, as has been plausibly conjectured, the word contains the same root found in 'Alpine,' 'Albion,' 'Auvergne,' &c., 'Albanian' would be simply a Celtic translation of the indigenous national appellative 'Skipetar' (from *skip*, a rock).‡

Of a migration of the Skipetars to their present home no tradition has been preserved. They are what the Greeks called 'autochthonous,' or 'sprung from the soil'—their coming, in other words, belongs to the voiceless ages. Where, two thousand five hundred years ago, Epirot and Illyrian tribes dwelt, the Tosk and Gheg branches of the Skipetar stock now dwell; and we infer continuity of descent partly from the negative evidence of history, partly from the positive evidence of language. There is no record of the arrival in the land of any people who can be identified with the modern Albanians; and the modern Albanians speak a tongue of the same family as, but more primitive in its structure than, either Greek or Latin, and probably of coeval formation with the hoary Sanskrit itself. The highlanders of Albania, like the Basques of the Pyrenees, must then be regarded as a relic of a long-past epoch of migration—a fragment of the primeval

* iii. 13, 23.

† Von Hahn, 'Albanesische Studien,' p. 230.

‡ Latham, 'The Ethnology of Europe,' p. 14.

granite of humanity, overlaid elsewhere by strata of every subsequent age, from Silurian to Pleistocene.

The survival of the race is doubtless due in great measure to the rugged nature of its habitat. Wave after wave of invasion has broken round the foot of Scardus and Pindus; but each has in turn retired, leaving the heart of the country unconquered and unsubmerged. In A.D. 493 the Goths came under Ostroilus, who reigned as King of New Epirus (Upper Albania) until swept away by Justinian. In the seventh century began the long struggle for possession between Servians and Byzantines, which ended in the fourteenth only with the disintegration of both empires. An interlude of a century and a half was afforded by the Bulgarian inundation, arrested in 1019 by the exploits of Basil the Slayer. Indeed, the memory of that terrible Ugrian irruption was so recent, and its traces still so evident in 1081, when the Normans under Robert Guiscard began, with the siege of Durazzo (as Dyrrachium was by that time called), their brief, though brilliant career of conquest, that the land lying east of the Adriatic was known to them by no other name than that of 'Bulgaria.' The three succeeding centuries exhibit a confused scene of conflicts between Constantinople and Scutari, the Servian capital, resulting in the alternate destruction and re-establishment (with continually waning dimensions) of the Byzantine 'Themes' of Dyrrhachium and Nicopolis. With the appearance on the scene, however, of the great Czar of Servia, Stephen Dushan, surnamed 'Silni' (the Mighty), events assumed a more definite form. He reigned without dispute over Slavs, Greeks, and Albanians, extended his dominions from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth, and, but for his unexpected death, December 26, 1355, a Slav instead of an Ottoman power might even now be seated on the shores of the Bosphorus. His empire, however, thereupon fell to pieces as completely as that of Alexander or Tamerlane. No less than eight petty vassals threw off the yoke imposed upon them by his energetic genius, and the short, troublous story of Albanian independence began to unfold itself.

It opened prosperously with a victory and a youthful hero. Nicephorus II. took advantage of the general confusion to reassert the Byzantine claims upon Epirus, but was defeated and slain in 1358 by the Albanians under Charles Thopia, in a battle fought at Achelous, a village near the Gulf of Arta. The victory, indeed, was gained over a foe of the time past, while the far more terrible foe of the time to come had yet to be dealt with, and the victor proved to be made of that in-

different stuff out of which good fortune moulds a sham hero, and adversity a too genuine traitor. Charles Thopia, with a younger brother George, was the offspring of a romantic and unfortunate marriage. His father, Andrew Thopia, a member of a powerful Albanian clan, had carried off from Durazzo a daughter of King Robert of Naples, in defiance of her previous engagement to a rival suitor. The offence was aggravated by the feudal dependence of the Thopias upon the House of Anjou, who had succeeded in establishing certain ill-defined and worse-founded claims to the possession of some portions of Albania and the adjacent islands. A tragical penalty was exacted. King Robert enticed the two culprits with fair words to Naples, and there the brief romance of their wedded life ended on the scaffold. Their infant children were, however, rescued and brought up in the mountain-fortress of Groya, whence the elder emerged to win the laurels of the field of Achelous. He now proclaimed himself 'King of Albania,' and added, in token of his royal descent, the lily of France to the crowned lion of his ancestral shield. His dominions, indeed, were not extensive. In the north, a Slav chieftain, named Balsha, had established an independent principality, enlarged by his three sons until it included Montenegro and the larger part of Upper Albania. In the south, a Servian despot reigned at Joannina, whose power was continually threatened, and his sway curtailed, by the hostility of the surrounding native rulers. Thus there was left to the 'King of Albania' little more than the rugged district of Mat, isolated in the heart of the land—a county rather than a kingdom. He succeeded, however, in bringing his small domain into better harmony with his large title, and at the same time gratifying the vengeance he had vowed against his maternal relatives, by the capture of Durazzo, the last Adriatic stronghold of the House of Anjou. But this illusory triumph was only a prelude to the disaster, and the worse disgrace, amidst which his life closed. Brought into conflict with his powerful brother-in-law, Balsha II., he imitated the examples of Julian and Narses, by inviting the presence of his country's worst enemies. At his word, 40,000 Turks under the Grand Vizier, Chaireddin, swarmed over the passes of Pindus, defeated and slew Balsha in the salt-covered plain of Saura, and then, by a just retribution, turned their arms against their miserable ally. Their purpose was, however, for the moment, not conquest, but plunder; and a heritage, wasted indeed and insecure, but entire, descended to his son in 1388,

and on his death, four years later, was quietly occupied by the Venetians.

The subtle and self-seeking policy of the Republic of the Lagoons happened at that period to coincide in the main with the general interests of Christendom. Restricted on the Italian side by the well-compacted strength of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, her statesmen sought indemnification in the gradual extension of her territory along the Dalmatian and Albanian shore. Patient, wary, sagacious, they missed no chance of aggrandisement which the intestine discord and external weakness of their neighbours offered to them. Step by step they secured their footing on the Adriatic, gaining ground now by the foreclosing of a mortgage, now by the falling in of an inheritance—acquiring a town here as the fruit of a brief and bloodless campaign, there again as the equivalent of so many silver ducats doled out yearly to some imprudent and impecunious princelet. Whoever lost, Venice, on the whole, gained; whoever receded, Venice, on the whole, advanced. She alone, of the Christian powers menaced by the deadly peril of Ottoman attack, knew how to turn to account the breathing space afforded by the overthrow of Bajazet on the plain of Angora, and understood how to consolidate her position before the customary expedient of fratricide should have restored to the nascent empire internal unity and aggressive efficiency. Thus, when Amurath II. began, in 1421, his long and eventful reign, the banner of St. Mark floated over Durazzo, Alessio (the ancient Lissus), Scutari, Dulcigno, and Antivari; the entire seaboard from the roads of Durazzo to the mouth of the Tagliamento was—except where Ragusa and a few other independent cities broke the line—Venetian; the possession and fortification of Corfu barred the entrance to the Adriatic, making it practically a Venetian lake; and a large part of Albania sought the protection, or acknowledged the supremacy, of the great Republic.

That protection was sorely needed. There seemed no longer any hope of presenting a united front to the common enemy. With the death of Balsha III. in 1421, vanished the last relic of a predominant dynasty, and the native system of government by clans once more exerted without restraint its disintegrating action. In the southern division of the country the Skipetar race had just experienced a crushing reverse. Not only in Epirus, but in Ætolia and Acarnania, the Albanian element of the population had attained considerable importance, and its chiefs much turbulent power, when Charles Tocco, 'Count Palatine' of Cephallenia, sprung from a Neapolitan

family elevated to greatness by the feudal patronage of the House of Anjou, determined, in 1418, to assert by force of arms a dormant claim to the government of the mainland fronting his island-domain. The result of his vigorous assaults was the total and final expulsion of the restless Skipetar tribes from the two more southerly provinces, as well as from the districts of Arta and Joannina, and their settlement in Attica and the Peloponnesus.

Meanwhile the Turks were not idle. The anarchy at the seat of empire, which suspended their career of conquest, did not diminish their power of pillage. Plundering expeditions wasted the land, harrying and slaying even to the inmost recesses of its mountain glens. A Turkish garrison was planted in the strong fortress of Argyrocastron, which served as a centre of devastation for the surrounding country; the reduction of Thessalonica was followed, October 9, 1430, by the capture of Joannina, and Charles Tocco was compelled to purchase, by the payment of a large tribute, Ottoman permission to enjoy for a few years longer the diminished dignity of 'Despot of Arta;' one after another, the local chieftains bowed to the storm, and submitted to the odious condition of surrendering their children as hostages to the custody of the oppressors. Venice, meanwhile, watched and waited. Too wily to entangle herself in the promotion of a scattered and futile resistance, she was content to extend the ægis of her protection over her special clients. A brief blaze of revolt against the Ottoman yoke led by Arianites Comnenus (the name commemorated an early imperial alliance) was quenched in Albanian blood; and then ensued seven years of silent suffering and oppression, resisted only by some guerilla bands kept on foot in the defiles of Chaonia by the fugitive, but undaunted Albanian chief. The year 1443, however, brought hope to more than one trampled nation. Rome proclaimed a crusade; a breath of the old chivalry stirred the embroiled courts of Western Europe; and French and Teutonic gentlemen ranged themselves with a motley array of Hungarians, Servians, Bosnians, Wallachians, and Poles, under the banner of John Hunyades, the 'White Knight' of Transylvania. Albania sprang to arms; and while the zealous bishop Andrew preached the holy war, Arianites, whose doubtful title of 'Golem,' originally interpreted 'the Hairy,' was later, by a more flattering construction, taken to signify 'the Great,' once more issued with his hardy followers from the savage recesses where he had found a refuge. His qualities, indeed, were not those of a leader of men, but of an intelligent and untiring subordinate;

and his destined chief had not yet appeared. Meanwhile, the insurrectionary movement was, by the Turkish possession of the strong places of Croya, Pertreila, Petralba, and Sfetigrad, rendered local and ineffective; a central point of united action and a guiding head of undisputed authority were alike needed to hinder its speedy collapse, when, by a singular and unexpected event, both were simultaneously provided.

The national existence of Albania may be said to be comprised within the four-and-twenty years during which its destinies were guided by the heroic genius of Scanderbeg. During that period alone the Albanian people rose to unity and self-consciousness—during that period alone the various elements of which it was composed were animated with a common sentiment, and fired with a common purpose. And yet the leader of the vital struggle in which Albania may with truth be said to have been born and to have died, was an Albanian only by accident of birth, but by descent a pure-blooded Slav, both on the father's and mother's side. This curious discovery, although distasteful to certain sticklers for Hellenic nationality,* rests upon indisputable evidence. By the publication of the family papers of Giovanni Musachi, an Albanian refugee to southern Italy in the sixteenth century, as well as by diligent scrutiny of the Venetian archives, M. Carl Hopf † has at length succeeded in substituting a basis of historical fact for the semi-legendary and wholly uncritical biography of George Castriot, alias Scanderbeg, transmitted to posterity by his admiring contemporary, the worthy Marinus Barletius of Scutari.

The first then of the Castriot family known to history was a certain Branilo, a military adventurer from Servia, who, about the year 1368, obtained some lands in the hilly district of Kanina. His grandson, Constantine, allied himself with ex-royalty in the person of Helena Thopia, niece of the once magniloquent 'King of Albania,' and managed, in the teeth of Venetian claims, to gain possession of Croya, the fortress-capital of her hereditary domain. He paid dearly, however, for his presumption. The long-armed vengeance of the Republic reached him after a few years of *quasi*-sovereignty, and he was

* See, for example, the little work by M. Demitsas, the title of which heads this article.

† The substance of the documents published in 'Chroniques Gréco-Romaines' (cited above) will be found condensed into historical form in his valuable 'Geschichte Griechenlands,' in Ersch und Gruber's 'Allgemeine Encyclopädie,' Theil 86, p. 122 *et seq.*

executed at Durazzo in 1402, as a rebel to the authority of Venice. His youngest brother Ivan, or John, was more politic and more fortunate, if a long life of petty and precarious sway over a few rude mountain-villages, purchased by a double vassalage, can be counted as good fortune. Warned by the example of Constantine, he sedulously cultivated the friendship of Venice, and was rewarded with the investiture of the county or district of Mat, although excluded from the command of Croya, its chief town. This unwise jealousy rendered both him and that important post defenceless against the invading Ottoman hordes. Forced, after a brave resistance, to submit to the terms of the conquerors, he saw in 1410 three of his four sons (the eldest lived and died as a monk on Mount Sinai) carried off from their home to be educated in the abhorred faith of Islam, and to answer with their lives for the continued servitude of their kindred. Of these, the youngest was a child seven years old named George.

The stories of the marvellous dream by which his greatness was prefigured before his birth to his mother, the Servian Voisava (an obvious imitation of the dream of Olympias), and of the prophetic cry raised from the weeping crowd assembled to witness the departure of the hostages, served to amuse the imagination of an uncritical age, but contain little of interest, and less of instruction, for a cold and captious generation like ours. What there is of authentic fact relating to his early years may be told in a few words. With the rite of circumcision, he received from his Mahometan godfathers—doubtless in honour of his Macedonian birth-place—the name of Iskender (Alexander). The dignity of Bey or Beg, subsequently conferred upon him by Amurath II., caused him to be known as ‘Scanderbeg’—a sound of terror to the enemies of Christendom during well-nigh a quarter of a century. The conspicuous gifts, both bodily and mental, of the Albanian youth soon attracted attention, and were developed by careful training. He became rapidly proficient not only in manly and warlike exercises, but in the various languages spoken throughout the empire of Adrianople—in Turkish, Greek, Arabic, Slavonian, besides Italian and his native Skipetar. Without crediting the tradition—savouring rather of chivalric romance than of plain prose—relating his single combats in the presence of the Sultan with a Tartar giant and a pair of traitorous Persian knights, we can readily believe that his prowess was shown in many a feat of arms executed under the shadow of the Crescent. It is at any rate unquestionable that he acquired a brilliant reputation, rose high in the favour of Amurath II.,

and was entrusted by him with the command of 5,000 horsemen. Nor does any shadow of disaffection on the one side, or distrust on the other, appear to have arisen, until both were developed by the course of events.

It has always formed part of the Turkish policy to trust largely, whether in the conduct of war or the administration of peace, to the services of ex-Christians, and they have usually been found to surpass those born into Islam in enthusiasm for the cause, as well as in vigour and ability. Nor did Scanderbeg prove, for many years, an exception to the rule. It was not until he had reached the mature age of forty, that he suddenly and finally broke with his old masters, and returned to the faith of his baptism. This violent reversal of habits and associations had been, like most of the great crises of life, long prepared in secret. The motives and passions which broke into vivid light on the field of Nissa had been swaying and tossing the hidden heart of the man during who knows how many years. For he had not of late been wholly cut off from his native land. He and his surviving brother Stanisa were alternately exchanged between Adrianople and their father's mountain home, where ample opportunities were afforded of imbibing the sympathies and hatreds of race and creed naturally inspired by the suffering condition of their country. Notwithstanding his profound powers of dissimulation, Scanderbeg's change of sentiment did not entirely escape observation, and he was compelled, partly in the capacity of vassal, partly in that of hostage, to accompany the army which advanced to repel the invasion of the Ottoman dominions by the combined Christian forces under Hunyades, in 1443. During the course of that memorable 'long campaign,' news was privately conveyed to him of the death of his father, of the Turkish occupation of his inheritance, and of the general rising throughout Albania. He now only waited an opportunity, offered, November 3, by the defeat of the Osmanlis at Nissa. While the routed host was flying in confusion across the Bulgarian plain, he arrested the career of the Reis Effendi, or Chief Secretary, and, with a poniard at his throat, demanded a written order to the commandant of Croya to deliver up to him, in the Sultan's name, possession of the fortress. He was obeyed (history does not relate by what means pens and ink were forthcoming at such a moment), and the writer's silence was secured by his instantaneous death. When night fell, Scanderbeg, with his nephew Hamsa, the son of Stanisa by a Turkish wife, and a picked band of three hundred Skipetars, was riding for life or death towards the Albanian frontier.

The rocky and steep ravine through which the Black Drin flows due north from its exit out of the Lake of Ochrida to its junction with the White Drin, forms a kind of natural fosse, behind which lie the mountain fortifications of Upper Albania. On either side rise lofty mountains, the outlying ranges of Scardus, thickly wooded on the lower levels with oak, along the higher slopes with beech and pine. As Scanderbeg threaded their intricate and dangerous defiles, he can hardly have failed to note the enormous facilities for defence offered by the nature of the country, and his busy thoughts may even then have sketched the plans of the campaigns in which, during a lifetime of scarcely intermitted warfare, he baffled the gigantic forces of the Ottoman Empire.

The seventh day of their adventurous ride brought the party to Dibra, in the Drin valley, where the Castriot family had many adherents. They were accordingly received with enthusiasm, and, having doubled their numbers by the accession of volunteers, pursued their way to Croya, lying seventy miles further to the westward, deep in the labyrinth of winding glens, cloven watercourses, and savage peaks, presented by the highlands of Mat. The fortress stands on an elevated limestone cornice, backed by a tremendous precipice rising sheer to the height of 2,000 feet. Only where this rocky barrier is divided by a chasm, or penetrated by a torrent forcing its way towards the Adriatic, is access possible from the east to the escarpment which it isolates and defends. Scanderbeg and his followers were, however, familiar with every mountain-path in the neighbourhood, and they made their way without difficulty to within an arrow's flight of the walls of Croya. Here their leader left them concealed in the thick forest which clothes the surrounding ravines, and himself entered the town with his nephew and a few attendants. The exhibition of the firman extorted on the field of Nissa procured the instant obedience of the governor, who unsuspectingly surrendered the stronghold to the fiercest enemy of his people. At nightfall the gates were flung open, the six hundred ambushed men rushed in eager for bloodshed, and a general massacre of the Turks ensued.

The call to arms and freedom now resounded throughout the land; the warlike reputation of Scanderbeg, already brilliant, was enhanced to almost superhuman splendour by the sudden success of his unlooked-for championship; Albania hailed her deliverer with rapture, and the smouldering insurrection burst into a vivid flame from the Black Mountain to the Gulf of Arta. Although the ground was covered with

snow, and a cutting north wind hung the beards of his warriors with icicles (for Croya, Roman in latitude, is Alpine in winter climate), Scanderbeg lost no time in assailing the eyrie fortresses of Pertreila, Petralba, and Stellùsio, by the panic-stricken surrender of which he became master of the southern approaches to the central district of Mat. His position was now for the moment secure, and on Christmas Day, 1443, he peacefully celebrated at Croya the baptismal feast of his gallant nephew Hamsa, thenceforward known by the ancestral name of Branilo. But Scanderbeg knew no rest from triumphs achieved, save in organising triumphs to come. He opened negotiations with the neighbouring Christian powers—with Rome and Venice, with Ladislaus of Hungary and Alfonso of Naples; he strengthened the already powerful domestic alliances of the Castriots by his marriage with Andronica, daughter of the veteran leader. Arianites Comnenus, and summoned a congress of Albanian chieftains at the Venetian town of Alessio, where, in the spring of the year 1444, he was elected generalissimo of the national league against the Turks, and promised an annual subsidy of 200,000 ducats for the expenses of the war.

His preparations were not made a moment too soon. Ali Pasha, with 40,000 men, was already on the march. Scanderbeg's little army consisted of 7,000 foot and 8,000 horse, besides which Branilo commanded a corps 3,000 strong. The tactics employed were peculiar and effectual. No resistance was offered until the invading army was well engaged in the defiles between Dibra and Croya, when, in a spot where two mountain ranges almost closed round a circular depression, the rocks suddenly bristled with armed men; some rude artillery which had been dragged up the heights flung its ponderous stone projectiles with destructive effect on the helpless crowd of men and horses below, and a scene of carnage ensued, of which the statistics furnished by Barletius,* though probably exaggerated, are not, under the circumstances, altogether incredible. When the slaughter was stopped by the approach of night, 22,000 Osmanli corpses are said to have strewn that treacherous valley-basin, at the cost of but 120 Albanian lives, while 2,000 prisoners and two dozen of the green standards of the Prophet attested and adorned the Christian triumph. In accordance with ancient custom, the victory was announced to the confederated chieftains by means of missives crowned with laurel, and the captured trophies

(save a few reserved for distribution) were hung up with great pomp in the churches in token of thanksgiving and devotion.

Scanderbeg's aspirations were not, however, confined to merely defensive action. The peace of Szegedin had hardly been concluded (July 12, 1444), when, by a breach of faith as deplorable as it proved disastrous, it was violated; the crusading forces were marching upon their fate at Varna, and the Albanian hero was summoned, and hastened to their assistance. Had the proposed junction been effected, the upshot of the campaign would perhaps have been different, and the fate of Constantinople, if it could not have been averted, might at least have been postponed; but the worthless Krall of Servia, George Brankowitch, succeeded in arresting the passage of the Albanian troops until after the direful 10th of November, when, King Ladislaus being slain and Hunyades a fugitive, nothing remained for their baffled ally but to withdraw in grim wrath to his native fastnesses, having first visited the sins of their ruler with fire and sword on the fertile plains of the Morava.

Alone in Europe, after the repulse of an attempted diversion by Constantine Palæologus, Scanderbeg still continued to defy the victorious Sultan; and it speaks strongly for the formidable nature of the reputation already acquired by him, that Amurath should have condescended to allure him with inviting promises, before trying against him once more the experiment of arms. The rejection of the proposed accommodation was immediately followed by a double invasion, terminated before it had well begun by a double defeat. Scanderbeg had now leisure, of which he eagerly availed himself, to plunge into a domestic broil. For although the preservation of his country from infidel thralldom was his first, it was by no means his only thought. He was also very energetically bent on the enlargement of his hereditary domain, and the confirmation of his authority over the fierce clans whose turbulent valour was not more available for common defence than for mutual destruction. Now it happened that in 1446 Lek (Alexander) Zaccaria, lord of Dayno, a town perched on a hill rising from the alluvial plains near the mouth of the Drin, was murdered by order of Nicholas, head of the great tribe of the Ducadjins, who coveted the possession of such a convenient outpost to his territory. But he had left out of his account the presence of a neighbour as eager for acquisition, and more prompt in action than himself. At the request of the murdered man's mother, Venice (the Queen of

the Adriatic has more than once profited by the favour of the sex) despatched a garrison thither from Scutari, and the disappointed assassin turned for redress to the formidable lord of Croya. Scanderbeg, indeed, had his own claim ready in the shape of a treaty (real or pretended), by which the inheritance of Zaccaria devolved upon him, and Ducadjin found too late that the efforts of both competitors were solely directed towards appropriating the fruits of his unprofitable crime. In the course of the ensuing fierce war with Venice, Scanderbeg incidentally annihilated another Turkish army, capturing Mustapha Pasha, its commander, twelve Beys, and fifteen standards, but failed to reduce the town in dispute. Indeed, things went so badly during his absence on the frontier, that there was nothing left for him to do on his return but to raise the long blockade of two years, and march in search of compensation or revenge on Durazzo. This demonstration (for it was little more) against the choicest of her Albanian possessions, extracted from the republic a cry of fear and resentment. It throws a curious light on the reckless policy pursued by the Christian powers, whose existence was at that time threatened by the Ottoman tornado, that the first appeal of Venice against the acknowledged champion of Christendom, should have been directed to its unrelenting foe. In May, 1448, a Venetian missive urged Amurath II. to coerce into obedience his rebellious vassal, the 'Turk' called Scanderbeg, and the communication doubtless quickened a purpose already formed. Meanwhile more generous or more astute counsels began to prevail on the shores of the Adriatic. Panic evaporated, rational apprehension took its place, and it became once more evident to Venetian sagacity where the imminent mortal peril to her supremacy lay. Scanderbeg, on his side, was weary of a barren struggle with a state whose ultimate interests were identical with those of the cause he had at heart; rumours of Ottoman preparations on a great scale began to spread; Hunyades was again in the field; and on October 4, 1448, a treaty of amnesty, friendship, and mutual defence was signed between the insurgent chief and the diplomatists of St. Mark. By its stipulations Dayno, the original bone of contention, was indeed ceded to Venice, but Scanderbeg virtually secured the headship of the Albanian clans. On the easy condition of presenting four falcons as an annual token of homage, he was guaranteed the possession of his ancestral heritage and personal acquisitions; the republic enrolled him among her *condottieri*, at a yearly salary of 1,400 ducats and two scarlet garments, promising further to supply

him with salt from the mines of Durazzo, and his father-in-law, Arianites Comnenus, with corn from its granaries; while, by the terms of an earlier agreement, Venetian territory was to form his asylum in the last resort of irreparable disaster.

Such an emergency might, at that moment, well have been supposed to be at hand. The preparations for Amurath's supreme effort against Albania were on such a scale as to exclude all reasonable probability of failure. But Hunyades had first to be crushed, and this was done in the three dismal days of October 17, 18, and 19, on the same plain of Kossova where, nearly sixty years previously, the first Amurath had conquered and perished. It is hardly doubtful that, had the Hungarian captain been content to act on the defensive pending the arrival of the force with which Scanderbeg was hurrying to his aid, the disaster would all but surely have been averted;* but among the many great qualities of Hunyades the essential military virtue of patience was not numbered; and his chequered career, abandoned to the guidance of a daring which, if it often rose to heroism, was equally liable to degenerate into rashness, followed the vicissitudes of fortune uncontrolled by steady forethought.

The passes were no sooner practicable in the spring of 1449, than the victorious Sultan advanced with the enormous force of 150,000 men, to abolish, at last and for ever, the preposterous attempt of a paltry mountain chieftain to defy his irresistible authority. The first brunt of the storm fell upon the little hill-fort of Sfetigrad, in the neighbourhood of Dibra, the command of which, notwithstanding its apparent insignificance, was of vital importance for the invasion of the country. It was the first beacon-tower of Albania—a post of vantage for offence and defence, for raids on the enemy's territory, for attacks on an invader's communications—a centre of activity which an advancing army could not venture to leave in its rear, and which a retreating army would repent finding in its van. Scanderbeg had accordingly spared no pains in dislodging the Turks from this outwork to the bastions of Mat, and he was not disposed lightly to relinquish his conquest. In three days Amurath's artillery had battered a breach in the weather-beaten walls of the little stronghold, and an assault was ordered. But the garrison, though scanty in numbers, was composed of men fertile in expedients and resolute in emergency, and Scanderbeg, with 10,000 picked troops, lay concealed among the forest uplands of the neighbourhood, watching for

* Von Hammer, '*Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*,' t. ii. p. 337.

opportunities, which abundantly offered, of panic, slaughter, and surprise. One storming party after another was repulsed with the aid, not only of sabres and cross-bows, but of boiling oil and blazing pitch, while the nomad warriors without co-operated with murderous attacks on the unwieldy and ill-defended camp of the besiegers. It was in vain that the enraged Sultan ordained the penalty of death for all who should retire from an assault before the signal of recall had sounded—it was in vain that he detached a corps for the special purpose of terminating the unendurable annoyance and devastation caused by the perpetual hovering and occasional attack of an almost intangible foe; its commander, Firuz Pasha, fell by Scanderbeg's own hand, and his troops were scattered or slain in a single engagement. The season was rapidly advancing; the Ottoman losses had already been enormous (they are said to have amounted to 30,000), and the raising of the siege began to be seriously contemplated. One expedient, however, remained to be tried—the expedient of corruption. It proved successful. Among the thousand brave men who stood behind the ramparts of Sfetigrad, there was found one traitor, and he well knew where to find the chink in his comrades' armour of proof. The Bulgarians, of whom the garrison mainly consisted, had a superstitious horror of touching anything polluted by the contact of carrion, and when one morning a dead dog was discovered in the one cistern of the fort, it was evident that the defence could no longer be prolonged. Parlatus, the intrepid commandant, tried vainly to vanquish the scruples of his followers by himself drinking in their presence of the contaminated water; but, though they were willing to lay down their lives in a last desperate sally, they did not dare to incur the defilement of the soul which they believed to be the consequence of the act demanded of them. Negotiations were accordingly opened; honourable terms were granted; and Amurath thus secured by stratagem, as the sole fruit of a campaign of vast promise and preparation, a scanty foothold on the borders of the country he had come to conquer.

Nevertheless, it cannot have been without feelings of apprehension that Scanderbeg looked forward to the future. The resources of the Ottoman Empire were practically unlimited, and nothing any longer hindered their concentration on the task of effacing the insult, and removing the obstacle offered to Ottoman arms by his continued resistance. No serious diversion was to be expected from any quarter; his allies were tepid or helpless; his authority over a crowd of chieftains as haughty, as punctilious, and as implacable as Achilles, was eminently

precarious; above all, Sfetigrad, the key to the approaches of Croya—the gatehouse, as it were, of his private domain—was in the hands of the enemy. And in the hands of the enemy it remained. The janissaries, to whose custody it had been committed, stood firm against a succession of fiery assaults in the months of September and October, and Scanderbeg was keenly alive to the necessity of husbanding his scanty resources for the real tug of war in the spring. For he was not more audacious in the presence of danger than diligent in preparing to meet it; and, unlike many commanders who incur defeat rather than acknowledge discomfiture, he never consented to set momentary prestige before ultimate victory.

The last campaign of Amurath II. against Albania opened with an unopposed march to Croya. In numbers that seemed too great for the land to contain, the invading host executed its imposing military promenade. Every valley-bottom, every mountain path was choked with endless files of camels bearing on their patient, misshapen backs cumbrous machinery for siege operations; in front marched the dense cohorts of the janissaries, with white beavers and gleaming corslets; far and wide, the locust-flights of the spahis and akindjis swarmed, with long lances at rest, and curved scimetars at the saddle-bow, in search of pillage and slaughter; scouting parties of the azab, or light infantry, explored the intricacies of the route, or scented out the perils of an ambush; while an innumerable crowd of camp-followers in gaudy Oriental costume, with pack-horses, asses, mules, and lean scavenger-dogs, brought up the rear of the motley array. The expectation of their approach was shown in the silence and desolation which anticipated the havoc of their footsteps. The springing crops had been, by Scanderbeg's orders, destroyed, fruit-trees cut down, cattle driven away. Darius advancing into Scythia did not encounter a more deserted region. By the end of April, the plains stretching south and west from the foot of Sara-Saduk (then called Tumenist) towards the sea, were white with the tents of 160,000 men, and the siege of Croya began to be actively prepared. A foundry was erected in the camp, and ten great guns were cast, six hurling stone shot of two, four of six quintals (600 lbs.). Three years later, Mahomet II. breached the gate of St. Romanus (still called in Turkish the 'Cannon Gate') with monster artillery of which the Mons Megs of Croya were the first examples.

Meanwhile Scanderbeg was ready, serenely confident in his cause and himself. The winter had been spent in hurrying from one end to the other of his little kingdom, inspecting,

organising, exhorting. Disguised as a shepherd, we are told that he wandered through the snow up to the walls of steep Sfetigrad, hoping to espy an opportunity for a *coup de main*. So bitter to him had been the loss of his frontier fastness. But on the defence of Croya he concentrated his vital efforts. The fortifications were strengthened; the garrison reinforced, and placed under the command of his nephew and second self, Branilo Castriot; the artillery, such as it was, was confided to some French volunteers who had taken service with the heroic champion of the Cross (the French were at that time reputed the best artillerists in Europe); women, children, and men past fighting age, were removed to the Venetian cities on the coast. Of provisions there was ample store laid up in the magazines, and Nature herself provided a perennial supply of purest water in the cavern-born flood from which the town derives its name (*krua* signifies 'spring' in the Skipetar tongue). The same tactics were renewed which had so nearly saved Sfetigrad. Warned by the blazing of beacon fires, Scanderbeg never failed to issue with his little army of veterans from the defiles of Tumenist, whenever the emergency of an assault or the opportunity of a surprise invited his prowess. The prodigious numbers of the Osmanlis served but to supply more abundant food for slaughter, and to aggravate the difficulties of the commissariat; offers of accommodation were answered only by renewed onslaughts; and on the approach of winter the baffled Sultan had no resource but to raise the siege and order a retreat, in the course of which fresh losses and humiliations were inflicted on his discomfited and diminished forces. The future, however, was, as he thought, his, with ample prospects of retrieval and revenge; and for the present he consoled himself with the festive celebration, at Adrianople, of his son's marriage, in the course of which he was struck with an apoplexy, and died, February 5, 1451, leaving a reputation for justice, combined with valour, perhaps the highest that has been earned by any of the descendants of Othman.

All Europe triumphed in the triumph of Scanderbeg. The dismay created in Western minds by Varna and Kossova gave place to a trembling hope that perhaps, after all, the highlands of Epirus might prove an effectual breakwater against the rolling westward of the Moslem tide. Embassies of congratulation arrived from the Pope (Nicholas V.), from the Duke of Burgundy, from the Kings of Hungary and Naples. Nor did any of the envoys present themselves empty-handed. Moreover, by the munificence of Alfonso of Naples in sending

300,000 measures of wheat, and 100,000 of barley, to compensate for the lost harvest, the granaries of the victorious chief were filled at the same time that his coffers were replenished. Venice was not behindhand in expressing her joy at a result to which she had but slightly contributed. Her merchants, indeed, acting in the spirit of liberal impartiality which animates modern commerce, had done a highly lucrative business by provisioning the Ottoman army during the siege. All had, however, turned out for the best. The money of the infidels was in Venetian pockets; the bones of the infidels were, without any openly incurred Venetian responsibility, whitening on the slopes of Tumenist and the passes of Scardus; and a free Albania still acted as a goodly buffer between Venetian prosperity and the costly annoyance of infidel aggression.

With the accession of Mahomet II. the curtain may be said to rise upon the third and last act in the drama of Scanderbeg's eventful life. To the danger of foreign attack the more subtle evil of domestic disaffection was now added. The arms of Albania began to be turned against herself. The gigantic assaults of the past two years were not immediately renewed. The fierce young eyes of the new ruler were fixed upon more dazzling prey than the village citadel of a tribe of rude mountaineers, and his troublesome vassal had only to accept the humiliation of a moderate tribute in order to secure the safety of his contemptuous neglect. But Scanderbeg had no tolerance for compromises, and his only answer to the proposal was a raid into the Ottoman territory. An army sent to chastise the insult met with the usual fate of Turkish armies in Albania, and a second corps, 15,000 strong, was cut to pieces or dispersed in a night attack on the plain of Ochrida, in the spring of 1452. Many indications lead to the conclusion that Scanderbeg designed, during the brief lull in the storm of invasions now afforded him, to consolidate, on a permanent basis of peace, the authority hitherto enforced only by the supreme exigencies of war. The annexation of a village here, of a valley or watershed there, enlarged his family domain. At one time an ancient claim was revived, at another a death was taken advantage of, for the aggrandisement of the Castriot inheritance. Nor is it necessary to suppose such measures to have been dictated by an unworthy motive. A patriotic foresight must have suggested that a strong personal ascendancy, due to unexampled and extravagant successes, which a single reverse of fortune would suffice to shake, and the flight of an arrow, or the cut of a sabre, might, at any moment, terminate for ever, formed but an unstable foundation for a people's

independence. An enlightened statesmanship, stimulated, no doubt, by the instincts of ambition, could not fail to perceive the advantages to be gained by the substitution of a settled and centralised government for the anarchical clan rule by which the prospects of Albanian national existence were fatally compromised. The design was one of those which we should pronounce wise, had it been successful; in the event, it served but to hasten the dissolution it was proposed to avert.

Discontent was quickened into defection by Turkish intrigue, thriving amidst the very passions and prepossessions which had proved fatal to Turkish arms. Local attachments, pride of race, love of independence, had all been enlisted for the Cross against the Crescent; they were unhappily equally capable of serving the Crescent against the Cross. Amongst the first to fall away was Moses Comnenus, a nephew both of the great captain himself and of the brave Arianites, whose brother had married Angelina Castriot, one of Scanderbeg's five sisters. 'Moses of Dibra' (as he was commonly called) had acted, from the time of his uncle's advent to power, as one of his most trusted lieutenants; but the appropriation of the district over which he had formerly ruled as the vassal of Adrianople, rankled in his soul, and on receiving a promise of its restoration, he went over to the enemy. In February, 1453, he led 10,000 Osmanlis against his native country, of whom he brought back, a couple of weeks later, 4,000, together with a personal reputation severely damaged by his too evident reluctance to encounter the sure vengeance of his late chief's terrible scimitar. His example was followed by several of the Ducad-jin leaders, whose secession occasioned, in 1454, a bloody civil war. Fresh backslidings succeeded to compulsory repentance, and eventuated in the permanent apostasy of the clan. Nor were these the only traitors. Hamsa (frequently confounded with Scanderbeg's nephew Branilo), of the powerful Epirot family of the Zenevisi, joined the Turks, was captured in battle, ransomed, and sent to Constantinople, where he shortly afterwards died, it is believed of poison—to say nothing of the two last scions of the once overruling Balsha stock, despatched for safe custody to Naples on 'reasonable suspicion' of conspiracy against the emphatically minded and somewhat high-handed ruler of Mat.

It was not without considerable uneasiness that Venice watched the growing intimacy between her Albanian *condottiere* and the King of Naples. Durazzo and Corfu had been Neapolitan appanages once, and they might easily become so again. The ambition of Italian princes and powers was in

those days turned towards the East, and the channel of Otranto might well prove more passable to conquest than the strait of Messina. The fact that Alfonso, in his quality of heir to the house of Anjou, demanded and obtained from Scanderbeg an acknowledgment of his suzerainty, shows that such suspicions were not wholly without warrant. Amongst the reinforcements purchased by this concession we hear of 500 musketeers, whose unwieldy firearms, some six feet in length, and requiring a forked rest for their support, constituted at that time the most recent improvement in the art of destruction. With the aid of these new allies and a fresh supply of siege artillery, Scanderbeg believed himself in sufficient force to attempt the capture of the fortified town of Berat, within the boundaries of Old Epirus. And here we have to recount the one undeniable defeat which broke the monotony of a scarcely interrupted succession of victories. Of authentic particulars which might help to explain an event so unusual as to seem anomalous, we have few, since the narrative of Barletius tallies ill with the late researches of M. Hopf; but it seems probable that the indifference or aversion of the Tosk inhabitants of the district about Berat to the Gheg captain of Croya helped to bring about the reverse. It is, at any rate, certain that a powerful relieving army under Isa Bey fell upon the Albanian forces, of whom, after a desperate battle, nearly 6,000 were left dead on the plain, while Scanderbeg fled with the remainder to his own mountains, where an Osmanli corps was annihilated in the attempt to pursue him.

The winter passed in silence and despondency. News came to Venice that all was lost in Albania; the Dragon of Croya lay crouching in his lair and made no sign; Moses of Dibra, exulting in the kingship over all Albania, promised, together with freedom from tribute and a *douceur* of 100,000 ducats, on the now apparently easy condition of presenting his uncle's head to the Sublime Porte, waited eagerly for the spring to enable him to fulfil his share of the contract. But when spring came things singularly changed their aspect. The cloud of disaster passed away; Scanderbeg emerged from his retreat in March, 1456, as fertile in resource, as energetic in prosecution, as undaunted, as invincible as ever. Defeated and humiliated, Moses donned a halter instead of a crown, and presented himself a suppliant for pardon before his offended chief. He was received with an entire forgiveness rarely accorded between man and man, and more rarely deserved. Not alone the material restitution of

confiscated property, but the far more precious restitution of credit and confidence was made to him. Such generous trustfulness proved to be not unworthily bestowed. His repentance was attested by eight years of faithful warfare, and was crowned with a martyr's death.

And now victory seemed more effectually than ever chained to the standard of Scanderbeg. Between 1457 and 1461 five Turkish armies melted away before his usually unexpected and always vigorous onsets, and five Turkish generals earned disgrace and loss, instead of the coveted honour of succeeding where their predecessors had failed, in the vain effort to cope with the Christian hero. Nevertheless it was but too evident that the Osmanli hordes, by the sheer force of numbers and persistence, were gaining ground, and would ultimately prevail. The possession of the fortresses of Sfetigrad, Berat, and Argyrocastron secured their access to the country, or protected their devastations in it; Leonard Tocco, ex-despot of Arta, chosen, for the *prestige* of his name, as Scanderbeg's lieutenant in southern Epirus, was yielding foot by foot before the steady pressure of the Ottoman advance; while the disintegrating forces of personal ambition, mortified egotism, or private rancour were undermining resources which external attacks threatened eventually to exhaust. Scanderbeg himself, as little dazzled by victory as daunted by disaster, saw clearly, and never ceased to urge upon the Christian powers, that, if left to stand alone, he must surely fall. Yet alone he was virtually left to stand. A spasm of selfish terror had convulsed Europe at the news of the fall of Constantinople (May 29, 1453). Lethargy succeeded to panic when it was found that an irruption, not of bloodthirsty disciples of the Prophet, offering a choice between the sword and the Koran, but of fugitive Greeks, bringing the relics of antique learning, and the seeds, perhaps, of Eastern corruption, was the immediate consequence of the catastrophe. Each separate state seemed to direct its policy towards securing the privilege granted by Polyphemus to Ulysses—that of being the last to be devoured—troubling itself little, or not at all, about the previous meals furnished by its neighbours to the Ottoman monster. Successive Popes vainly exhorted, threatened, implored; there was little of the spirit of St. Louis surviving either in kings or commonwealths. Some stray volunteers, indeed, heard the cry of distress from their fellow-Christians in the East, and, fastening the cross upon their armour, hastened to enrol themselves among the valiant defenders of Hungary or Albania; but no combined action was possible where princes were

only watching to outwit, and republics to supplant each other. Even the partial co-operation which, in the early days of the struggle, had aided the cause of Albanian independence, died out as the flood of Ottoman conquest rolled fuller and swifter, and the resisting forces grew feebler. Two heroes, a soldier and a monk, Hunyades and St. John Capistran, vanished from the scene almost simultaneously, within three months of their joint triumph at Belgrade in 1456. Venice, intent only on securing her trade in the Levant, and on ousting her Ligurian rival, concluded with the new ruler of Constantinople, in 1454, a shameful peace, the prelude after eight years to a disastrous war. Alfonso of Naples, the unfailing protector of the Skipetar insurgents, died June 27, 1458, leaving to his successor a heritage of civil convulsions. Calixtus III., who from an ill-filled exchequer had contrived to supply the most urgent necessities of Albanian warfare, followed him August 6. Scanderbeg still fought on, unsupported except by some loyal Montenegrin auxiliaries, so long as the scheme of concerted attack, set on foot by Pius II. at the Congress of Mantua, showed some delusive signs of a vitality which it never really possessed. It was not until the most sanguine were compelled to abandon the hope of seeing Europe moved with a generous impulse, that he at length consented to sheathe his sword—a resolution quickened by the successive deaths of his nephew Branilo and his father-in-law Arianites. That Mahomet II., flushed with his recent successes in Servia and the Morea, should have condescended to recognise the sovereignty and respect the possessions of a rebellious vassal, forms a tribute more emphatic than the loudest panegyric of an enthusiastic biographer to the genius and enduring valour of Scanderbeg.

There was general rejoicing throughout Albania at the conclusion, June 22, 1461, of a ten years' truce with the Osmanlis. Devastated fields grew green once more with the hope of harvest; vines and olives were dressed along the rugged sides of the valleys; flocks and herds were led forth to pasture in peace among the uplands. But the Albanian chief meditated only a change of scene for his insatiable activity. A request from Ferdinand of Naples for aid against the turbulent barons of his kingdom afforded him an opportunity at once of testifying his gratitude and of exercising his valour. His appearance in Italy at the head of eight hundred horsemen,* if not of the decisive import for the issue of the campaign attributed

* Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, anno 1461.

to it by Barletius, doubtless helped to turn the scale in Ferdinand's favour. The timely succour was recompensed by the donation of the towns of Sant' Angelo and San Giovanni Rotondo, together with a pension of 1,200 ducats, and the promise of an honourable refuge at Trani, on the Adriatic coast, should things come to the worst in Albania.

The leisure left to Scanderbeg for *dilettante* warfare was, however, of short duration. Once more Europe was summoned to confront the imminent ruin of a Turanian conquest. Bosnia, justly regarded as the outwork of Christendom, fell in 1463; the Ban of Slavonia was carried off and slain, with five hundred of his nobles, in his own dominions, and the Turkish outposts were separated by only a couple of days' march from Venetian territory. The last of the Palæologi had been expelled from the Morea in 1460; the petty lords of the adjacent islands now became tributaries of the Porte; and one by one the Venetian colonies in the Archipelago disappeared before the sure progress of the Osmanlis. Reluctantly and late the Republic of St. Mark roused herself to war, while Pius II., in a Bull dated October 22, 1463, proclaimed a crusade appointing Ancona as the place of rendezvous for princes and powers, half-hearted, treacherous, or inert.

Scanderbeg at least obeyed with alacrity the summons to arms. A cattle-lifting raid into Macedonia unceremoniously declared the termination of a truce which, it appears, had already suffered infractions from Turkish insolence, and undergone repairs dictated by Albanian necessity.* An invasion followed as a matter of course, and, equally as a matter of course, was repulsed with heavy loss. In a battle near Ochrida, 10,000 Turks were put *hors de combat*, the remnant of the army flying in dismay, and the usual round dozen of Beys falling into the hands of the victors. On the same day, August 14, 1464, Pius II. expired at Ancona, and with him the last hope of union against the common enemy. Upon Scanderbeg the blow fell with especial violence. Instead of the shining prospects held out to him by the dying Pontiff, of seeing the Albanian camp honoured with the august presence of the Head of the Church—of obtaining, in his own person, the authority of generalissimo of the crusading host, and, in the sure event of victory, the dignity of king of Epirus, Macedonia, and Romania, he found himself left alone to face the irritated vengeance of a ruler strong in the numbers, and irresistible in the fanaticism, of his subjects.

The campaign against Albania was now directed by a commander the most formidable for ability and resolution yet encountered by Scanderbeg. Balaban Pasha, a Skipetar by birth, was said to have been the first among the janissaries to surmount the breach at the taking of Constantinople, and afterwards rose to a high place among the generals of Mahomet II. He accepted the arduous commission to subjugate his native country, as the surest proof of his master's esteem, and the touchstone of his military reputation. Having formerly been a vassal of the Castriot family, he made overtures of courtesy and conciliation by sending rich presents to Croya. His politeness was, however, mockingly reciprocated with the gifts of a plough and reaping-hook, in allusion to his rustic origin; and the insult—especially poignant to an Albanian—served to change respectful antagonism into implacable enmity. A series of desperate encounters followed, in which Scanderbeg uniformly triumphed, but with effort and loss straining to his endurance and resources. The first battle cost him the lives of Moses of Dibra, of Parlatus, ex-commandant of Sfetigrad, and of six others of his ablest lieutenants, who were surprised in an ambush whilst pursuing the enemy. Taken to Constantinople, they were there, by the orders of Mahomet II., flayed alive, the operation, with a delicate skill in torture designed to satiate the tyrant's fiendish cruelty, being prolonged over fourteen days. The horrible fate of these brave men produced, amongst their comrades, the sharpest exasperation. Their grief was testified by the rejection of the barber's offices, and their rage vented in furious devastation of the adjacent Turkish territory.

In a later combat Scanderbeg received the solitary wound which broke the spell of his apparent invulnerability, and, having been flung from his horse against a tree, lay for some time stunned and motionless. When at length he reappeared in the fray, the Mussulmans with one accord took to flight, believing that, by the fatality which rendered him invincible, he had risen from the dead to conquer! Two simultaneous attacks on the fortress territory of Mat, led by Balaban on one side and Yakoob Pasha (likewise a renegade Albanian) on the other, were repulsed with a celerity of movement, and impetuosity of onset, worthy of Napoleon's best days. Yakoob fell by Scanderbeg's hand, and the bloody heads of Balaban's soldiers, flung among the dismayed ranks of the co-operating army, conveyed the first intimation of their comrades' defeat, and a speedily realised presage of their own.

A pause ensued, the Turks trying the expedient of assas-

sination—vainly, for the pretended Christian converts, who had undertaken the job, were detected and executed, before an opportunity offered for its completion. And now an invasion, on the grandest scale yet attempted, once more tried the temper of Albanian resistance. The terrible Mahomet II., known pre-eminently as ‘the Conqueror,’ resolved to silence with one decisive effort the importunate protest of Epirot freedom against the universality of his dominion, and marched against Croya, in the spring of 1466, with an army whose vastness is signified, perhaps figuratively rather than literally, by the recorded number of 200,000. The defence was conducted on the same system as that employed in the first siege, and led to the same result. After several months of ineffectual assaults upon a place whose very insignificance helped to render it impregnable, Mahomet drew off in disgust, leaving 35,000 of his multitudinous host buried beneath the plains of the Matis and Ischn, and 80,000 under Balaban to continue the blockade. His spleen was vented, and his ostentation gratified, by the massacre, in violation of the terms of their surrender, of 8,000 inhabitants of the Chaonian town of Chidna, whose heads were destined to vouch for the dutiful attendance of victory on the Sultan’s footsteps.

Leaving Croya garrisoned by a band of Italian auxiliaries under Baldassarre Perducci, Scanderbeg, on the withdrawal of Mahomet, hastened to Italy to implore succour. But the Italian States, intent on mutual rivalry, were callous to the common danger, and it was with difficulty that, aided by a small subsidy from the Pope, he collected, on the Dalmatian coasts, a force of 13,400 volunteers, attracted to his standard, some by the love of religion, some by the hope of booty, all by the splendour of his fame. They were sufficient for his purposes. Hearing that the brother of Balaban Pasha was advancing towards Croya with reinforcements, he intercepted his march, defeated, and captured him and his son. In the midst of the panic created by the exhibition to the besiegers of the manacled prisoners, and the ensuing attack of the relieving troops, Balaban, frantic with grief and rage, ordered an assault on the fortress, in which he perished, struck by a bullet aimed by a compatriot marksman. On the summit of the rocky eminence crowned by his native village of Pertreila, a monument, supposed to cover his remains, is still shown with reverence. The local tradition relates that, his head being struck off by a cannon-ball during the siege of Durazzo, he rode off to the hills bearing the detached member in his hand—a *guisa di lanterna*, as Dante puts it—and carefully de-

posited it on the spot indicated. The story is doubtless a Turkish version of the Greek legend of St. John Vladimir.*

Albania was thus once more freed from the scourge of Ottoman belligerence, but not for long. The following year witnessed another monster invasion, futile indeed as to its immediate aims, but prolific of secondary evils. Durazzo was the first object of attack; the turn of Croya came next; both sieges were equally unsuccessful, and Mahomet, who commanded in person, had to content himself, as the result of a six months' campaign, with the destruction of an unfinished and undefended stronghold, and the fortification of Elbassan, the ancient seat of the Albanian people. The wide-spread misery caused by the assurance to the destroyers of an additional *pied-à-terre*, was ominously attested by the exodus setting in from the Venetian ports to the coasts of Sicily and Naples. Scanderbeg, however, abated no whit of his energy and courage. Meditating fresh schemes for the deliverance of his country, he summoned a congress of his friends and allies at Alessio, to consider and secure the means of executing them. But the end of his life's work was at hand. Attacked on his arrival with the marsh-fever, which still desolates the low-lying lands from Dulcigno to Avlona, he expired January 17, 1468, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his noble championship of Christianity and freedom. It is said that his charger would never, after his death, suffer himself to be mounted; but becoming furious and intractable, died a few weeks subsequently to his master. During ten years the remains of the Albanian chief reposed peacefully in the church of San Niccolò at Alessio; then, on the capture of the city, Mahomet II., whom his almost superhuman achievements had inspired with a touch of reverential awe, caused them to be exhumed and exposed publicly to the veneration of his people. Nor to their veneration only. Bit by bit, the once powerful frame disappeared before the ravages of would-be pilferers of invincibility, and the flesh and bones of Scanderbeg were converted into talismans of Turkish victory! Surely a mockery of mortality keener even than the 'base uses' to which Hamlet's imagination traced 'the noble dust of Alexander.'

A large heroic figure the ruler of Mat comes before us, standing, not idly, on the wavering frontier-line between Islam and Christendom, fighting a fight amongst the most momentous known to history. For in truth Italy lay behind Albania,

* Hahn, 'Albanesische Studien,' p. 83.

and the struggle, which only temporarily averted the fate of the one country, permanently secured the safety of the other. Had Mahomet II. a few years earlier been set at liberty, by the removal of the Albanian stumbling-block, to pursue the cherished design rendered abortive by his death, not Otranto alone, but Rome itself, would, in all human probability, have tasted the horrors of Ottoman devastation, if not the worse degradation of Ottoman rule. A rich endowment, physical, mental, and moral, fitted Scanderbeg for his allotted task. His sword, like the 'good blade' of Galahad, was supposed to owe its unheard-of potency not so much to the guiding force of well-knit muscles, as to the inspiring virtue of an uncontaminated soul. The story is told that Mahomet II., having sent to borrow the weapon of which he had heard such wonders, expressed much disappointment with its performances in his presence; whereupon Scanderbeg smilingly remarked: 'I lent him the sword, but I did not lend him the arm which wielded it.' 'It is written,' says Knolles,* 'that he with his owne hand slew three thousand Turkes in the time of his warres against them,' and such was the fierceness with which he fought, that the blood frequently gushed from his lower lip, as the clenched teeth penetrated the flesh. Byron's characterisation of Alp in 'The Siege of Corinth' as 'known by the white arm bare,' is undoubtedly copied† from early descriptions of Scanderbeg smiting the infidels with that mighty arm uncovered, which tradition represented to have been congenitally stamped with the image of a sword.

But he was not more furious in war than benignant in peace.‡ Reproofs, rather than punishments, formed the rule of his dealing with offenders; and indeed a reproof from him was felt as a heavy punishment. The ascendancy of his presence subjugated all who approached him, and the charm of his frank fearlessness disarmed at times treachery itself. Among the Turks he was as renowned for kindness as for courage, and many of the prisoners released by him returned as Christians to dwell under his sovereignty, or serve under his banner. If, in the course of a prolonged and desperate struggle, some acts are recorded of him which the tenderness of modern consciences refuses to approve, it must be admitted that, judged by the standard of his time, he was a warrior inflamed, indeed, with just passion, and shrinking from no

* The General History of the Turks, p. 287.

† See Creasy's 'History of the Ottoman Turks,' p. 73, *note*.

‡ Paganel, 'Histoire de Scanderbeg,' p. 390.

needful reprisals, but by preference humane as well as loyal. In reading the story of his life, more even than by the evidence of the extraordinary gifts possessed by him, we are struck by the highly effective use to which he put them. His diligence was unrivalled. In the pursuit of the sacred object set before him, every fibre of his bodily energy was strung, and towards its attainment, we may be sure, all his meditations were directed—for waste of thought is the worst waste of time. He chose late, but he chose finally and faithfully; and the single-minded devotion of his subsequent life formed a fitting sequel to the supreme effort of daring enthusiasm by which he recovered at once his religion and his country.

The immediate and total collapse of the Albanian defence on the death of Scanderbeg bears striking witness to its identification with his genius. Turkish ravages spread up to the very walls of Alessio and Scutari. In a few weeks 8,000 persons were carried into captivity. In all the land, it was written to Venice, the white turbans of the Moslems were conspicuous. John Castriot, who appears to have inherited little of his father's patriotism, and none of his energy, took ship for Trani with his mother and a host of other fugitives, and there founded the family of the Neapolitan Castriots, one of whose most prominent members fell at Pavia—if we are to believe Paulus Jovius—by the hand of Francis I. During many generations the stream of emigration continued to flow from the eastern to the western shore of the Adriatic, and it is estimated that the language, costume, and manners of the ancient Skipetars are still preserved in their purity by 86,000 individuals, dwelling in separate communities in Sicily and Southern Italy.

Albania now lay at the Sultan's feet. Nevertheless, the diversion effected by his Persian wars retarded for some years the formal completion of its conquest, and it was not until June 15, 1478, that Croya, thenceforward known as Ak-Hissar (the 'White Castle'), fell into the power of the Osmanlis. The history of the land from that day to this may be comprised in two words—revolt and reconquest. Revolt and reconquest each in turn partially successful, and both combining to foster and perpetuate the recklessness of the most elementary social obligations, which has always opposed, and still continues to oppose, an insuperable obstacle to the moral and civil progress of the Albanian people. A change, however, is now plainly approaching. Notwithstanding the recent success of Dervish Pasha in crushing the futile organisation of the Albanian League, it must be evi-

dent to all who will take the trouble to scan the horizon of the future, that the detachment of Albania from the Turkish Empire is an event neither to be averted nor long postponed. The question, then, as to its destiny is not merely of speculative interest, but of considerable practical moment. It will soon belong to Europe to decide whether the land of Scanderbeg is to be abandoned to disorder, or started on the road of progress. The cry of 'oppressed nationalities' is the shibboleth of a party whose heated imaginations regard fancies rather than facts. The principle advocated by them, taken absolutely, is undoubtedly opposed to the noblest traditions of European culture, and may not improbably prove fatal to the civilisation it professes to invoke. Not community of descent alone, but unity of history and nobility of institutions, confer the dignity, and claim the privileges of a nation. 'Autonomy' is a benefit conditional on the character of the organisation which it serves to shelter and develope. Independence becomes an evil, and ceases to be a right, when destructive anarchy, not peaceful progress, is fostered by its sway.

Now Albania has none of the qualities requisite to form a united nation. It has no coherence, geographical, political, social, or religious. Strategically it is divided by the track of the old Candavian road into two portions, eminently suited indeed for detailed resistance, but incapable of mutual succour. Between the various Albanian towns and the Turkish commercial centres in the interior of the Balkan peninsula, a far closer connexion exists than between one Albanian town and another. All the main lines of communication, whether for trade or travel, run east and west instead of north and south. It is a country whose various members seem related to each other not by organic subordination, but by accidental juxtaposition.* This fragmentary character is shared by its population. The torrent of the Skumbi now separates Tosks from Ghegs, as, in the days of Strabo, it separated Epirots from Illyrians, and between Tosks and Ghegs, notwithstanding their close affinity in blood and language, there reigns a fierce hereditary animosity, constantly available, and frequently availed of, for their mutual subjugation. Nor do either Tosks or Ghegs constitute a homogeneous people. Each of the two main branches of the Skipetar race is subdivided into a number of separate tribes, forming so many little states apart, whose frequently hostile relations are regarded not in the light of civil discord, but of foreign war.

* Hahn, '*Albanesische Studien*,' p. 1.

Nor is the diffusion of the Albanian race coextensive with the Albanian territory. In the south the Greek element prevails. Joannina is virtually a Greek town; the Greek tongue is the language of commerce and culture; the Greek religion is professed by the entire Christian population. In the north the adulterating admixture is Slav, while industrious colonies of Wallachs occupy the crests and slopes of Pindus. On the other hand, some 200,000 Skipetars of the Tosk family dwell on the soil of Hellas itself—according to one view the remnant of a pre-Hellenic settlement, but, by a more probable theory, the representatives of migrations dating from the historical period. Albania is not more homogeneous religiously than ethnologically. It need occasion no surprise to find that the great mass of a people amongst whom the short creed of the sword is current, should have preferred apostasy to persecution. Some noble examples of martyrdom, both among priests and their flocks, can, however, be set against the general conformity of the Albanians to Mahometanism, and the great tribes of the Miridites, inhabiting a large portion of Scanderbeg's patrimony, and of the Malisores, dwelling in the alpine land north of the Drin, have preserved, with a semi-savage independence, the Catholic faith of their ancestors. Statistics exhibit 70 per cent. of the entire population as professors of Islamism, 21 as Greek, and 9 per cent. as Roman Catholics.* These last are found exclusively in Upper Albania, which has, since the year 1250, remained true to Rome.

The solution of the Albanian question which events seem to be preparing, and which rational politics commend, is, in our opinion, an Austrian protectorate over that portion of the country lying north of the Skumbi, and a Greek occupation of all to the south of the line of demarcation, which, it must be remembered, separates hostile races as well as rival churches. We are far from asserting that this allotment of their territory would satisfy the majority of the inhabitants, whose aspirations naturally tend towards the unlimited opportunities for free fighting offered by unshackled freedom. But a comity of civilised nations cannot be expected to give its deliberate sanction to chaotic misrule, nor a comity of Christian nations to permit a Mahometan majority to retain their Christian fellow-countrymen in a condition either of social

* Gopčević, '*Ober-Albanien und seine Liga*,' p. 89, a book whose value, otherwise considerable, is much impaired by the undissembled prejudices, personal, national, and sectarian, of the writer.

degradation, like that of the traders of Scutari, or of barbarous isolation, like that of the mountain tribes of Ghegaria. By her patronage of the educational efforts of Roman missionaries, Austria already enjoys a considerable amount of influence in Upper Albania, and an Austrian occupation would be eagerly welcomed by a considerable section of the people. A similar kind and extent of popularity (though due, perhaps, to less disinterested action), belongs to Greece in the Epirot regions; while the hostile influences are, in each case, such as might be expected to lose their vitality with time, aided by the reconciling pressure of accomplished facts.

ART. III.—1. *The Qur'ān*, translated by E. H. PALMER (vols. vi. and ix. of the Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max Müller). Oxford (Clarendon Press): 1880.

2. *El-Kor'ān, or The Korān*, translated from the Arabic, the Suras arranged in chronological order, with Notes and Index, by J. M. RODWELL, M.A. 2nd edition. London: 1876.

3. *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, translated into English immediately from the Original Arabic, with Explanatory Notes, taken from the most approved commentators: to which is prefixed a Preliminary Discourse. By GEORGE SALE, Gent. London: 1734.

4. *Selections from the Kur-ān*, by EDWARD WILLIAM LANE. New Edition, with an Introduction by STANLEY LANE POOLE. London: 1879.

5. *Corani Textus Arabicus*, recensuit GUSTAVUS FLUEGEL. Editio stereotypa tertium emendata. Lipsiæ: 1869.

THERE is probably no book that is more talked about and less read than the Korān. As one of the great classics of the world, the Mohammedan Bible commands the same superficial acquaintance as 'Paradise Lost,' and, like the English epic, is the subject of those commonplaces of conversation which people think are due to standard books which they have not read. There are very few educated persons who have not an opinion about the Korān, but not one of a thousand who cheerfully criticise it has ever given it an hour of ordinary study. It is not unusual to hear the rare beings who have actually read the Korān through take to themselves considerable credit for their perseverance; but the difficulty of the

task hardly justifies this self-gratulation. The whole Korān, estimated by the number of verses, is only two-thirds the length of the New Testament, and, if we omit the numerous stories of the Jewish patriarchs, we have no more to read than the Gospels and Acts together. The Sunday edition of the 'New York Herald' is three times as long. On the score of length there is no excuse for not reading the Korān: it is rather the style and character of the contents that deter ordinary readers. The Korān has suffered, just as the Bible has gained, by an authorised version. Sale's translation has hitherto been practically the sole source of our knowledge, or ignorance, of the Korān in England. It had the advantage of a century of priority over all other English translations, and even when others appeared, it still held its place as the accepted version for general reading. It is not a bad translation, but it is an insufferably dull one. The renderings are, as a rule, fairly accurate; but Sale's want of literary skill, his inability to reproduce in the smallest degree the effect of the Arabic, and his dreary manner of arranging the verses and paragraphs—wherein the tired eye searches vainly for a pause or resting-place, the well-prized white line which shows that the writer took fresh breath now and then, and gives the reader leave to do likewise—make his translation one of the most wearisome of all books, even among those 'which every gentleman's library should possess.' It is difficult to read, and impossible to understand, Sale's Korān, if to understand is to grasp the drift and character of a book; and on Sale's well-meaning but prosaic work must be laid much of the responsibility for the prevailing distaste for the Korān. This cause, however, ought not to continue still in effect. There are now versions of the Korān which are not only easy to read, but replete with poetic inspiration. Mr. Rodwell's translation is full of beauty, and ought to be much wider known than it is. In this for the first time the results of German criticism are utilised for the arrangement of the various chapters of the Korān in an approximately chronological order. One of the chief drawbacks to Sale's version is the order of the chapters. Sale retained the arrangement, universal among Mohammedans, which the most superficial student perceives at once to be unscientific and destructive to the proper comprehension of the Sacred Book. The Mohammedan arrangement is regulated by the simple principle of putting the long chapters first, and gradually fining down to the shortest chapters. In other words, the Mohammedan arrangement inverts the true order of the chapters, for the shortest are almost universally the oldest, and the

longest the latest. But as this general rule does not hold good in every instance, chapters of the most diverse dates are placed side by side, to the ruin of all sequence in style or thought. It was this preposterous arrangement that made Carlyle think the Korān ‘a wearisome, confused jumble, crude, ‘incondite; endless iterations, long-windedness, entanglement; ‘most crude, incondite;—insupportable stupidity, in short!’ As soon as the mechanical arrangement is set aside, and a fairly chronological order substituted, the chaotic impression disappears. For ourselves we do not think the Korān at all an incomprehensible jumble, but believe we can trace a clearly progressive development in thought and language. But we admit that this could not be traced in Sale’s version, and at present Mr. Rodwell’s alone presents the approximately true order. One might have thought that this decided advance in translation would have made the Korān more generally known, and that readers would have been attracted by the bold imagery and fine bursts of real poetry which Mr. Rodwell’s version brings into prominence. Such, however, has not been the case. Another attempt was made, in a different direction, to induce those who had been deterred from the study of Sale’s Korān by its length and confusion, to acquire some knowledge of the sacred book in a less troublesome manner. Lane’s ‘Selections’ were arranged under subjects; all that was objectionable in general reading was excised; and the interminable histories of the Israelite patriarchs were reduced to a connected narrative. Many who had been foiled in their laudable efforts to master Sale were able to learn something of the Korān and its author from these ‘Selections;’ but the loss which is entailed by the neglect of the chronological order is hardly repaired by the convenience in reference and analysis which undoubtedly belongs to the arrangement according to subjects. Lane’s ‘Selections’ are the best means of learning the drift of the Korān that the general reader possesses: but he cannot gain from them that insight into the development of Mohammed’s thought and the growth of Islām which a chronologically arranged book of extracts or typical chapters would have afforded.

Finally Professor E. H. Palmer, who has a rare gift of language, and understands the art of reproducing Arabian effects in English words as no other Englishman does, has translated the Korān for Professor Max Müller’s series of ‘Sacred Books of the East.’ Mr. Palmer’s version is undoubtedly the best that has yet appeared. His intimate acquaintance with the modes of thought and expression of the

modern Bedouin enables him to give a peculiar life and reality to his translation. His Korān reads like the words of a living Arab—words which we might hear ourselves any day in the desert—not dead utterances of the past. There is a stiffness about the earlier versions which mars their effect. One feels that they are the result of laborious study of a difficult language, which no longer lives in men's lips, but is as dead as the tongue of the Vedas. It is quite different with Mr. Palmer's work. He knows the people to whom the Korān was spoken, for the modern Arab is little changed from his forefather of Mohammed's day. He knows the language of the Korān as a medium of common everyday intercourse, for an Arab now will speak in moments of excitement and enthusiasm the same burning words that came red-hot from Mohammed's lips. Mr. Palmer has realised the fact that, though all language changes—and Arabic has undergone many corruptions since the first promulgation of Islām—the continuity is not broken, and the Arabic of the Korān still exists in all its essential characteristics in the present day. It is this which gives his translation a freshness and buoyancy which we may seek in vain elsewhere. For the first time we feel that the words we read in the Korān came straight from a man's heart, and begin to understand the power of Mohammed's influence, and the fascination of his eloquence. It is no longer a standard classic that we study, but a living revelation that we hear.

But Mr. Palmer's principle of translating the Korān as if it were the speech of a modern Bedawy has its drawbacks. Although it has always been held up as the model of Arabic style, the Korān contains many expressions which it is difficult to regard as anything else than vulgarisms. Mohammed, as an unlettered man, naturally addressed his countrymen in their common everyday speech, and it is not surprising to find a certain proportion of what is called 'slang' in his language. Mr. Palmer's mistake is not in admitting this, but in trying to reproduce it. The impression produced upon an audience in Mekka by certain vulgar expressions which were in everyday use is quite different from that produced upon the educated readers for whom Mr. Palmer's translation is intended by corresponding vulgarisms in English. To us the occurrence of such phrases as Mr. Palmer intentionally introduces has something of the effect that the insertion of a music-hall melody in a symphony of Beethoven's would produce. To the original audience the 'slang' expressions were part of their own speech and excited no remark. We, however, do not use

‘slang’ expressions, and when we meet with them in books, especially sacred books, they jar upon our literary sense. Mr. Palmer attempts the task—an impossible one we admit—of producing the same impression upon English readers as was produced upon the original audience by Mohammed’s own rhetoric; and he fails in the attempt because he forgets that the audiences are wholly dissimilar, and that what would strike a rude Arab in a given manner would have a totally different effect upon a cultivated reader. Mr. Palmer’s theory would only apply if the readers of his translation were entirely of the lowest classes; as they are obviously almost wholly restricted to the educated classes, the theory breaks down and offers an impediment, instead of an aid, to the due appreciation of the Korān. It would be easy to select instances of what we refer to from almost every page of this translation, but the very frequency of the fault renders examples unnecessary. Every reader of Mr. Palmer’s Korān will find his attention perpetually distracted from the meaning by the peculiarity of the language; and in such passages as we shall quote examples of this defect will inevitably appear.

Another characteristic of the new translation which interferes at once with its clearness and literary excellence is its excessive literalness. Mr. Palmer is continually striving after two ideals; one is to render every word by the primary meaning of the root, and the other is to retain the order of the Arabic sentence in the English version. The first aim is against the genius of the Arabic language. No tongue possesses greater flexibility of signification than the Arabic, and it is astonishing what diversity of meaning is expressed by a single root and its derivations. By endeavouring to reduce all these meanings to the primary signification of the root, Mr. Palmer sometimes loses the actual sense of a passage, and commonly renders a perfectly lucid expression incomprehensible to any but a philologist. In its least serious aspect, this practice destroys any grace of style and diminishes the pleasure of the reader. The other attempt, to retain the order of the original Arabic, is even less justifiable. We believe a clergyman is at present engaged in translating the New Testament word for word from the Greek in the order of the original. Such a work might serve the purpose of a dull candidate for a pass examination, in which the Greek Testament was expected to be construed; but it would hardly merit the name of a translation. Mr. Browning has tried the same fatal experiment on the ‘Agamemnon’ of Æschylus. Anyone can see the absurdity of the principle when applied to Greek, but in Arabic it

is even more ridiculous, in proportion as the difference of idiom is greater between Arabic and English than between English and Greek. The practical effect of Mr. Palmer's adoption of this principle is that his translation contains a larger proportion of awkward sentences than any other, and the reader's attention is directed rather to the attempt to rearrange inverted clauses than to extract the meaning from their contorted members.

With all his striving after literal accuracy, however, it is impossible to acquit Professor Palmer of carelessness. As he insists so strongly on his principles of primary meaning and original order in cases where his adherence to them grates most harshly on ear and understanding, we have a right to expect him to carry the principle consistently through his translation. This he does not do. It seems a matter of chance whether or not he elects to keep to the Arabic order or to consult the exigencies of English style; and in spite of his resolution to render the same Arabic word as far as possible by one English word we find the same expression or phrase translated in various different ways on its several recurrences. Mr. Palmer appears to have thrown himself into the spirit of his original so completely as to have acquired the oriental habit of disorder and inconsistency. There are countless contradictions and confusions in his work which ought to have been eliminated by his own theory of a literal translation. The truth, however, would seem to be that the work was done in a hurry, and insufficiently revised. We have noticed innumerable instances of little words in the original neglected (clearly inadvertently) in the translation, and similarly words inserted in the latter which are not to be found in the Arabic; and occasionally a whole clause of the Korān has dropped out of the translation. These are not matters of opinion—like vulgarisms and literal renderings—but unmistakable faults, and in a future edition they ought to be remedied. A book of the importance of the Korān, in a series of such excellence and value as that of the 'Sacred Books of the East,' should bear no traces of haste and immaturity.

When all has been said, however, as to Mr. Palmer's peculiar theory of translation and the faults in his execution, it must frankly be allowed that his Korān marks a new era in our knowledge of the Bible of Islām. Apart from the Eastern glow which is for the first time retained in a translation, Mr. Palmer's unrivalled instinct for the thoughts and ideas of the Arab has led him often to a new and luminous rendering of a passage which his predecessors had failed to bring out. Scholars will

not invariably accept his innovations, but as a rule they impress us with their clear common sense and reasonableness, not less than with the genius for Eastern interpretation which they reveal. Without throwing off entirely the influence of traditional interpretation, Mr. Palmer releases himself from the narrow bonds of commentators' intelligence, and lets his own clear sense and his knowledge of the speech and thought of modern Arabs throw their practical light upon the subject. And as a result he has produced a translation of the Korān which, with not a few faults, and in our opinion certain radically erroneous principles, is yet the first successful reproduction in tone and spirit of the sacred book of the Muslims that has been done in English. We see the Arabian Prophet and his preaching, it is true, 'in a mirror, darkly;' but, in spite of a badly polished surface and many specks and dints, it is still a mirror, and reflects the Korān in its due proportions. Previous translations, excellent in many ways, and in some superior to this one, have been rather copies or adaptations than true reflections.

The appearance of the new translation under the favouring auspices of Professor Max Müller and the Clarendon Press will probably induce a few readers to try to realise what the Korān actually contains. We have read several important treatises on what the Korān borrowed from earlier sources and like subjects of theologico-antiquarian interest, but we do not remember to have seen anywhere a clear reckoning of the net result of Mohammed's teaching in the Korān, which is practically the main point for the world at large. How much of the present Mohammedan religion is clearly laid down in the Korān; how far modern Mohammedan law is definitely enacted in the Korān; did Mohammed in the Korān recognise the necessity of the adaptation of his religion to changed circumstances?—these are among the questions that most deeply concern us, and these can be answered by a moderately industrious study of Professor Palmer's translation. To understand, however, the drift of Mohammed's teaching, and avoid the danger of falling into the pernicious habit of taking isolated 'texts' for doctrine which has been the destruction of too many Muslim as well as Christian divines, it is essential to view the Korān as far as possible as a connected whole, and judge each sentence by its context, and each chapter by its neighbours. This, however, cannot be done in Mr. Palmer's version, since, by what we can only regard as a lamentable error of judgment, he has disregarded the results of recent research, and, instead of arranging the Korān in the approximately chronological order

which has been established by Nöldeke, has preferred to retain the unreasonable and confusing order in common use among Muslims. His argument is doubtless that what we want to read is the Korān as it is read by Mohammedans, not the Korān as scholars prefer to read it.

If there were any reasonable method in the Mohammedan arrangement, this argument might perhaps be allowed, but there is none, as any knowledge of the original redaction of the Korān might show. The Arabic text was collected in a purely haphazard fashion, in which the only discoverable merit is fidelity. We may safely assert that the present text contains nothing but the words of Mohammed; but we can assert nothing else in its favour. The original editors deserve all credit for their honesty and scrupulous care in gathering all that could be surely proved to have been spoken by Mohammed, and adding nothing of their own; but beyond this it is impossible to congratulate them. Their task was undoubtedly a difficult one. Mohammed's revelations were spoken during a long period, and often in short fragments. Sometimes the whole of a chapter (as we now have it) was spoken at one time, but very often only a few verses were uttered, and other fragments were afterwards added, occasionally with instructions from the Prophet himself that they were to be inserted in such or such a chapter, but frequently without any such instructions. These verses and chapters were not arranged, or even in many cases written down, at the time of the Prophet's death, and it was not till war began to diminish the number of those who had committed portions of the Korān to memory that the Muslims perceived on how perishable a foundation their sacred book was built. It was then, after much misgiving at so serious an innovation, that they determined to collect the fragments of the Korān 'from palm-leaves, skins, blade-bones, and the hearts of men.' The Prophet's amanuensis, Zeyd ibn Thābit, undertook this important task under the rule of Abu-Bekr, the first Khalif. He gathered together all that could be remembered, or found in written form, of Mohammed's words, and determined (on what principles it is now impossible to ascertain) what verses belonged to any given chapter. The date at which most of the chapters were spoken was apparently forgotten; at all events, Zeyd could think of no better arrangement than that of length, and he accordingly placed the longest chapters first and the shortest last, prefixing the short prayer known as the Fātihah, as chapter i. It may be doubted whether Zeyd would have adopted a chronological order even if the precise date of every chapter had been known to him; for he did know that

certain chapters were spoken at Mekka and others at Medina—that is to say, in the first and the second half of Mohammed's career—yet he mixed them indiscriminately together, and generally placed the Medina or later chapters in the earlier part of the book. Zeyd's edition is practically the Korān as we have it now. A second redaction was indeed made some twenty years later, in which Zeyd himself took part, but this was rather to settle some disputed points of pronunciation and dialectal differences than to amend the substance of the text; and no subsequent alterations have been made. We may therefore take it for granted that the present Arabic Korān is practically identical with the edition which was drawn up a few years after Mohammed's death, and which commended itself to the majority of his companions and disciples.

These disciples and friends, however, had various advantages over modern readers. They knew the Prophet personally, and did not require to be told how his teaching developed and his style changed. Indeed they would have repudiated any theory of development. Their Prophet was always infallible to them, and they would allow no progress or deterioration in his revelations. All equally came down from God, copied from the great 'Mother of the Book,' which lies open before the Throne, and was written before all ages. To them there was no importance in determining the age of the various portions of the revelation. It all came from the same divine source, and what did a year earlier or later signify? The same opinion would be expressed by almost every Muslim in the present day. With the exception of a few commentators, whose business is to find matter to comment on, Mohammedans care no more for the date of a chapter in the Korān than a good Evangelical Christian does for the age of Deuteronomy or the Canticles. But because the faithful decline to pry into the constitution and growth of their sacred books, is it necessary that students who are not believers in the particular revelation should be compelled to bewilder themselves with the unscientific and chaotic arrangement which satisfies the believer? To us the interest of the Korān is many-sided, and not the least important side is the light it throws on the character of Mohammed. In the common arrangement, however, it is almost impossible to glean any impressions on the Prophet's character and mental changes; it is even difficult to conceive of the strange medley as the work of one man. To present a book in this form to students of the religions of the world, for whom the series of 'Sacred Books of the East' is designed, is surely a mistake, if a scientific order can be dis-

covered by which the fragments become an organic whole and the Prophet's voice becomes clear and coherent.

That such a scientific order is possible has been conclusively shown by a German professor, who possesses in a peculiar degree the instinct of language, and may without flattery be acknowledged the most remarkable genius among Arabic scholars that Germany has produced. Nöldeke's '*Geschichte des Qorāns*' settled practically for ever the question of the chronological order of the Korān; it is not probable that any very marked advance will be made beyond his profound and *scharfsinnig* work. To detail the evidences upon which his conclusions are based would carry us too far; but it may be stated that they consist chiefly of indications derived from a minute study of the style and vocabulary of the Korān. External evidence is almost wholly wanting except in respect of the later or Medina chapters; nor are the apparent references within the work to passing events sufficiently explicit to prove of much service. The language is the only test which may be trusted thoroughly and throughout. A very cursory reading of the Korān will show anyone that there is a marked difference of style between some chapters and others. It is this difference that Prof. Nöldeke laid hold of and examined until a definite progression of style became visible. An aid in this investigation is found in the rhyme. Mohammed did not speak in poetry, nor precisely in prose. Poetry indeed he detested, and the only verse he ever uttered, and that involuntarily, is a very bad one. No part of the Korān conforms to the exigencies of Arabian prosody. Yet it is not plain prose, but rather a rhetorical form of prose which has much of the character of poetry without its metrical restraints. The words fall into short clauses (in the earlier chapters) which balance one another more or less musically, and the last words generally rhyme together. As time went on these clauses became longer and longer, and the rhyme underwent various modifications, till the latest chapters become almost plain prose. It is easy to understand how valuable a guide the variations in the rhyme and the length of the verses must be in an investigation into the dates of the component parts of the Korān. From these evidences Prof. Nöldeke has not only been able to determine the chronological position of most of the chapters, but even to decide when verses have been interpolated (by the original editor) in a chapter of a different date. In very few cases, however, is it possible to fix the precise sequence of the chapters, or the exact year in which they were first spoken. All that can be done is to arrange

them in certain groups, each of which belongs to a limited period ; but we cannot as a rule state the position each chapter should occupy within its proper group. The four groups, however, into which Nöldeke divides the 114 chapters enable the student to gain nearly as coherent an impression of the gradual development of the doctrine and style of Mohammed as if the order were more minutely detailed.

Some knowledge of the main facts of Mohammed's life is necessary, in order to understand the relations of the various groups of the Korān chapters to the history of Islām and the spiritual vicissitudes of its founder. It is not our purpose to enter elaborately into the narrative of Mohammed's career, fascinating as it must be to all who can sympathise with the struggles and doubts and ecstasies of an enthusiast for divine truth. The Prophet's life has been often told, well and badly, and we have now only to do with the bare outline. Mohammed came of the noble tribe of the Koreysh, which had raised Mekka to its high position as the capital of the Hijaz, and though the branch to which the future Prophet belonged had fallen from its position as chief of the tribe to a condition of poverty, it still maintained something of its ancient influence and dignity among its kindred. Of Mohammed's early years very little is known. He was born in 571, became an orphan at a very early age, and was adopted by his paternal grandfather. His childhood and youth were passed in obscurity. He tended the sheep of his kinsfolk on the neighbouring pastures, and accompanied the Syrian caravans of the rich cousin whom he afterwards married. The general opinion entertained of him by his contemporaries is expressed in the name they gave him—El-Amīn, or 'the Trusty;' but beyond this evidence of uprightness there is nothing recorded that gives any indication of his future greatness.

' Mohammed was full forty before he felt himself called to be an apostle to his people. If he did not actually worship the local deities of the place, at least he made no public protest against the fetish worship of the Koreysh. Yet in the several phases of his life, in his contact with traders, in his association with Zeyd and other men, he had gained an insight into better things than idols and human sacrifices, divining arrows, and mountains, and stars. He had heard a dim echo of some "religion of Abraham;" he had listened to the stories of the Haggadah; he knew a very little about Jesus of Nazareth. He seems to have suffered long under the burden of doubt and self-distrust. He used to wander about the hills, alone, brooding over these things; he shunned the society of men, and solitude became a passion to him.

' At length came the crisis. He was spending the sacred months on Mount Hira, "a huge barren rock, torn by cleft and hollow ravine,

“ standing out solitary in the full white glare of the desert sun,—shadowless, flowerless, without well or rill.” Here in a cave Mohammed gave himself up to prayer and fasting. Long months or even years of doubt had increased his nervous excitable disposition. He had had, they say, cataleptic fits during his childhood, and was evidently more delicately and finely constituted than those around him. Given this nervous nature, and the grim solitude of the hill where he had almost lived for long weary months, blindly feeling after some truth upon which to rest his soul, it is not difficult to believe the Tradition of the Cave—that Mohammed heard a voice say “ Cry ! ” “ What shall I cry ? ” he answers—the question that has been burning his heart during all his mental struggles :—

‘ Cry ! in the name of thy Lord, who created,
Created man from blood.
Cry ! for thy Lord is the Bountifullest !
Who taught the pen,
Taught man what he did not know.’ *

‘ Mohammed arose trembling, and went to Khadījah, and told her what he had heard; and she did her woman’s part, and believed in him and soothed his terror and bade him hope for the future. Yet he could not believe in himself. Was he not perhaps mad, possessed by a devil ? Were these voices of a truth from God ? And so he went again on his solitary wanderings, hearing strange sounds, and thinking them at one time the testimony of Heaven, at another the temptings of Satan or the ravings of madness. Doubting, wondering, hoping, he had fain put an end to a life which had become intolerable in its changings from the heaven of hope to the hell of despair; when again he heard the voice, “ Thou art the messenger of God, and I am Gabriel.” Conviction at length seized hold upon him; he was indeed to bring a message of good tidings to the Arabs, the message of God through His angel Gabriel. He went back to Khadījah exhausted in mind and body. “ Wrap me, wrap me,” he said: and the word came to him †—

‘ O thou who art covered, rise up and warn !
And thy Lord magnify !
And thy garments purify !
And abomination shun !
And grant not favours to gain increase !
And thy Lord await ! ’

This was the second message that came to Mohammed, and thenceforward the revelations came frequently and almost continuously for twenty years. For ten years or more—the

* These verses form the beginning of chapter xcvi. of the Korān; the rest consists of verses added at a later period.

† Lane, ‘ Selections from the Kur-ān,’ Introduction, xlii–xliv. The verses just following form the beginning of chapter xxiv. of the Koran: other verses were subsequently added.

chronology before the Hijrah is very uncertain—he preached in season and out of season to his fellow-townsmen. At first he addressed his relations, and those of his own house were the first to believe in him. Then he exhorted the people publicly to turn to the One God and work righteousness. He did not immediately attack the idol worship of the Koreysh, but rather invited them to acknowledge a supreme God whose power and glory could not be put in the same balance with the influence of the gods of the Kaaba,—that sacred temple of Mekka, wherein six hundred idols drew worshippers from the country round, to the no small advantage of the guardians thereof. Mohammed's exhortations were received at first with that incredulous curiosity with which a novel doctrine is commonly regarded. The people took him for a soothsayer, such as they had often amused themselves with listening to before; or else as a mad poet, possessed perhaps with an evil spirit. They could not be induced to treat the matter seriously, and very few gave in their adherence to the reformed religion—new it was not, as Mohammed himself was ever insisting, and as they knew from what previous religious reformers had said. Still, be this doctrine the religion of Abraham and the prophets or not, it did not attract the Mekkans. Some of the lowest orders joined Mohammed, but scarcely any of the wealthy and influential merchants of the city. A few relations, one man of consequence, and a score or so of slaves and beggars, formed the pitiful total of converts after three years of constant, unwearied effort. In the fifth year even these were compelled to desert their Prophet. The Mekkans began to see the danger of the new faith in menacing the position of Mekka as the religious focus of the surrounding tribes. If people accepted this doctrine of only one God, the importance of the Kaaba would vanish and no worshippers would come to the Mekkan temple and enrich the city with their offerings and alms. Mohammed had become more and more plain in his denunciation of idols; his tolerance for the old forms had disappeared, and he was hurling vehement denunciations at those who refused to turn from their idols and serve the living God. The Koreysh took counsel together, and resolved to put an end to the conversions, few as they had been. They tortured and persecuted the unhappy slaves who had embraced Islām, as Mohammed called his creed; and Mekka soon became unbearable to all who were not protected by powerful kindred. It was in the fifth year of his preaching that Mohammed sent away fifteen of his little flock to Abyssinia—‘a land of righteousness, wherein no man is wronged.’ They were kindly received by

the Christian king, and fresh converts followed them in the next year, till they numbered more than a hundred. The story of their vindication of their sect before the king, in answer to the messengers whom the disappointed Koreysh had sent to Abyssinia to demand their extradition, well illustrates the character of Mohammed's teaching at this time. The king sent for the Muslims, and in a full assembly of his bishops asked them to explain their flight from Mekka. Then one of them answered and said :—

‘ O King ! we lived in ignorance, idolatry, and unchastity ; the strong oppressed the weak ; we spoke untruth ; we violated the duties of hospitality. Then a prophet arose, one whom we knew from our youth, with whose descent and conduct and good faith and morality we were all well acquainted. He told us to worship one God, to speak truth, to keep good faith, to assist our relations, to fulfil the rights of hospitality, and to abstain from all things impure, ungodly, unrighteous ; and he ordered us to say prayers, give alms, and to fast. We believed in him, and followed him. But our countrymen persecuted us, tortured us, and tried to cause us to forsake our religion. And now we throw ourselves upon thy protection. Wilt thou not protect us ? ’

And he recited a part of the Korān which spoke of Christ, and the king and the bishops wept upon their beards. And the king dismissed the ambassadors of the Koreysh and would not give up the refugees.

Meanwhile Mohammed remained in Mekka with the scanty remnant of his disciples. The Koreysh, foiled in their designs upon the inferior class of the believers, began to direct their insults at the Prophet himself. Any attempt upon his life was to be deprecated, for his family, though not of his opinions, were not the less bound by the tie of kinship to protect and avenge him, and the blood-feud was not a thing to be lightly risked. But men of note now began to join the ranks of the despised Muslims. Hamza, ‘ the Lion of God,’ a mighty warrior, and the fierce Omar, afterwards Khalif, became converted ; and in the sixth year of his mission Mohammed found himself surrounded no longer by a crowd of slaves, but by a band of tried swordsmen, chiefs of great families, and leaders in the councils of Mekka. The Muslims no longer held secret meetings, but invaded the Kaaba itself, and performed the rites of their religion in the face of the whole city. Stronger measures were resolved on. An attempt had been made to induce Abū-Tālib, the head of Mohammed's family, the Benū-Hāshim, to repudiate his nephew ; and the aged chief, moved by the prospect of civil war, had sent for Mohammed and begged him ‘ not to cast upon him a burden heavier than he

‘could bear.’ The Prophet believed that at last even his kind protector, who had held him in a son’s place, and ever stood at his side, was about to desert him; but his courage did not falter. ‘Though they should set the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left to persuade me, yet while God commands me I will not renounce my purpose.’ And he burst into tears and turned to go forth from the house that was no longer his home. But Abū-Tālib called aloud, ‘Son of my brother, come back.’ So he came. And he said, ‘Depart in peace, my nephew, and say what thou wilt; for, by the Lord, I will never deliver thee up.’

The Koreysh had, therefore, to deal with the whole clan of the Benū-Hāshim. They placed them under a ban, and swore that they would not marry with them, nor buy nor sell with them, nor hold with them any communication whatever. For two years the whole family remained in their own quarter, too few and too poor to engage in a contest with their persecutors. Only one man of them refused to cast in his lot with Mohammed, though most of them held him to be mistaken in his teaching. Very few converts could be made during this time of excommunication, and probably there were scarcely twelve Muslims of influence who held by Mohammed in those years of distress and famine. At length the better spirits among the Koreysh were ashamed of their work, and revolted at the suffering they were inflicting on a family that had deserved so well of the state, and five chiefs rose up and put on their armour and went to the ravine where the Benū-Hāshim were shut up and bade them come forth. But though the ban was removed, other and heavier troubles now fell upon Mohammed. His aged protector, Abū-Tālib, died, and Khadīja, the faithful wife who had ever believed in him and comforted him, was also taken away. He was alone in the world. All Mekka was against him; hope was almost dead within him. He tried whether, though his own city rejected him, another place might welcome him. He journeyed seventy miles to Et-Taïf, and told the people his message. They stoned him for three miles from the town.

‘Bleeding and fainting, he paused to rest in an orchard, to recover strength before he went back to the insults of his own people. The owners of the place sent him some grapes; and he gathered up his strength once more, and bent his weary feet towards Mekka. On the way, as he slept, his fancy called up a strange dream: men had rejected him, and now he thought he saw the Jinn, the spirits of the air, falling down and worshipping the One God, and bearing witness to the truth of Islām. Heartened by the vision, he pushed on; and when Zeyd

asked him if he did not fear to throw himself again into the hands of the Koreysh, he answered, "God will protect His religion and help His prophet."

But though Mekka and Taïf rejected him, the time was at hand when a city should receive him with joy. Some men from Yethrib—soon to be known as Medina, or Medinat-en-Nebi, 'the Prophet's city'—came to Mekka on pilgrimage, and, deeply impressed by Mohammed's preaching, carried back the tidings to their own people. Jews had paved the way for the new religion at Yethrib, conversions took place rapidly, and Islām took root there. At length an invitation came to Mohammed to come and take up his abode at Yethrib. Small companies of Muslims secretly fled from Mekka to the distant refuge. Whole quarters of the city became empty and deserted, 'a prey to woe and wind;' and finally but three believers remained—Mohammed and Ali and Abu-Bekr. The Koreysh, enraged at the escape of the sheep, resolved at least to kill the shepherd, but Mohammed and his faithful companions eluded their vigilance, and safely entered Medina. This is the Hijra, or 'Flight,' of Mohammed, from which the Muslims date their history, June 16, 622.

During these years of struggle and persecution at Mekka, ninety out of the 114 chapters of the Korān were revealed, amounting to about two-thirds of the whole book. All these chapters are inspired with but one great design, and are in strong contrast with the complicated character of the later chapters issued at Medina. In the Mekka chapters Mohammed appears in the unalloyed character of a prophet; he has not yet assumed the functions of a statesman and lawgiver. His object is not to give men a code or a constitution, but to call them to the worship of the One God. This is the only aim of the Mekkan speeches. There is hardly a word of other doctrines, scarcely anything of ritual, or social or penal regulations. Every chapter is directed simply to the grand design of the Prophet's life, to convince men of the unutterable majesty of the One God, who brooks no rivals. Mohammed appeals to the people to credit the evidence of their own eyes; he calls to witness the wonders of nature, the stars in their courses, the sun and the moon, the dawn cleaving asunder the dark veil of night, the life-giving rain, the fruits of the earth, life and death, change and decay, beginning and ending—all are 'signs of God's power, if only ye would understand.' Or he tells the people how it happened to older generations, when prophets came to them and exhorted them to believe in One God and do righteousness, and they rejected them, and there fell

upon the unbelieving nation grievous woe. How was it with the people of Noah? he asks—they were drowned in the flood because they would not hearken to his words. And the people of the Cities of the Plain? And Pharaoh and his host? And the old tribes of the Arabs who would not hear the warnings of their prophets? One answer follows each—there came upon them a great calamity: ‘These are the true ‘stories,’ he cries, ‘and there is only One God! and yet ye ‘turn aside!’ Eloquent appeals to the signs of nature, threats of a day of reckoning to come, warnings drawn from the legends of the prophets, arguments for the truth and reality of the revelation, make up the substance of this first division of the Korān.

The whole series of Mekkan chapters, however, is by no means uniform. Nöldeke has traced three successive stages in the speeches before the flight, gradually approximating the style of the chapters which were published at Medina, or rather during the Medina period, for the names Mekkan and Medinite chapters must be understood merely in the sense of belonging to the periods before and after the Flight respectively, and do not imply the precise locality of their utterance. The first of the three stages contains the forty-eight chapters which Nöldeke, on various grounds, already briefly indicated, refers to the first four years of Mohammed’s mission—from his first sermon to the date of the Abyssinian emigration. The second consists of the speeches of the fifth and sixth years, twenty-one in number; and the third includes the remaining twenty-one which were spoken between the sixth year of the Prophet’s mission and his flight to Medina.

The chapters—or speeches as we prefer to call them, for at this period every chapter is a masterpiece of rhetoric—of the first group are the most striking in the whole Korān. It is in them that the poetry of the man comes out most articulately. Mohammed had not lived among the sheepfolds in vain, and spent long solitary nights gazing at the silent heaven and watching the dawn break over the mountains. This earliest portion of the Korān is one long blazonry of nature’s beauty. How can you believe in aught but the one omnipotent God when you see this glorious world around you and this wondrous tent of heaven above you? is Mohammed’s frequent question to his countrymen. ‘Lift up thine eyes to the ‘heavens: dost thou see any flaw therein? Nay, lift up thine ‘eyes again: thy sight returneth dim and dazed.’ We find little else than this appeal to the witness of nature in the first group of Mekkan orations. The Prophet was in too exalted a

state during these early years to stoop to argument; he rather seeks to dazzle the sense with brilliant images of God's workings in creation: 'Verily in the creation of the heavens and the earth are signs to you if ye would understand.' His sentences have a rhythmical ring, though they are not in true metre. The lines are very short, yet with a musical fall; and the meaning is often but half expressed. The Prophet seems impatiently to stop, as if he despaired of explaining himself: 'One feels the speaker has essayed a thing beyond words, and has suddenly discovered the impotence of language, and broken off with the sentence unfinished.' The style is throughout fiery and impassioned. The words are those of a man whose whole heart is bent on convincing, and they carry with them even now the impression of the burning vehemence with which they were originally hurled forth. These earliest speeches are generally short. They are pitched too high to be long maintained at their original level. We feel we have here to do with a poet, as well as a preacher, and that his poetry costs him too much to be spun out.

The simple creed of this early stage of Islām is set forth in many of these short speeches. Complicated dogma is nowhere to be found in the Korān, but its teaching is never more plain and simple than in such a chapter as that of 'The Territory' (i.e. of Mekka) (ch. xc.), which Mr. Rodwell renders as follows—Professor Palmer's version is less striking, and we are inclined to think he is wrong in his translation of the oath in the first verse:—

'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,*
 I swear by this territory!
 And in this territory thou dost dwell;
 And by sire and offspring!
 Surely in trouble have We created man.
 Thinketh he that no one hath any power over him?
 "I have wasted," saith he, "enormous riches."
 Thinketh he that no one regardeth him?
 Have We not made him eyes?
 And tongue and lips?
 And guided him to the two highways?
 Yet he attempted not the steep.
 And what shall teach thee what the steep is?
 It is—to ransom the captives,
 Or to feed, in the day of famine,
 The orphan who is near of kin, or the poor that lieth in the dust;

* This formula precedes every chapter of the Korān save one.

Besides, this—to be of those who believe, and enjoin steadfastness on each other, and enjoin compassion on each other :

These shall be the people of the right hand.

While they who disbelieve our signs

Shall be the people of the left—

Over them shall be a vault of fire ! ’

In exhorting to good deeds and the fear of God, Mohammed’s great weapon is the certainty of a day of retribution, and his great inducement to believers is the promise of reward in Paradise. The happiness of those who shall have the books of the records of their deeds given them in their right hands, and the baleful misery of those who shall receive their books in the left hand, are continually held before the eyes of the people. The judgment day is an ever-present reality to Mohammed. He is never weary of describing it in words of terror and abasement. He cannot find names enough to define it. It is the Hour, the mighty Day, the Inevitable, the great Calamity, the Smiting, the Overwhelming, the Difficult Day, the True Promised Day, the Day of Decision. Images fail him when he tries to describe its awfulness :—

‘ In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The Smiting !

What is the Smiting ?

And what shall make thee know what the Smiting is ?

The day when men shall be like scattered moths,

And the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool !

And as for him whose balance is heavy, he shall be in a well-pleasing life.

But as for him whose balance is light, his dwelling shall be the pit of hell.

And who shall make thee know what it is ?—

A burning fire ! ’ (Ch. ci.) *

And again :—

‘ In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

When the heaven is cleft asunder,

And when the stars are scattered,

And when the seas gush together,

And when the tombs are turned upside down,

The soul shall know what it has sent on or kept back !

O man ! what has seduced thee concerning thy generous Lord,

* We have taken the liberty of dividing Professor Palmer’s translation into the verses of the original. His principle of arrangement in paragraphs destroys to some extent the poetical impression of the early chapters. The following extracts are, with one or two exceptions, taken from his translation.

Who created thee, and fashioned thee, and gave thee symmetry,
 And in what form he pleased composed thee?
 Nay, but ye call the judgment a lie!
 But over you are guardians set,
 Noble, writing down;
 They know what ye do!
 Verily the righteous are in pleasure,
 And verily the wicked are in hell;
 They shall broil therein upon the judgment day;
 Nor shall they be absent therefrom!
 And what shall make thee know what is the judgment day?
 Again, what shall make thee know what is the judgment day!
 A day when no soul shall control aught for another; and the bidding on that day belongs to God.' (Ch. lxxxii.)

Few finer examples of Mohammed's appeal to the testimony of nature can be cited than the 'Chapter of the Merciful' (lv.) in which he recounts the everyday sights of the earth and sky, and in a refrain demands of men and genii which of the bounties of their Lord will they two deny? It is the *Benedicite* of Islām, and deserves to be given in full in Professor Palmer's spirited rendering, but we have only space for an extract:—

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
 The Merciful taught the Korān,
 He created man and taught him plain speech.
 The sun and the moon in their appointed time,
 The herbs and the trees adore,
 And the heavens he raised them and set the balance that ye should
 not be outrageous in the balance,
 But weigh ye aright and stint not the balance.
 And the earth, he has set it for living creatures:
 Therein are fruits, and palms with sheaths, and grain with chaff and
 frequent shoots.
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?
 He created man of crackling clay like the potters, and he created the
 jinn from smokeless fire.
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?
 The Lord of the two easts and the Lord of the two wests,
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?
 He has let loose the two seas, that met together, between them is a
 barrier they cannot pass!
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?
 He brings forth from each pearls both large and small!
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?
 His are the ships which rear aloft in the sea like mountains.
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?
 Every one upon it is transient, but the face of thy Lord endowed with
 majesty and honour shall endure.
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

Of him whosoever is in the heaven and in the earth does beg : every day is he in [some fresh] business.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny ?

Blessed be the name of thy Lord, possessed of majesty and honour !
(lv.)

Warnings of a judgment to come, threats of hell and promises of heaven, with eloquent descriptions of God's works, form the chief themes of the first group of Mekkan speeches ; but there are also many passages devoted to a personal defence of the Prophet himself. The sixty-eighth chapter begins : ' By the pen and what they write, verily thou art not, by God's grace, mad ! ' It must be remembered that throughout the Korān it is God who is supposed to speak *in propria personā*, and Mohammed is only the mouthpiece of the revelation. It is natural, therefore, that the Deity who sent the Prophet should sometimes put words of self-defence into his lips. The Mekkans commonly regarded Mohammed as a madman or one possessed with a devil (or jinni) ; and the words in the sixty-eighth chapter are intended to refute this calumny. It goes on, ' But thou shalt see and they shall see which of you is the infatuated. " Wait awhile, I too am waiting," saith the Lord ; " let me alone with him who calls this new discourse a lie ! " — I will let them have their way, for my device is sure ! ' ' Sometimes these personal chapters show the pathetic side of the Prophet's lonely struggle ; it must have been at a time of deep depression that the ' Chapter of the Noonday ' (xciii.) was spoken :—

' In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

By the Noonday !

And the night when it darkens !

Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee nor hated thee !

And surely the hereafter shall be better for thee than the present !

And thy Lord shall give to thee, and thou shalt be well pleased !

Did he not find thee an orphan, and shelter thee,

And find thee wandering, and guide thee,

And find thee poor, and sustain thee ?

Then as to the orphan, oppress him not,

And as for the beggar, drive him not away,

And as to the bounty of thy Lord, publish it abroad ! '

Other chapters evince a very different spirit. Mohammed could be vehement in cursing individual scoffers as well as in threatening unbelief in the abstract. This is how he curses his uncle Abū-Lahab (' Father of the flame,' a name which his nephew grimly plays upon), who was the most bitter of his enemies :—

‘ In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
 Abū-Lahab’s two hands shall perish, and he shall perish !
 His wealth shall not avail him, nor what he has earned !
 He shall broil in a fire that flames, and his wife carrying faggots !
 —On her neck a cord of palm fibres.’ (cxi.)

Again the cowardly slanders whispered behind the back stir up in Mohammed a wrath that approaches the sacred indignation of ‘ Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! Ye shall receive the greater damnation ! ’ After the usual invocation of the merciful God, which sounds strangely as a prelude to a curse, he bursts forth :—

‘ Woe to every slanderous backbiter,
 Who collects wealth and counts it !
 He thinks that his wealth can immortalise him.
 Not so ! He shall be hurled into the Raging Fire !
 And what shall make thee understand what the Raging Fire is ?—
 ‘ The fire of God kindled :
 Which rises above the hearts.
 Verily, it is an archway over them
 On long-drawn columns.’ (civ.)

To the first group of Mekkan chapters belongs the famous credo :—

‘ Say, “ He is God alone !
 God the Eternal !
 He begets not and is not begotten !
 Nor is there like unto Him any one ! ” ’ (cxii.)

—and also some invocations against charms and spells, and, omitting less important utterances, the prayer which is prefixed to the Korān in the usual arrangement, and which forms a prominent feature in the everyday devotions as well as the public ritual of all Mohammedans :—

‘ In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
 Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds,
 The merciful, the compassionate,
 The ruler of the day of judgment !
 Thee we serve, and Thee we ask for aid.
 Guide us in the right path,
 The path of those ‘ Thou art gracious to ;
 Not of those ‘ Thou art wroth with,
 Nor of those who err.’ (i.)

The second group of Mekkan speeches is markedly different from the first. Poetic fire is not always long-lived ; ‘ whether there be prophecies, they shall fail ; whether there be tongues they shall cease ; ’ and in the second period we find that much of the poetry of the Korān is gone out. The verses and the

chapters become longer and more diffuse. The Prophet wanders from his point more frequently, and has lost the power of effective peroration which characterised the earlier speeches. The wonderful oaths of the first group, where Mohammed swears by everything that is in heaven and earth—

‘ By the sun and its noonday brightness !
And the moon when it follows him !
And the day when it displays him !
And the night when it covers him !
And the heaven and what built it !
And the earth and what spread it ! ’—

have now almost disappeared, and the mild asseveration ‘ By the Korān ’ takes their place. A certain formality is noticeable in the custom now introduced of beginning a speech with the statement ‘ this is the revelation of God,’ and emphasising the words of the Deity, as it were by inverted commas, by the initial verb ‘ say,’ which never appears in the earlier chapters except in certain formulas. The signs of nature still hold a prominent place in Mohammed’s argument, but the evidence he most frequently appeals to is the history of former prophets. These legends, derived from the Jewish Haggadah, but considerably corrupted, constitute a very important, but also a very uninteresting, part of the Korān. More than fifteen hundred verses, or a quarter of the whole work, are occupied with endless repetitions of the same wearisome tales. They may be found arranged methodically in the second part of Lane’s ‘ Selections,’ where the repetitions are omitted and the main incidents prominently brought out. From the story of the Creation, the rebellion of Iblis, or the devil, and the expulsion from Paradise, these legends extend to the miraculous birth of the Messiah. Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and his brethren, Job, Jethro, Moses, Saul, David, Solomon, Jonah, Ezra, and Christ, are the chief characters who figure in the Korānic Lives of the Saints, and the events recorded are often as puerile and absurd as any related in mediæval hagiology. To Mohammed, however, they possessed a high value. ‘ God has sent down the best of legends, a book uniform, repeating, whereat the skins of those that fear their Lord do creep ! ’ His doctrine of the continuity of revelation required the support of such legends. He held that all these preceding prophets were true messengers of God. Each brought his message to his people, and each was rejected and disbelieved. He puts words into the mouths of the patriarchs

which are almost identical with his own speeches; and the family likeness between Abraham, and Moses, and other Hebrew teachers, and Mohammed, as depicted in the Korān, cannot escape the most superficial reader. Mohammed believed that all these early prophets were sent by God to bring precisely the same message as was contained in the Korān; he believed in a species of apostolic succession; and the only ground of pre-eminence he claimed for himself was that of finality. Abraham and Moses, and David and Christ, had all come with a portion of God's truth; but Mohammed came with the final revelation, which superseded, whilst it confirmed, all that went before. He is the 'seal of prophecy,' the last apostle whom God sends before the day of retribution. Beyond this he differs no whit from his predecessors; and he is ever striving to impress upon his audience that his doctrine is nothing new, but simply the teaching of all good men who have gone before him. No doubt there were times when his frequent recitals of the revelations which he attributed to Moses and Christ had the special motive of converting Jews and Christians: but many of these stories were told before he came into any intimate contact with either, and can only be attributed to his theory of the unity of prophecy.

To enter into the details of these curious legends would carry us beyond reasonable limits. Their interest is mainly antiquarian, and beyond the evidence they give of the view held by Mohammed with respect to revelation in general, they have little bearing on our subject—of the practical gist of the Korān. They form indeed an obstacle to the student, who, if he is amused now and then by a good story—like that of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, or of Abraham and the Idols—grows weary of reading the same dreary anecdotes of the same venerable patriarchs over and over again. It was in the nature of Mohammed's unsystematic preaching that he should constantly repeat himself. The practice is not confined to the legends of the prophets, for almost every simile and every threat and every doctrine occurs again and again in the Korān. It is, of course, possible, and indeed probable, when we consider the time that elapsed before the Korān was collected as a whole, that many of these repetitions are due to different oral reports of the same speech, and that Mohammed's hearers sometimes confused one oration with another and inserted the words belonging to the one in the wrong chapter, whilst other traditionists placed them in the right one. But, whatever the source of the repetition, it forms a serious obstacle to the progress of the reader.

The manner in which the legends of former prophets are used may be seen from a single extract. Mohammed's argument is very simple: Formerly apostles were sent to other nations; they preached what I am preaching to you now,—exhorted the people to worship but one God, and to work righteousness; but their people rejected them and turned to idols; so God sent down upon them a terrible punishment:—even so will it be with you, if ye reject my words. ‘Ye walk in the very steps of those who were destroyed for unbelief,’ says Mohammed; ‘how many a generation before them have we destroyed! Canst thou find any one of them, or hear a whisper of them?’

The ‘Chapter of the Moon’ (liv.) contains a short summary of prophetic antecedents, which will serve briefly to show how Mohammed introduced his ‘tales of the elders,’ without the prolixity of the more detailed legends. After reproaching the people for their disbelief and hardness of heart, he exclaims:—

‘Noah’s people before them called the Apostles liars; they called our servant a liar, and they said “Mad!” and he was rejected.
And he called upon his Lord, “Verily, I am overcome! Come then to my help!”
And we opened the gates of heaven with water pouring down,
And we made the earth burst forth in springs, and the waters met at a bidding already decreed.
But we bore him on the thing of planks and nails, sailing on beneath our eyes, a reward for him who had been disbelieved.
And we left it a sign: but is there anyone who will mind?
And called the Apostles liars; and how was my punishment and warning?
Verily, we sent on them a cold storm wind on a day of continuous ill luck,
It reft men away as though they had been palm stumps torn up.
We have made the Korān easy as a reminder, but is there anyone who will mind?’

Nay, the Hour is their promised time, and the Hour is most severe and bitter,

Verily, the sinners are in error and excitement, on the day when they shall be dragged to the fire upon their faces: “Taste ye the touch of Hell!”

Verily, everything have we created by degrees, and our bidding is but one word, like the twinkling of an eye.

We have destroyed the like of you,—but is there any who will mind?
And everything they do is in the books, and everything small and great is written down.

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth with the powerful King.’

A great many of the Hebrew legends are brought in, as in the example just quoted, by an allusion to the charge of madness or sorcery, which was then much in vogue as a weapon among the Prophet's opponents. 'That is what the people of old said against former Apostles,' is Mohammed's retort, 'and see what befell them!' and then he relates the story. He has become much more definite as to his own position and the nature of his revelation. He repudiates all superhuman powers. 'I am only inspired that I am a plain warner' is his constant reminder. He will not be held responsible for his people; they may believe or disbelieve, as they please, or rather as God pleases. 'Whoso will, let him take the road unto his Lord: but ye will not will it except God will it.' Thus Mohammed ventures on the dangerous ground of free-will and predestination, on which he uttered many contradictory statements, but with an unmistakable leaning towards the doctrine of election. 'He whom God leads astray,' he says, 'there is no guide for him.' The Korān is not a compulsion to save men against their will; it is only 'a memorial'—a reminder—a plain Korān to warn him who is living. They may take their choice, if God pleases.

The Hebrew legends occupy nearly half of the contents of the second group of Mekkan chapters; indeed the majority of them belong to this period, and the rest to the third group, none being attributable with certainty to the first division, and very few to the Medina chapters; but there is plenty of the old themes of judgment, and paradise, and hell, though the descriptions have lost something of their power, and the long verses which are now common weaken the effect of the language. The old eloquence, however, breaks out in its original force now and then, as in the picture of the judgment in the 'Chapter of Q' (1.):—

'But we created man, and we know what his soul whispers: for we are nigher to him than his jugular vein!

When the two meeters meet, sitting the one on the right and the other on the left;—not a word does he utter, but a watcher is by him, ready.

And the agony of death shall come in truth: "that is what thou didst shun!"

And the trumpet shall be blown: that is a threatened day!

And every soul shall come, with it a driver and a witness.

"Thou wert heedless of this, and we withdrew thy veil from thee, and to-day is thy eyesight keen."

And his mate shall say: "This is what is ready for me to attest.

Throw into hell every stubborn misbeliever, who forbids good, a transgressor, a doubter, who sets other gods with God, and throw him, ye twain, into fierce torment."

His mate shall say, "Our Lord, I seduced him not, but he was in a remote error."

He shall say, "Wrangle not before me, for I sent the threat to you before. The sentence is not changed with me, nor am I unjust to my servant."

On the day we will say to hell, "Art thou full?" and it will say, "Are there any more?"

And Paradise shall be brought near to the pious, not far off:

"This is what ye are promised," to everyone who turns frequently to God, and keeps his commandments, who fears the Merciful in secret, and brings a repentant heart.

"Enter into it in peace, this is the day of Eternity."

They shall have what they wish therein, and increase from us.

How many a generation have we destroyed before them, mightier than they in prowess?

Pass through the land, is there any refuge? Verily, in that is a reminder to whomsoever has a heart, or gives ear, and is a witness thereto!

One of the peculiarities of the second group of Mekkan chapters may be noted in the extract given above. Mohammed was apparently desirous of giving a new name to the One God whose gospel he preached. 'Allah' was already known to the Arabs, but *Er-Rahmān*, 'the Merciful,' though employed by the Hebrews and also by the Himyarites, was not a name with which the Mekkans were acquainted. The experiment, however, was not successful. The people seem to have drawn a wrong inference from the use of the two names, and to have understood them to refer to two separate gods. At the end of the seventeenth chapter Mohammed removes this confusion in the words: 'Say: call upon Allah, or call upon *Er-Rahmān*, 'whichever ye may call on him by; for His are the best of names;' but he judged it advisable to avoid the double nomenclature, and it seldom occurs again.

The teaching of Mohammed is still very simple in the second period. The whole duty of man is summed up in few words: 'Prosperous are the believers who in their prayers are humble, and who from vain talk turn aside, and who in almsgiving are active, and who guard their chastity, and who observe their trusts and covenants, and who guard well their prayers; these are the heirs who shall inherit Paradise; they shall dwell therein for aye' (xxiii. 1-10). Hardly any definite rules of conduct or ritual are yet laid down, and the little of the kind that does occur is in one chapter—the seventeenth—where the Muslim is enjoined to be steadfast in prayer from sundown to dusk and at dawn; night prayers are commended as supererogatory works; hospitality and thrift are coun-

selling in the idiomatic phrase, 'Make not thy hand fettered to thy neck, nor yet spread it out quite open;' infanticide for fear of poverty is forbidden as 'a great sin;' in chastity is denounced as 'an abomination;' homicide is only permitted in the blood revenge, and even then is to be restricted to one person; the faithful are commanded not to take the wealth of orphans, but to fulfil their covenants, to give full measure, and not to walk proudly on the earth: 'Verily thou canst not cleave the earth, and thou shalt not reach the mountains in height.' This is how Mohammed sums up his teaching in the eighteenth chapter:—

'SAY: I am only a mortal like yourselves: I am inspired that your God is only One God: Then let him who hopes to meet his Lord act righteous acts and join none in the services of his Lord.'

This is really all that Mohammed has to tell the people, though his methods of urging it upon their notice are diverse. To worship One God and act righteously is the burden of his speech.

In the third or last Mekkan period we find the characteristics of the second repeated in a tamer style. The language has become still more prosaic; the enumeration of the signs of God in nature wears more and more the aspect of a catalogue; the anecdotes of the patriarchs, though much rarer than in the second period, seem even more tiresome; the constant refutations of the charges of forgery and magic, and poetry—the last now superfluous; the never-ending reiteration of the well-worn arguments—all these weary the reader; and this portion of the Korān is perhaps the least interesting of all. It is more argumentative and less enthusiastic. Years of failure had perhaps damped Mohammed's ardour, and he appears rather as the advocate putting a case to the reason of his hearers than as a prophet filled with the divine afflatus and breathing it forth in unpremeditated music. Mohammed was not a good reasoner, and he has but one method, which we have seen already in the speeches of the second group. The new feature is the frequent answer he makes to the 'evil and adulterous generation that seeketh after a sign.' Why ask for a sign, he demands, when all nature is a miracle, and bears testimony to its Creator? It is the old thought, 'the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork.' I am only a warner, Mohammed is ever insisting, and I cannot show a sign, except what ye see every day and every night. Signs are with God: He who could make the heavens and the earth could easily show you a sign if he pleased.

Beware! the day will come when you will indeed see a sign, and will bewail your unbelief, and ‘taste that which ye called ‘a lie.’ I shall not suffer by your folly: I cannot help it if ye will not save yourselves. Many nations before you have despised the word of truth, and they were grievously punished. It will be so with you in the great day to come, even if God is not pleased to send down upon you an instant punishment as he did upon the unbelieving generations of old. This is the constant moral that Mohammed points again and again. It is needless to give many examples of the style of this period, for the difference between it and the second period is not very striking in an English translation, though the length of the verses is obviously greater. It must not, however, be supposed that Mohammed is always dull and prosaic at this time: the old eloquence often flashes out—as in the ‘Chapter of Thunder’ (xiii.), where some parts are equal to anything in the earliest chapters. And few passages in the Korān surpass these verses in chapter vi.:—

‘Say, “Whose is what is in the heavens and the earth?”

Say, “God’s, who has imposed mercy on himself.”

With Him are the keys of the unseen. None knows them save he; he knows what is in the land and in the sea; and there falls not a leaf save that he knows it; nor a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor aught that is moist, nor aught that is dry, save that is in his perspicuous Book.

He it is who takes you to himself at night, and knows what you have gained in the day; then he raises you up again, that your appointed time may be fulfilled; then unto Him is your return, and then will he inform you of what ye have done.

Verily, God it is who cleaves out the grain and the date-stone; he brings forth the living from the dead, and it is he who brings the dead from the living. There is God! How then can ye be beguiled?

It is he who cleaves out the morning, and makes night a repose, and the sun and the moon two reckonings—that is the decree of the mighty, the wise!

There is God for you, your Lord! There is no God but he, the Creator of everything; then worship Him, for he o’er everything keeps guard!

Sight perceives Him not, but he perceives men’s sights; for he is the subtle, the aware.

Say, “Verily, my prayers and my devotion and my life and my death belong to God, the Lord of the worlds.”

Very little is added to the definiteness of the moral teaching in the third period. ‘Verily God bids you do justice and ‘good, and give to kindred their due, and he forbids you to ‘sin and do wrong and oppress,’ is as detailed a commandment

as Mohammed generally cares to give. A list of prohibited meats, indeed, is given in chapter xvi.; usury is added to the practices already forbidden; useless asceticism is discouraged; certain unimportant Arab customs are abolished; but nothing of real consequence is added to the moral law or the ritual of Islām. The whole duty of man is still capable of expression in few words:—

‘Come! I will recite what your Lord has forbidden you, that ye may not associate aught with Him, and may show kindness to your parents, and not kill your children through poverty;—we will provide for you and them;—and draw not nigh to flagrant sins, either apparent or concealed, and kill not the soul, which God hath forbidden, save by right; that is what God ordains you, haply ye may understand. And draw not nigh to the wealth of the orphan, save so as to better it, until he reaches full age; and give weight and measure with justice. We do not compel the soul save what it can compass; and when ye pronounce (judgment) then be just, though it be in the case of a relative. And God’s compact fulfil ye: that is what he ordained you, haply ye may be mindful. Verily, this is my right way, follow it then.’

Thus a close examination of the earlier of the two main divisions of the Korān reveals no great variety of subjects or treatment. Mohammed’s theology is confined to the unity of God, whose power he seeks to illustrate by the recital of the marvels of nature, and whose justice will be vindicated at a great day of reckoning. The complicated ritual familiar to students of modern Mohammedanism is not so far elaborated. The social system and laws of Islām are not yet fixed in their terrible immobility. We hear nothing but a voice crying in the wilderness the words of the prophet of old—‘Hear, O Israel! The Lord your God is one Lord.’

When we turn to the second great division of the Korān, the twenty-four chapters composed during the ten years after the Flight to Medina, we begin to understand how the details of Mohammedanism were formed. Hitherto we have only seen an earnest man struggling to bring home to his people the error of their unbelief, and to draw them to the worship of the true God. We have now to see the Prophet as king and legislator. When Mohammed joined his fugitive disciples at Medina, he found the city prepared to welcome him as its sole ruler, and from this time his plain function of prophet becomes confused with wider and less reconcileable duties. He had to govern a mixed multitude which was little accustomed to submit to authority, and in which were several antagonistic factions. Besides his own fellow-refugees and the converts of Medina, between whom there was always some jealousy,

Mohammed had to deal with a large party of those who judged it politic to profess Islām, but were ready to recant and to plot against the Prophet whenever opportunity offered. These are the men whom the Korān frequently attacks under the name of 'the Hypocrites.' Besides these, the Jews were very numerous in and round Medina, and though they were at first inclined to palm off Mohammed upon their neighbours as their own promised Messiah, they soon found he was not the man to make a tool of, and thenceforward they showed themselves his most determined enemies. To keep order among all these sections was no easy task for a born statesman, and to Mohammed, who had no training in the art of governing men, it was peculiarly difficult. His remarkable power of personal influence, which evoked an enthusiastic loyalty from his followers, stood him in good stead, and it must be allowed that he proved himself a strong ruler, as well as a zealous prophet. How far his character as prophet was corrupted by the necessities of government we need not enquire here; for the inspiration of the Korān and the sincerity of its preacher have nothing to do with our present design. The point to be considered is merely the variety of causes which produced the comparative complexity of the Medina chapters. It is intelligible that the nature of the revelation should change with altered circumstances. Whereas formerly Mohammed merely endeavoured to preach righteousness and the fear of God to an unbelieving city, he was now to wage wars, to subdue rebels, to reconcile rivals, to make treaties, to withstand a siege, to lead a nation to conquest. His words must now not merely speak of a judgment to come, but must encourage the warrior on the battle-field, sing the paean after victory, animate after defeat, soothe the impatient, curb the rash, rebuke the wrongdoer, reconcile adversaries, and adjust all differences. The Prophet's house at Medina was practically the court of appeal of the whole body of Muslims. Nothing could be settled without his counsel. Matters of social arrangement, the most delicate domestic details, as well as the larger issues of peace and war, were decided by the Prophet alone. If a man died, the principle of inheritance had to be laid down by Mohammed. If a man quarrelled with his wife, divorce must be explained; every possible matter of dispute came before the Prophet's carpet, and was then and there considered and pronounced upon; and these judgments were to last for all time! Mohammed knew no difference of degree in inspiration, and his decision, for instance, that he himself might take more than the prescribed number of wives was, in his mind, as much the

word of God as the chapter of the Unity. He had, fortunately, a good measure of common sense, and his judgment was generally sound; else the evil of thus stereotyping the decisions of a particular time and circumstance might have been far greater. But as it is the laws of the Korān represent the modified customs of a rude and uncivilised people, and are often wholly inapplicable to other nations and stages of development. That the laws he approved as suitable to his fellow-countrymen would be intolerable to a different people, who could nevertheless receive his doctrine, was a possibility that never could have occurred to Mohammed. Every race must be ground in the same mill, for the mill itself was perfect, and any improvement upon it was inconceivable.

Under these circumstances it is fortunate that Mohammed never attempted to arrange a code of law, and that his scattered decisions are few and often vague. It is surprising how little definite legislation there is in the Korān. We have seen that there is next to none in the Mekkan speeches; but even in those of Medina there is singularly little distinct law. The greater portion of the Medina chapters is concerned with passing events. The conduct of the Muslims in battle and the praise and honour of those who die 'in God's way' are frequent topics, and Mohammed is not sparing in abuse of those who show the white feather when there is fighting to be done. A considerable proportion of verses relate to 'the Hypocrites,' who were constantly giving the prophet-king cause for apprehension. But the chief theme in the Medina orations is the conduct of the Jews, whom Mohammed could never forgive for their rejection of him. He protested that he was foretold in their own scriptures, and that they 'knew him as they 'knew their own children,' if only they would admit it; and he promulgated the theory that they had purposely corrupted their sacred books in order to prevent the people from recognising the clear description by which he was portrayed therein. The Jews also repudiated his legends of the patriarchs and prophets, though they came out of their own Haggadah; and Mohammed was obliged to claim a higher origin for his stories. Altogether the Jews were a grievous thorn in the Prophet's side, and when we read in his life how terrible a punishment he laid on them, we cannot be surprised at the bitterness of the denunciations with which almost every page of the Medina chapters abounds. He taunts them for the little profit their scriptures are to them, and likens them to an ass carrying books:—

'Do ye not see those who have been given a portion of the book?

They buy error, and they wish that ye may err from the way ! But God knows best who your enemies are, and God suffices as a patron, and sufficient is God as a help. And those who are Jews and those who pervert the words from their places, distorting with their tongues and taunting about religion—may God curse them in their unbelief. . . . Behold how they devise against God a lie !

‘The likeness of those who were charged with the law and then bore it not is as the likeness of an ass bearing books : sorry is the likeness of the people who say God’s signs are lies ! but God guides not an unjust people !’

Mohammed is less hostile to the Christians, probably because he had not yet come into intimate relations with them, and had therefore not yet tested their stiffneckedness. He frequently repudiates the doctrine of the Trinity and the sonship—‘the Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary, is but the ‘apostle of God and his word and a spirit from Him : believe ‘then in God and his apostles and say not “Three ;” have done ! ‘it were better for you. God is only one God. . . . ‘The ‘Messiah doth surely not disdain to be a servant of God ;’ but his attitude at first is friendly :—

‘Thou wilt surely find that the strongest in enmity against those who believe are the Jews and the idolaters ; and thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say, “We are “Christians ;” that is because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they are not proud. And when they hear what has been revealed to the prophet, you will see their eyes gush with tears at what they recognise as truth therein ; and they will say, “O our Lord, we believe, so write us down among the witnesses . . .” Therefore has God rewarded them, for what they said, with gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye.’

But afterwards Mohammed changed his good opinion of the Christians, and his revulsion of feeling is thus expressed with some vigour :—

‘The Jews say Ezra is the son of God ; and the Christians say that the Messiah is the son of God ;—God fight them ! how they lie ! ‘They take their doctors and their monks for lords rather than God, and the Messiah the son of Mary ; but they are bidden to worship but one God, there is no God but he ; celebrated be his praise, from what they join with Him ! They desire to put out the light of God with their mouths, but God will not have it but that we should perfect his light, averse though the misbelievers be ! He it is who sent his apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, to make it prevail over every other religion, averse although idolaters may be !

‘O ye who believe ! Verily, many of the doctors and the monks devour the wealth of men openly, and turn folk from God’s way ; but those who store up gold and silver and expend it not in God’s way, --give them glad tidings of grievous woe ! On the day when it shall

be heated in the fire of hell, and their brows shall be branded therewith, and their sides and their backs!—"This is what ye stored up for yourselves, taste then what ye stored up!"

These later denunciations probably annul the more favourable judgments elsewhere expressed, for Mohammed distinctly admitted that some verses are to be held as abrogated by others. The statement, therefore, that 'Everyone who believes, and the Jews and the Christians and the Sabians, who believe in God and the last day, there shall come no fear upon them, neither shall they grieve,' is in the opinion of most Muslims null and void.

Besides these speeches on the political situation and the parties of the State, which occupy so large a part of the Medina division of the Korān, more words are devoted to the Prophet himself than heretofore. As ruler of a turbulent city, Mohammed found it necessary to maintain his dignity, and there are several indications of this in his utterances. The people are ordered not to approach the Prophet as if he were anybody else, and it is solemnly laid down that he who obeys the apostle obeys God. Mohammed's family receive a share of attention; and special permissions are accorded him from heaven in respect of his marriages, and the character of one of his wives is divinely vindicated. Such passages are interesting only to the biographer of Mohammed, and to him they form a perplexing problem, which has been solved in very conflicting ways.

Omitting then all that refers merely to temporary matters, that is, the major part of the Medina chapters, the residue of oratory and law that remains to be considered is not large. In spite of the altered subjects of the revelation and the multitude of uninteresting or ephemeral details treated, it must not be supposed that all the light of eloquence has died out. It is true that the style is dull and protracted, like that of the third Mekkan period; the verses are long, and the chapters bear evidence of being patched up from a large number of fragmentary utterances—answers to questions, outbursts of wrath at some special provocation, &c. But there are here and there passages of a beauty and nobility of thought and expression which were surpassed in no period of the Prophet's career. Such is the magnificent imagery in the 'Chapter of Light' (xxiv.):—

'God is the light of the heavens and the earth; his light is as a niche in which is a lamp, and the lamp is in a glass, the glass is as though it were a glittering star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west, the oil of which would well-nigh

give light, though no fire touched it—light upon light!—God guides to his light whom he pleases; and God strikes out parables for men, and God all things doth know.

‘In the houses God has permitted to be reared and his name to be mentioned therein—His praises are celebrated therein mornings and evenings.

‘Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God and steadfastness in prayer and giving alms, who fear a day when hearts and eyes shall be upset;—that God may recompense them for the best that they have done, and give them increase of his grace; for God provides whom he pleases without count.

‘But those who misbelieve, their works are like the mirage in a plain,—the thirsty counts it water till when he comes to it he finds nothing, but he finds that God is with him, and He will pay him his account, for God is quick to take account.

‘Or like darkness on a deep sea, there covers it a wave, above which is a wave, above which is a cloud—darknesses one above the other,—when one puts out his hand he can scarcely see it; for he to whom God has given no light, he has no light.

‘Hast thou seen that God—all who are in the heavens and the earth celebrate his praises, and the birds too, spreading out their wings; each one knows its prayer and its praise, and God knows what they do.

‘Hast thou not seen that God drives the clouds, and then reunites them, and then accumulates them, and thou mayest see the rain coming forth from their midst; and he sends down from the sky mountains with hail therein, and he makes it fall on whom he pleases, and he turns it from whom he pleases; the flashing of his lightning well-nigh goes off with their sight.

‘God interchanges the night and the day; verily, in that is a lesson to those endowed with sight.’

And again the celebrated ‘Throne-Verse’ (chapter ii. verse 256):—

‘God, there is no god but he, the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and the earth. Who is it that intercedes with him save by his permission? He knows what is before them and what behind them, and they comprehend not aught of his knowledge, but of what he pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and it tires him not to guard them both, for he is high and grand’—

which Professor Palmer’s rendering somewhat mars. The oratorical passages, however, are rare, like the descriptions of nature and the legends of the prophets. The chief remaining section of the Medina chapters is that occupied by religious, civil, and penal regulations, and these are almost all contained in three chapters (ii., iv., and v.); they are, however, three of the longest, and form an aggregate of nearly 600 verses, or nearly a tenth of the whole Korān.

It is instructive to study this legal section of the Korān carefully in connexion with the common statement that the religion of Mohammed is made up of a complicated and harassing ritual and a penal code which takes no count of the relative importance of crimes. Colonel Osborn, among various other mistakes in his clever books on Islām, has said that the same fearful punishment is ordained for a serious sin and a mere trifling infringement of ceremonial regulations. That he is altogether wrong may be proved from the Korān itself—in which it is stated that if the believers avoid *great sins*, God will wipe out their offences, for he is very forgiving. But, in truth, all this complaint of complicated ritual and law is not borne out by the Korān. Mohammed had no desire to make a new code of jurisprudence or to bind his followers to a hard and fast ritual. He seldom appears to have volunteered a legal decision, except when a distinct abuse had to be removed; and the legal verses of the Korān are evidently answers to questions put to him in his capacity of Governor of Medina. In the same way, he laid down but few rules for religious ceremonial, and even those he laid down he allowed to be broken in cases of illness or other impediments. ‘God wishes to make things easy for you,’ he says, ‘for man was created weak.’ He seems to have distrusted himself as a lawgiver, for there is a tradition which relates a speech of his in which he cautions the people against taking his decision on worldly affairs as infallible. When he speaks on the things of God he is to be obeyed, but when he deals with human affairs he is only a man like those about him. He was contented to leave the ordinary Arab customs in force as the law of the Muslims, except when they were manifestly unjust.

The ritual of the Korān includes the necessary acts of faith—the recital of the creed, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage—but lays down scarcely any rules as to how they are to be performed. ‘Observe the prayers and the middle prayer,’ Mohammed vaguely directs, ‘and stand ye attent before God;’ ‘Seek aid from patience and from prayer; verily God is with the patient;’ but he says nothing of the perplexing alternations of prostrations and formulas which are practised in the mosques. He refers to the Friday prayers, but not in a compulsory tone. ‘When ye knock about in the earth,’ as Mr. Palmer renders it, ‘it is no crime to you that ye come short in prayer, if ye fear that those who disbelieve will set upon you. God pardons everything except associating aught with Him.’ The fast is more clearly defined, but with ample reservations.

‘There is prescribed for you a fast, as it was prescribed for those before you; haply ye may fear. A certain number of days; but he amongst you who is ill or on a journey then let him fast another number of days; and those who are fit to fast may redeem it by feeding a poor man; but he who follows an impulse to a good work it is better for him; and if ye fast it is better for you, if ye did but know. The month of Ramadān, wherein was revealed the Korān: . . . he who beholds this month, let him fast it; but he who is sick or on a journey, then another number of days—God desires not for you what is difficult.’

This reads more like advice than commandment. Turning the face to the Kibleh of Mekka is distinctly enjoined in chapter ii., and the pilgrimage to the Kaaba is thus commended: ‘Verily Safa and Marwa are of the beacons of God, and he who makes the pilgrimage unto the House (Kaaba), or visits it; it is no crime for him to compass it about, and he who obeys his own impulse to a good work, God is grateful and doth know.’ Almsgiving is frequently enjoined, but the amount of the alms is merely described as ‘the surplus.’ We also find that forbidden food is what has died of itself, and blood, and the flesh of swine, ‘which is an abomination,’ and meats which have been offered to idols, to which were added subsequently all animals that had been strangled or gored or preyed upon. Except these, no food was unlawful. ‘Eat ye of the good things wherewith we have provided you, and give thanks to God.’ Further, the believers were forbidden to drink wine, and to make statues, and play at games of chance; ‘in them both is sin and profit to men, but the sin is greater than the profit.’ Usury was strictly prohibited, and classed among the great sins. Ablutions are mentioned, and sand is allowed as a substitute for water; but the details of wudu are not laid down. War against the unbelievers is thus ordained: ‘Fight in God’s way with those who fight with you, and transgress not; kill them wherever ye find them, and drive them out from whence they drive you out, for sedition is worse than slaughter. But if they desist, then, verily, God is forgiving and merciful. . . . Let there be no hostility save against the unjust; whoso transgresses against you, transgress against him in like manner’—a different doctrine from what Mohammed said elsewhere, ‘Repel evil with what is better.’ Fighting in the sacred months is a great sin, but is sometimes necessary.

The civil regulations of the Korān are scarcely more definite than those which refer to the rites of religion. The law of marriage is capable of more than one interpretation, and wears the aspect rather of a recommendation than a statute:

‘Marry what seems good to you of women by twos or threes or fours; and if ye fear that ye cannot be equitable, then only one, or what your right hands possess (i.e. slaves). That keeps you nearer to not being partial.’ Marriage with unbelievers is forbidden: ‘Surely a believing handmaid is better than an idolatrous wife.’ The laws relating to divorce are more explicit than most regulations of the Korān, and contain most of the details now in common use in Mohammedan countries. The laws affecting women are indeed the most minute and the most considerate in the Korān. It was here that Mohammed made his principal reforms, and though to a European these reforms may seem slight, in contrast with the previous condition of Arab women they were considerable. The restrictions of polygamy and recommendation of monogamy, the institution of prohibited degrees against the horrible laxity of Arabian marriages, the limitations of divorce, and stringent rules as to the support of divorced women during a certain period by their former husbands, and as to the maintenance of children, the innovation of creating women heirs at law, though only to half the value of men, the abolition of the custom which treated a man’s widow as a part of his hereditary chattels, form a considerable list of removed disabilities. Mohammed, indeed, had no very high opinion of women, as many traditions testify, and the following verse from chapter iv. of the Korān carries with it an unfavourable impression:—

‘Men stand superior to women in that God hath preferred some of them over others, and in that they expend of their wealth: and the virtuous women, devoted, careful in their husbands’ absence, as God has cared for them. But those whose perverseness ye fear, admonish them and remove them into bed-chambers and beat them; but if they submit to you, then do not seek a way against them; verily, God is high and great.’

But he goes on to advise reconciliation by means of arbiters chosen by the two disputants, and frequently counsels kindness to wives; and it is a fact that no profound legislator ever made such important changes in favour of women as did Mohammed in spite of his narrow outlook and his poor opinion of the sex.

The raising of women to the position of heirs is not the only innovation that Mohammed made in the law of inheritance. It may almost be said that he took away the power of testamentary disposition. The just share of each relative is appointed, and the testator has only the power of disposing as he pleases with one-third of his property. It must not be imagined, however, that the complicated and delicate machinery

which Mr. Alaric Rumsey has so ably explained in his 'Mohammedan Law of Inheritance' is to be found in full in the Korān. The general principle is given and certain details, which it needs a Mohammedan lawyer to elucidate (cf. ch. iv., 11-16). One ordinance as to wills deserves to be mentioned: a man is required to provide a year's maintenance for his widows, that they need not be compelled to leave their homes. The main peculiarity, however, of Mohammed's principles of inheritance is the definite institution of an hereditary reserve of two-thirds, which the testator cannot touch, and which devolves upon certain regular heirs, or, in default, upon the state. The system undoubtedly has its merits, and it has been not seldom extolled above the European principle of free disposition; but it may be doubted whether the wide diffusion of property which it involves is, on the whole, advantageous to the state, or has proved successful even under the favourable conditions which certain peculiarities of Eastern life supply.

The penal law of the Korān is extremely fragmentary. Murder is to be dealt with by the Arab custom of *ven'detta*: 'retaliation is prescribed for you for the slain, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the female for the female; yet he who is pardoned at all by his brother must be prosecuted in reason, and made to pay with kindness.' Accidental homicide of a Muslim is to be compounded for by the bloodwit and freeing a believing slave. Unchastity in wives was to be punished by immuring the woman until death should release her, 'or God make for her a way'; but stoning *both* parties (according to an authentic fragment not included in the ordinary Korān) was afterwards ordained. Four witnesses are required to prove a charge of this gravity. Slaves, in consideration of their disabilities, are to receive one-half the penalty of free women in strokes of the whip. Thieves are punished by cutting off the hands. This is practically all that Mohammed distinctly ordained in the matter of criminal law. We do not deny that something more may be extracted from his speeches by inference; but what has just been epitomised is all that he stands definitely committed to in the Korān.

These facts, drawn from a study of the Medina chapters, suggest some important conclusions. It is not unusual to compare the Korān to the Pentateuch, and to assert that each forms the lawbook as well as the gospel of its sect. The resemblance is stronger than is commonly supposed. Just as the Hebrews deposed their Pentateuch in favour of the Talmud, so the Muslims abolished the Korān in favour of the Traditions and Decisions of the Learned. We do not mean to say that any

Mohammedan, if asked what was the text-book of his religion, would answer anything but 'the Korān;' but we do mean that practically it is not the Korān that guides his belief or practice. In the middle ages of Christendom it was not the New Testament but the 'Summa Theologica' of Thomas Aquinas that decided questions of orthodoxy; and in the present day does the orthodox churchman usually derive his creed from a personal investigation of the teaching of Christ in the Gospels? Probably, if he refers to a document at all, the Church Catechism contents him, or if he be of a peculiarly inquiring disposition, a perusal of the Thirty-nine Articles will resolve all doubts. Yet he too would say his religion was drawn from the Gospels, and would not confess to the medium through which it was filtered. In precisely the same way Mohammedanism is constructed on far wider foundations than the Korān alone. The Prophet himself knew that his revelations did not meet all possible contingencies. When he sent Mo'adh to Yemen to collect and distribute alms, he asked him by what rule he would be guided; 'By the law of the Korān,' said Mo'adh. 'But if you find no direction therein?' 'Then I will act according to the example of the Prophet.' 'But if that fails?' 'Then I will draw an analogy and act upon 'that.' Mohammed warmly applauded his disciple's intelligence, and very important deductions have been drawn from this approval of the principle of analogy. It is, however, only the last resort. When the Korān supplied no definite decision, the private sayings of Mohammed—a vast body of oral traditions carefully preserved and handed down, and then collected and critically examined—were referred to. And if there was nothing to the purpose in the Sunneh, as this body of traditions is called, then the records of the general consent of the fathers were consulted. 'The Law,' says Ibn-Khaldūn, 'is grounded on the general accord of the Companions of the Prophet and their followers.' Finally there was the principle of analogy to guide them if all other sources failed. As a matter of fact, however, Muslims do not go through all this laborious process of investigation, but refer to one of the standard works in which it has all been done for them. It was soon found that 'a system which sought to regulate all departments of life, 'all development of men's ideas and energies by the Sunneh and 'analogical deductions therefrom, was one which not only gave 'every temptation a system could give to the manufacture of 'Tradition, but one which would soon become too cumbersome to 'be of practical use.' Hence, as Mr. Sell has explained in his admirable work on 'The Faith of Islam,' it became necessary

to systematise and arrange this chaotic mass of traditions, decisions, and deductions; and from this necessity sprang the four great systems of jurisprudence known from their founders as the Hanafite, Mālikite, Shāfi'ite, and Hanbalite, to one of which every orthodox Muslim belongs. The decisions of these four Imāms, Abu-Hanīfa, Ibn-Mālik, Esh-Shāfi'i and Ibn-Hanbal, are binding upon all true churchmen, in the Mohammedan sense. It is the orthodox belief that since the four Imāms no doctor has arisen who can compare with them in learning and judgment, and whether or not this is true, it is certain that no theologian or jurist has ever superseded their digests of the law. No account is taken of the altered circumstances in which Mohammedans are now placed; the conclusions at which these Imāms arrived in the eighth and ninth centuries are held to be equally applicable in the nineteenth, and a popular theological handbook among our Indian fellow-subjects states that 'it is not lawful to follow any other than the four Imāms; in these days, the Kadi must make no order, the Mufti give no fatwa, contrary to the opinions of the four Imāms.' (E. Sell, 'Faith of Islam,' p. 19.)

This is therefore the explanation of the difference between modern Mohammedanism and the teaching we have been able to draw from the Korān itself. Islam rests on many pillars and the Korān is not the only support. A large part of what Muslims now believe and practise is not to be found in the Korān at all. We do not mean to say that the Traditions of Mohammed are not as good authority as the Korān—indeed, except that in the latter case the Prophet professed to speak the words of God and in the former he did not so profess, there is little to choose between them—nor do we assert that the early doctors of the law displayed any imaginative faculty in drawing their inferences and analogies, though we have our suspicions; all we would insist on is that it is a mistake to call the Korān either the theological compendium or the *corpus legis* of Islām. It is neither the one nor the other. Those who turn over the pages of the Hedaya, or Khalil's 'Code Muselman,' of which M. Seignette has recently published a French translation in Algiers, will easily see how little help the Korān is to the Mohammedan legist, and how few of the Khalil's two thousand clauses can be traced to the supposed Book of the Law. In the same way, one may turn the pages of the Korān backwards and forwards for a lifetime before one finds the smallest indication of the formidable system of ritual which is now considered an essential part of the Mohammedan religion.

For ourselves we prefer the Korān to the religion as it is now

practised, and are glad to think that we do not owe all the faults of modern Islām to the sacred book on which it is supposed to rest. No one can read unmoved the book which is now presented to us in a fresh English dress. There is a peculiar simplicity about the Korān which attracts one in spite of its vain repetitions and dreariness. No book bears more distinctly the impress of its author's mind; of none can it be so positively asserted that it was spoken from the heart without thought or care. Inconsistent, contradictory, tedious, wearisome as it often is, the book has a personality in it which chains the attention. It is not a code of law, nor yet a theological system; but it is something better than these. It is the broken utterance of a human heart wholly incapable of disguise; and the heart was that of a man who has influenced the world as only One other has ever moved it.

ART. IV.—1. *Chroniques Dauphinoises*. Documents inédits relatifs au Dauphiné pendant la Révolution. Par CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC. Grenoble: 1880.

2. *Nouvelles Excursions Dauphinoises*. Par le Baron DE RAVERAT. Lyon: 1880.

3. *La Terreur Blanche dans le Midi*. Par E. DAUDET. Paris: 1880.

4. *Pie VI. dans les prisons du Dauphiné*. Par Mlle. DE FRANCLIEU. Grenoble: 1880.

5. *Histoire de la réunion du Dauphiné à la France*. (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie.) Par J.-J. GUIFFREY. Paris, Académie des Bibliophiles: 1878.

6. *Vizille et ses environs*. Précis historique. Par AUGUSTE BOURNE. Grenoble: 1878.

AUGUSTIN THIERRY was often heard to remark that the history of France had not yet been written; the work having proved too great for any author. This is because France is a collection of countries which her sovereigns acquired and governed on different terms. For nearly fifteen centuries the history of France was that of the provinces. She was divided when Cæsar first described her; she remained divided under the proconsuls, and only a temporary consolidation took place under Charlemagne. After the death of the great emperor his vast heritage broke up, like the empire of Alexander, into many separate and quasi-independent kingdoms; it needed

the lapse of centuries ere those dissimilar and discordant fragments, which are now called by the name of France, were again subject to one ruler. Between '*païs conquis*' and '*païs unis*,' as between '*païs de droit*' and '*païs d'état*,' rivalries as well as palpable distinctions existed; nor could it be otherwise. The provinces were remote from the heart of France, but none the less proud of their history, whether they looked at its mysterious Celtic origin, full of whispering forests and primeval dolmens, or reverted to the Roman civilisation of the cities by the Rhone, where the blood of the martyrs has truly been the seed of the Church. They were proud, too, of their '*Bozons*,' '*Fulques*,' '*Guigues*,' and '*Humberts*,' of dynasties as old as feudality itself, and of princes who made alliances of love and war with nearly all the crowned heads of Europe. Even when sold by the last of her Dauphins, it was felt to be dangerous to sink the individuality of the imperial fief of the Viennois in the kingdom of France, and a stipulation was made that the fief should be held separate from the kingdom till the Emperor should incorporate them both.

Who, then, were those Dauphins of the Viennois who held so directly from the Empire that they could dictate their own conditions to the King of France, and demand from him the preservation of a title that has been borne, as we know, by the eldest son of every French sovereign, till the princes of the House of Orleans allowed this remnant of feudality to drop? What was this Dauphinate of the Viennois which the childless Humbert II. felt to be intrinsically his own, to be sold or bequeathed by him at will, and to be by him handed over to a French prince, along, it is true, with feudal sword and knightly banner, but also with the royal sceptre and mint, and with a royal signet ring? Dauphiny, the country of the Chevalier Bayard, of Lesdiguières, of Diane de Poitiers, of Farel, of Dolomieu, of Mounier, of Barnave, and of Casimir Périer, was formerly divided into two regions, the upper and the lower. Of the former, Grenoble, placed at the confluence of the Drac and of the Isère, became the seat of government, while of the latter, Vienne was the capital, as she was ever the metropolitan see. This triangle of territory, intersected by a hundred streams, is forty-two leagues in length by thirty-four in breadth, lying between Provence on the south, and Bresse and Bugey on the north. It had for its western boundary the course of the Rhone, while on the eastern side it was divided from Savoy, the Maurienne, and Piedmont by those Alps which seem to be '*unascendable in the imagination of men—a region of solitude, silence, and snows; carrying a chill of terror to the soul,*

‘from the very vacuity of human life within them.’ Since the Revolution the map of France has been altered, and the old divisions, which lost their historical titles, have obtained in exchange names coined out of the physical features of the so-termed departments. It is true that popular usage still retains the local terms for many districts. The Auvergnats will not give up speaking of their ‘*Limagne*,’ and the poultry of the best-appointed dinner tables has a warrant that it comes from ‘*Bresse*.’ Newspaper editors still write of the ‘*Cantal*,’ the ‘*Velay*,’ and the ‘*Vexin* ;’ but no minister of the interior now recognises Dauphiny, Burgundy, Brittany, and Provence by those proud territorial names which their prouder dukes and dauphins bore. The escutcheons of the princes are obliterated, like the rights of the ‘*droit écrit*’ or of the ‘*pays d’états*,’ while the croziers of their long obsolete bishoprics have rusted like the great sword of the Dauphins.

Dauphiny is now divided into the departments of the Isère, the Hautes-Alpes, and the Drôme. Yet it was once that ‘midland part of Gaul’ of which Polybius averred that the Carthaginians sought it, Hannibal having crossed the Rhone near its junction with the Isère before he marched upon Vienne and Lyons. Marius visited the district exactly one hundred years before the Christian era, Pompey resided in Vienne, and Lepidus, before his ambitious colleagues drafted him off to Africa, ruled in Eastern Gaul. Cæsar not only held all these tribes in awe, but also encircled with walls the city of Vienne, which was already the delight of the Roman colonists and the seat of a senatorial body. Tradition has it that Pontius Pilate came to this favoured Vienne to die; the city to which he resorted was fated to become not only the capital of the province of Narbonne, but also the earliest Christian see in France. Thus the Roman governors gave place to Christian bishops. Thus the bishops of Vienne early began to play the important part which they were afterwards to fill, and no one complained that their semi-royal state contrasted sharply enough, not only with the simplicity of the apostolic age, but with the traditions of the first centuries, in whose martyrologies still shine the names of Irenæus, Pothinus, Félix, Zachary, and Ferréol. Noted evangelists had been Trophimus and Césaire, and noted leaders of thought became Hilary of Arles, the brothers Mamert, and Avite, the poet-bishop of Vienne. The lives of such churchmen consisted of the most varied tasks. They built churches and cloisters, but they had also to collect the fragments of literary and artistic life, to maintain the existence of the mechanical arts, and to preserve and copy manuscripts. They

formed a nucleus for parochial life in the 'chaos come again' of these emphatically dark ages; and they cut down forests, built bridges, drained morasses, and planted vineyards round the walls of the towns in which they preserved what Thierry calls 'the first spontaneous sketches of municipal organisation, by which they became the depositaries of those records which, according to Roman law, were inscribed in the registers of the city.' Privileges were assigned to them by the emperors which gave them lordship over the civic *defensores*. To their more sacred titles was added that of 'Dominus,' while Justinian promoted them not only to rule over the regular clergy, but also to exercise surveillance over all municipal affairs. In this way the bishops of Vienne, lords already over seven dioceses of the south, became imperial officers for certain temporal affairs, and insensibly 'a new order of civil magistracy was formed and acknowledged under the empire.' In these complex arrangements originated the claims of the metropolitan of Vienne over the seven districts of the Viennois, and also the gradual adoption by the bishops of a position diametrically opposed to that of the lay suzerains.

With the reign of Clovis (476) the Middle Ages began, but it was not till four centuries later that the fusion between the Gallo-Roman and the Germanic tribes became complete, and only at the close of the tenth century does French history cease to be obscure. But during that darkness the old and the new elements had fused themselves into union, with a marked difference, however, persisting between the civilisation of town and country. In the cities the Roman usages lingered and authority was divided, but in the country the essentially German institution of feudality, by giving a new constitution to society, prepared a change of manners and a romantic chapter for history. Of this system, with all its rigidity and its curious interdependencies, the emperor was the keystone; but when, after the death of Charlemagne, France relapsed into comparative anarchy, many of the great *leudes* of the empire thought the occasion a happy one for letting their feudal duties fall into abeyance. The absent emperors were put in the wrong, and in Western France, from the Jura to the Mediterranean, the Counts of Provence and Burgundy (titular kings of Arles) took royal state upon themselves. From them, too, depended vassals hardly inferior to themselves in power or pretensions. Thus it happened that when Rudolf II., the last Burgundian king, handed back his fief to the Emperor Conrad the Salic, the local nobles resented the appearance among them of an imperial suzerain. Conrad exerted his authority so far as to

quell their spirits for the time being, but, having had this specimen of their pretensions, he resolved to counterbalance power. He created the archbishop of Lyons an exarch, granted to the suffragans of Gap, Valence, and Die the quality of count, and to the prelates of Embrun, Vienne, and Grenoble the style and title of prince. We have seen that long ere this the simple republican forms of primitive Christianity had yielded to the demand for a hierarchy modelled on the temporal power, and through the policy of Conrad two dynasties of rulers came to grow side by side in the Viennois.

About 1030, two brothers were born at Albion, a tower of which the picturesque ruins may yet be seen near St. Rambert on the Rhone. They belonged to one of the five noblest families of the Viennois, and the younger became Prince-bishop of Grenoble, while the elder carried on the line of the Counts of the Grésivaudan. Under the title of Guigues I. he is reckoned as the first Dauphin of the dynasty of Albion, but he was in truth only the lay duplicate of his episcopal brother, who virtually possessed the whole Grésivaudan in *franc-allen*. His son, Guigues II., was more enterprising; he added to his estates, and boldly styled himself Count of Grenoble, a title that was perhaps ominous of the coming strife between his successor, Guigues III., and the Prince-bishop of Grenoble, the celebrated St. Hugues. This new 'County Guy' began to reign with considerable ideas of his own importance, and with every determination to enhance it. He married an English princess, Maisinde (or Mahault), and she chose, like the wife of William the Conqueror, to be styled nothing less than *Regina*. But to all his dreams of wealth and eminence in the Grésivaudan Guigues found an opponent. Bishop Hugues loved the temporalities of his fair see just as warmly as Guigues III. coveted them; nor was he loth to fight for them. Hugues first lodged an appeal against the Dauphin with the metropolitan of Vienne, a personage to whom the lay lords of the Grésivaudan were bound to present a candle yearly in token of homage. When thus summoned to answer for himself, Guigues declined to put in an appearance, either with or without the candle, and was excommunicated. He then declared war on his bishop, and, attacking him in his palace, obliged him to take refuge with Bruno, the recluse, in the wilderness of the Grande-Chartreuse. This warfare was kept up till Guy of Burgundy became Pope, under the name of Calixtus II. Then the dispute was made up. It ended in concessions on the part of the Dauphin, whom, however, other glories soon came to console for any loss of prestige or of fortune. He married

a daughter to Amé, Count of Savoy, and his heir to a niece of the new Pope. This alliance made matters doubly safe with the Church; and when we add that another niece of Calixtus was the wife of Louis le Gros of France, it will be seen that these Dauphins had drawn large matrimonial prizes, and had got their hands into the great game of European politics.

St. Hugues, still preoccupied by his struggles, compiled at Grenoble a unique collection of records and instances. This work, known as the 'Chartularies of St. Hugues,' places the litigious bishop in the first rank of authorities upon ecclesiastical law in France. The original manuscript still exists in the archives of his see, enriched by marginal notes from the hand of Chorier the historian, and scarred by many erasures, for all who found matter in the bishop's pages unfavourable to their own claims took care to obliterate such evidence as might be used against themselves. The Council of Pisa canonised St. Hugues de Grenoble, and he is still a saint to swear by in Dauphiny, where, however, we are inclined to think that he owes his lasting reputation less to his prolonged strife about the temporalities than to his friendship with St. Bruno.

On one of the long days of June 1084, St. Bruno, with six associates, passed over the bridge of the Isère, and left Grenoble to take possession of the mountain refuge, which is 975 mètres above the level of the sea, and where silence had ever reigned. The mountains of the Grande-Chartreuse belong to the pale, compact limestones of the upper Neocomian beds, and they are among the highest in Dauphiny. Their frowning precipices, the gloom of their deep valleys, the monstrous ledges of rock, and the hoarse raving of the torrents, like the beauty of the wild flowers, are all unchanged since, on the eve of St. John's Day, eight hundred years ago, the saint first laid himself down to sleep in his cell. But eight hundred years ago the desert and the solitary places were infested by bears and wolves, and even the birds of prey, the huge *geyers* that wheeled about the face of the crags, must have hungered after the limbs of the seven strange men who had suddenly dared to invade their ancient solitary reign.

The earlier life of the recluse had been spent in very different scenes: either in many-spired Cologne, which was his birthplace, or in the diocese of Rheims, of which the bishopric, it was reported, was once offered, and offered in vain, to a man whose mind was wholly turned to the contemplative rather than to the active virtues of religion. Judging of St. Bruno after many centuries, it may be said that ascetic monasticism

threw mankind back upon its miracle-seeking, wondering childhood, whereby its growth was retarded, while the religion of these anchorites assumed an intensely subjective cast. But in a martial age, when men witnessed every day the horrors of slavery and the countless barbarities of the great, this retreat of St. Bruno was felt to be a protest against violence and pride, a vindication of piety, humility, chastity, sobriety, and silence. No dissolute, idle, vagabond friars had as yet degraded the ideal of monasticism, and when convents lost the respect of the people it was because the monks had themselves lost the spirit of their founder.

At the Grande-Chartreuse the cell of St. Bruno is still pointed out, and so is the spring from which he drank, but the present chapel of Notre-Dame de Casalibus replaces the primitive shrines of the Holy Virgin and of St. John. Avalanches and fires have dealt roughly with the buildings, and the visitor who now paces the cloisters of the large convent of 1676 may look in vain for any vestiges of the original foundation. In the great cemetery of the order he will also seek in vain for the founder's grave. St. Bruno died in Italy; having been summoned away by Pope Urban, he now sleeps far from the great house where his six companions, Landuin, Etienne de Dye, Hugues, André, Guérin, and Etienne de Bourg, all survived him. He left no written code of rules, yet he has had a long line of followers, and a hundred and seventy-three convents have been planted in Europe as offshoots of that parent cell among the snows of the Grand Sou and the Chamechante. Though the Carthusian order has never sent a pope to St. Peter's chair, yet six cardinals, two patriarchs, five archbishops, and forty-nine bishops have been drawn from its monasteries. There were recently in France nine religious houses in which the rule of St. Bruno was observed, and this continuity of tradition has survived four families of French sovereigns, many revolutions, and three dynasties of those Dauphins of the Viennois to whose fortunes we must now return. Oddly enough, the Grande-Chartreuse has in our own times escaped the proscription that has fallen on the religious orders and houses of France, chiefly because it has become a huge distillery of the well-known *liqueur* which bears its name, and brings in a large revenue to the State.

To Guigues IV. succeeded Guigues V., who died at Vizille in 1162, and was the last of the race of Albon. His only daughter, Béatrix, had married the Duke of Burgundy, and upon her death the succession in the Dauphinate of the Viennois passed to her second son, André. But this Burgun-

dian dynasty was short-lived. The lands that 'had come with a lass,' soon went away with one, for after three generations they passed into the family of the barons of La Tour du Pin. The traveller whose road lies from Grenoble to Lyons may notice that, after leaving behind him Voreppe and Voiron's panorama of the mountains, he enters a fertile valley, which is that of the Bourbre. There ruined castles and busy factories, along with mines of iron and lignite, bear witness alike to the ancient importance and to the modern wealth of the district of La Tour du Pin. Four princes of that house reigned in Dauphiny, from 1309, to 1343. They had brief reigns, and only the history of the last of them is possessed of general interest, but it is so full of colour and variety that it reads like a romance.

Born in 1312, of the Dauphin John II. and of Clémence-Béatrix of Hungary his wife, Humbert II. had for his maternal ancestors Charles Martel, King of Hungary, and Robert, King of Sicily. He was in Naples, and barely twenty years of age, when he heard of the death of his brother, the childless Dauphin Guigues. Mediæval feudality was at this moment in its meridian of power and importance, and the counts of Southern France had become princes in all lands. Nowhere was life so gay, so civilised, or so picturesque, as in the valley of the Rhone. There jest and earnest succeeded each other, with courts of love and feats of arms, crusades and tournaments, knights and troubadours, popes and pilgrims, mitred abbots and Barbary corsairs, preaching friars and Lombard bankers, while echoes of European wars came thither, mixed with Tuscan sonnets and Vatican interdicts. The predecessor of Humbert had married Isabella of France, but, that ambitious marriage proving sterile, it was impressed on Humbert, last of his race, that he should make an early choice, and raise up heirs to the Dauphinate and to the house of La Tour du Pin. He accordingly took to himself a wife, and though he chose her from his immediate neighbourhood, and from among his own maternal relations, no nobler maiden could have been found in France, or in the two Sicilies, than this bride belonging to the house of Les Baux. Marie des Baux was the child of a long line of barons who yielded to none in quasi-royal pretensions, and who were noted for all the savage virtues, and more than all the savage vices, of the feudal nobility. Her father, Bertrand IV. des Baux, married the Princess Béatrix of Anjou-Sicily. Hung like a jewel on the broad blue ribbon of the Rhone, lay his little kingdom of Baux and Orange, and strange legends were told, then as now, of the antiquity of the city of Les Baux.

Whatever may be its real date (and it claims to have been founded by the Three Kings), it now presents an aspect of desolation which may possibly be matched by the cities of the Hauran, but which in Europe has no equal. It is one of the sights of Provence, for the town was originally excavated, rather than built, out of the limestone of the crag* on which it stood, and where it now lies, like a pomegranate torn open, so as to show its myriad ruined cells. In its palmy days Les Baux contained a population of 3,600 souls, but having been blown up with gunpowder in the time of Mazarin, it is now deserted and all but inaccessible. It can only be approached by a steep ascent from the Vallon d'Enfer; nor is this the only difficulty. The place is a labyrinth of streets that lead to nothing, or that end abruptly at some yawning fissure which is ill masked by a tangle of bryony and euphorbia bushes. Yet chapels and houses, with a hospital, a hippodrome, and a castle, all show where the city stood that was ruler over seventy-nine towns, known as *les places Baussenques*. Those bold barons, whose supremacy reached along the Provençal shores as far as Ventimiglia, held here a miniature court, midway between the Rhone and the hills, and they could boast of a long pedigree of violence and pride. When Petrarch was their neighbour, Les Baux had already seven centuries of fame. Crusaders, poets, wizards, and ambassadors had appeared in their annals, and time would fail us to speak here of Raymond fortifying himself in Orange, of Bertrand threatening Pisa, of Raimbaud singing his verses in a court of love, and of Agoult living as an ambassador in Venice. Barral 'outwatching the Bear,' when winter skies were clear above the hills, or studying alchemy in his closet, is a strange solitary figure, but we are brought back again to the current of European history by Hugues Raymond, who imprisoned the Queen of Naples at Gactà until she gave a reluctant consent to the marriage of his heir with her sister, Marie of Durazzo, titular Empress of Constantinople. Nor would the fair women of this family occupy less of our time, if, before showing how Marie des Baux went as the Dauphin's bride to Grenoble, we were to speak of her ancestress Adelasie, praised of troubadours, or of Cécile, surnamed the Hollyhock (*passerose*) on account of her tall and stately beauty. Isoarde (the aunt of the Dauphine), who was burnt alive at Romans on account of her horrible crimes, is an unpleasant theme; it has even been affirmed

* The word which in Italian appears as *balzo*, a crag, is in Provençal *bau* or *baux*, and *baudelon* is its diminutive.

(though we think quite erroneously) that Petrarch's Laura was a princess of this illustrious house.

Pass we, however, now to our young Dauphine Marie des Baux, wedded in 1332 to Humbert II. of La Tour du Pin, getting sixteen estates in the Viennois for her jointure, and receiving on her bridal day from her uncle, the King of Naples, 1,000 ounces of red gold. Her money was very acceptable, for this bride was as proud as she was fair, and the Dauphin, though already cruelly in debt to the Jews, was preparing to give her a splendid reception. Jean de Poncey enumerates her dresses and the sums allotted not only for her privy purse, but also for the allowances of those noble young ladies who waited on the illustrious bride. Marie had a house in Paris, on the Place de Grève, if she chose to occupy it, and a castle at La Rochechinart, on the banks of the Isère, which she often honoured by her presence, for there Dauphiny wears its most smiling aspect. But to the Dauphine Marie this fast-flowing and abounding Isère was to prove a fateful stream, and better than La Rochechinart had been for her the steep crags of Les Baux, or those long brackish lakelets which form such a distinctive feature of her native Rhone land. The Dauphine became a mother at Naples, but soon brought her little son home to gladden the hearts of her subjects in the Viennois. It needed not Jean de Poncey, keeper of the household accounts, nor the Bishop of Tivoli, keeper of the Dauphin's conscience, nor even the wise Amblard de Beaumont, the prothonotary, to tell Marie des Baux how much depended upon her infant's life. No doubt the little André was, at two years old, also very precious to her own heart; but the divinity that shapes our ends did not intend that in his person should be continued the line of La Tour du Pin in the Dauphinate of the Viennois. On one summer evening the little boy jumped from his father's arms and fell through one of the windows of the castle. No other child came to replace this lost heir. When Pope Clement V. published his crusade against the Turks, Humbert took up the cause warmly, was named generalissimo of the Christian forces, and elected to abandon his country to the temporary charge of Villars, Archbishop of Lyons. The Dauphine determined to follow her restless husband, and they embarked together at Marseilles in September, 1343, but the poor lady soon drooped, and she died alone at Rhodes in the spring of 1347. A union with Jeanne de Bourbon was instantly proposed to the widower by the friends, who saw with dismay that the Dauphinate was as destitute of an heir as it had been at the moment of Humbert's succession. But the Dauphin,

always unstable and melancholy, pleaded bad health, and so the project came to nothing, possibly less from these causes than because Humbert had already privately conceived a very different plan for the disposal of himself, of his estates, and of the charms of Princess Jeanne de Bourbon.

Once, during the lifetime of Dauphine Marie, he had gone so far as to make a treaty with King Philip of France, and had then, acting under the advice of his prothonotary Amblard de Beaumont, suggested the possible transfer of his Dauphinate, should he die without issue, to Philip of Orleans, the second son of the sovereign. But Humbert's disposition was fickle, and in the following year he tore up this first agreement, and filled up new letters patent with the names of 'John, the firstborn of the King of France, and Charles, his 'firstborn,' princes then known at court as the Dukes of Normandy. Historians assign no reason for this alteration of the bequest further than the fact that at the time of Pope Clement's coronation at Avignon, the Dauphin, who was present, there made the acquaintance of the Duke of Normandy. A friendship formed then was now to take a sensible shape, and in 1350, when it was made known, it received the good wishes both of Amblard de Beaumont and of the Supreme Pontiff. Two years of absence from Dauphiny had not done anything towards putting Humbert's affairs in order. On the contrary, his troubles had recently increased and multiplied. His country was visited by a famine, and the tax of two *gros sous* on every hearth was very hard to collect. Then fast on the heels of the famine came the great plague of the Black Death which swept over Europe. It continued its ravages for many months, nor did it cease even after Humbert caused some Jews to be burnt alive for having at once poisoned the wells and provoked the visitation of Heaven by their usury. History does not say whether any of his personal creditors perished in this *auto-da-jé*, which would have been an original way of paying old debts. To make matters worse, the emperor suddenly called on him to furnish, in feudal duty, a contingent for his army, and very soon after the French king, under whom he happened to hold some lands on the other side of the Rhone, summoned him to *appareiller ses gens*, and take his part in a war with Bavaria. These demands were trying to the bankrupt master of a depopulated province. Wife and child were both dead, and the projected marriage with Jeanne de Bourbon, though a rich match, tempted Humbert so little that he actually proposed her as a bride for the young Duke of Normandy. As for

himself he made up his mind to take a long leave of Dauphiny and of power. Always powerfully influenced by some person or some plan, he was at present under the charm of Jean Birel, the superior of the Carthusian order, who advised him to retire from a world where he had found a large share of its cares and disappointments. He made up his mind to abdicate, but could not at once fix upon the place of his retreat. He finally chose Avignon, where he possessed some property, and where he had already established his mother in a religious house.

‘This city of Avignon,’ wrote Nougier, ‘is noble from its antiquity, agreeable from its site, superb from its walls, pleasing from the fertility of its soil, charming from the politeness of its inhabitants, as well as magnificent from its palaces, beautiful from its wide streets, marvellous from the structure of its bridge, rich from its commerce, and known to the whole world.’

It was also, at this critical moment in Humbert’s life, the centre of literary, religious, and political activity. The Papacy, brought to it by the Popes Gelasius and Clement V., was now represented there by Clement VI. Giotto and Simone Memmi had embellished its palace walls; the presence of many Italian families gave a cosmopolitan tone to its society; and Petrarch had only ceased to walk its wide streets because the plague decimated its rich and fortunate burghers, when Laura de Sades had been one of its victims. The city had been originally accepted by the Popes as the place of what Petrarch termed their ‘Babylonish captivity;’ but the love of dominion was never long dormant in these princes of the Church, and Clement VI. had just found the opportunity of buying the State of Avignon from the Queen of Naples. The profligate heiress of the Counts of Forcalquier was in need of money, and for 80,000 florins Pope Clement possessed himself of a property which attracted him all the more because his own coronation had taken place in the city at the church of the Jacobins. Towards that convent Humbert now turned his eyes. He abdicated at midsummer, and repaired to Avignon for the Christmas Eve of 1350. On that night, as is well known, the Church enjoins a threefold celebration of the mass. The first office is that called *Missa galli cantus*, and is followed by that of the *Ortus diei*, or dawn; while the third and last is the *Summa missa*, or High Mass of Christmas morning. Humbert II. was here, at the first of the three services, ordained a deacon, and at the second a priest. Thus, when the *summa missa* began, he was able to officiate in person, to sprinkle water from the holy stoup, and to walk singing the ‘*Asperges*,’

till the supreme moment arrived when this new-made priest might for the first time 'ascend to the altar of God.' The romantic element, always very strong in Humbert, here reached its culminating point. But life has a dark side as well as a dramatic one, and the records and archives still preserved in Grenoble show that this picturesque scene had a lining of the most sordid cares. The Dauphin, as we said, when he wedded Marie des Baux, lived in extravagant style, with retainers and seneschals, minstrels, dwarfs, and jugglers, and with a household the officers of which might have vied in numbers and functions with many a court of Europe. In plain truth he had to begin life with borrowed money, and as he continued to borrow there came a time when, to meet his liabilities in general, and a sum of 16,000 florins owing to Pope Clement in particular, he had to raise money on the security of his vast estates, and finally to commence selling his property by instalments. Amblard de Beaumont, prothonotary of the Viennois, and a member of one of its greatest houses, knew all his master's embarrassments, and saw the coming ruin and dismemberment of the province should Humbert be allowed to parcel it away in fragments. He was therefore the first to behold in the French king a saviour for the integrity of the Viennois, and the deaths of Dauphine Marie and of little André further determined him to work in that direction. Philip of Valois caught at the idea. The essential thing was to tempt Humbert with pecuniary aid, to leave him apparently free, and yet to manage to have the Dauphinate transferred to France as a whole. The king, though not a little embarrassed by his wars with England, offered to lay down such a sum as should not only clear the Dauphin's debts, but leave him a rental for the rest of his life. With the full connivance of Amblard the French king next began to buy the consent of the great barons and vassals of the Viennois. The saying attributed to Sir Robert Walpole, 'that every man has his price,' was certainly true of the Dauphin's subjects, and what is more curious is that the exact price of each of them is still on record. The prothonotary, to begin with, got 200 livres, and might reasonably look for future benefits, so exceptional were his position and his part in the bargain with Humbert. As a general rule the fee was in proportion to the size of the fief, or to the resistance which might be feared from its holder. Thus Henri de Sassenage, who represented one of the oldest families, one that had been formidable ere the first 'County Guy' came out of Albon, got an annuity of 200 livres, while an unimportant

Etienne Delros was cut down as low as five livres. Hugues Alleman, on the contrary, lord of the Valbonnais, fared most nobly. He was the head of a house so feared for its power and temper that a local proverb warns the public to '*gare la queue des Allemans.*' He was therefore well worth conciliating, lest now, as once in the days of Conrad the Salic, the Allemans should enter their terrible *non placet*. His pension was fixed at 300 livres, and a sum not much inferior to it was handed to Brunier, the chancellor. With such golden keys did the French king open every château in Dauphiny. '*Force de Coummiers*' made no resistance; '*bonté de Granges*' accepted the royal bribe as quietly as did '*sagesse de Guiffrey*,' or '*proesse de Terrail*,' while the Duke of Normandy had to rely on the equally proverbial '*amitié de Beaumont*,' when the time drew near for turning words into deeds, and bringing the feeble Humbert to the moment of his abdication. It came at last, and everything went smoothly for the French princes. With the broad silver pieces of France ringing in their pockets, did all the knights of Dauphiny assemble that day, to take leave of their hereditary lord, and to see the great sword of the Dauphins buckled on to the young Charles of Normandy, a stripling of twelve years old, who, during the ceremony, stood beside the Duke his father, grasping with his boyish hands the sceptre and the banner of St. George of Albon. Facing that group was the last of the Dauphins, Humbert II. of La Tour du Pin, already at thirty-seven years of age an old man, childless and broken, and proposing to exchange the banner and sword for the living death of the cloister.

We have seen his entrance into a religious house at Avignon, but those knew Humbert very little who imagined that the Jacobins would long retain him as one of their body. He soon sickened of the monotony of vigil and psalm, and his vanity began to crave for some distinctions or titles to replace those which he had just sold to the king. He thought with regret of the days when he wrote himself Dauphin of the Viennois, Prince of the Briançonnais, Duc de Champsaur, Marquis de Césane, Comte of Vienne, Baron Palatine, of La Tour du Pin, and Captain-General of the armies of the Holy See. The Pope, to indulge this passion for titles, now created him Patriarch of Alexandria, a place which, since Rome had made herself an ecclesiastical capital, no longer maintained its original position as the second see of the Christian world, but which was in its decadence perhaps all the better suited to the broken fortunes of the fallen Humbert. But this barren honour did not suffice for a man who was again in debt.

Having still some houses and river dues to sell, the Patriarch found some profit and pleasure in bargaining about them, and in 1351 got himself named 'perpetual administrator' of the diocese of Rheims. This was a most lucrative post, and one which might have secured him in comfort for the rest of his life, had he not selected, perhaps on account of this very tie to Rheims, to live in Paris. The Jacobins of Avignon were now well out of sight and out of mind. Humbert, it is true, wore a Dominican robe, but he resided at Vincennes, till his restlessness again awoke. He wished to be made Archbishop of Paris. The king said that he had no objection, but the Pope remained to be consulted. Having this new favour to ask of Clement VI., Humbert started for Avignon in 1355, but he sickened and died at Clermont-Ferrand before the result of his petition to the Supreme Pontiff could be known. No more curious personality than this of Humbert, the last of the Dauphins, is to be found in mediæval history. He had all the mental and physical weaknesses of a race about to expire, but along with all the pride of his house and station his narrow reckonings suggest an age of usury rather than one of chivalry. Even after the sale of his splendid inheritance he was reduced to extreme penury, and certainly deserved many of the epigrams made at the expense of 'a husband without a wife, a father without an heir, a king without subjects, and a friar without a convent.'

It now remained to be seen whether the French princes, who had acquired Dauphiny without striking a blow, could either rule it or keep it. They did both, and they did so all the more easily because their acquisition of the fief early obtained a gracious recognition from the emperor. This secured them from any foreign rivals, while the largesses so freely distributed among the nobility, along with the constant good offices of Amblard de Beaumont, smoothed all local difficulties as they arose. Nor must it be denied that though the French princes had bought the Dauphinate of the Viennois with 224,300 pieces of silver and many bribes, they yet brought to the administration of the province which they termed Dauphiny, very liberal and constitutional ideas. Not content with ratifying all the clauses of the treaty of transport, the young duke took care to confirm all those liberties of his subjects which the *statuts delphinales* had ever bestowed upon them. He ordered that their money should continue in currency, and that his lieutenant-governors should swear upon the gospels to maintain and to observe the laws and liberties of the province; all judges should be continued in office, and the

rights of the municipalities were to be respected in every way. In this manner was the province of Dauphiny secured to the French monarchy. In the long struggle which inaugurated the history of modern Europe, we know that the banners of Dauphiny were ever the last in a retreat, and that they were generally in the van when the barons went down with their Chevalier Bayard to fight in the plains of Lombardy.

It has been the fortune, or misfortune, of France to have been for nineteen centuries a field for experiments in the shaping of society—experiments not all yet exhausted, and which have served to render the history of the country, or rather the history of civilisation in France, more precocious, varied, vivid, if not more complete, than elsewhere in Europe. In Dauphiny, as it happens, its initial stages are exhibited with great distinctness. There was first the era of the senate and the pro-consuls, of the military stations, the roads, the temples, and the bath. Then came the work of the clergy, who were for twelve centuries the architects and the builders of society, the saviours of that part of ancient culture which could be preserved, the tapers of the barbarians, the light of the new world, and the preachers of righteousness. The dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne rendered a military rule necessary; princes, counts, barons, bishops, abbots had all to enter the feudal system and to refashion society with the sword. But this system was big with another birth of time. All the little feudal estates or principalities must merge in the great country, they must form a 'native land' for Frenchmen, and inspire a better patriotism under '*unq loy, unq foy, unq roy.*'

The period on which we now enter is that of monarchical France. Grenoble has received a royal governor, and Dauphiny must submit to the now dominant influence in Europe, the high pretensions of monarchy. Another influence was not long in making itself felt in the province. There are men who embody, long before its time, an idea which is later to become the common property of mankind. The life of Pierre de Vaux, the merchant reformer of Lyons, was of intense importance to Europe and to France, though 'it was not till 1375 that 'his sect took root in Dauphiny.' The people of that country are a stubborn race, fond of dissent, and bold in maintaining their own view of any question, so that his tenets soon became popular. The governor of the province was uneasy. Etienne de St. Marcel preached a mission against the Waldensian heresy, and in 1393 Borelly, the inquisitor, caused two hundred and thirty of its confessors to be burnt alive. It is astonishing

that among their 'alpine mountains cold' these men so long defied the crusades made against them, and no small debt of gratitude is owing to the 'slaughtered saints' for their noble attitude. They were the first to defend that duty of private judgment which was presently to become a force. It was fated to counterbalance in Europe at once the demand for orthodoxy in religion and the arbitrary power of kingcraft. Progress and reaction became two distinct camps, and the stupendous edifice which Catholicism had reared in France was threatened at last, less perhaps by the doctrinal errors of Popery than by the new efforts which orthodoxy made to maintain herself in power. The Reformation spread because every country was as a seed-bed prepared for its germs, and in Dauphiny, where the Waldensian teachings and the Waldensian sufferings were alike unforgotten, it was received with delight. Men of all classes adopted it, and even Tallard, Bishop of Gap, lent an ear to doctrines which were all the more unfriendly to his office, as the immense wealth of the Church offered a standing temptation to its neighbours. In other countries the appropriation of church property had added to the fortunes of the lay aristocracy. But this motive was not a universal one. What was general and genuine was the wish for reform and for liberty in religion. One of the greatest of the reformers was at hand to fan this flame. Guillaume Farel, born within sight of the crests of the Great Mont Pelvoux, laboured in his native land. Learned, gifted, bold, and single-hearted, he was wont to assemble in a small disused mill a congregation which was too often dispersed with threats and stones. Such a congregation, willing to combine with others in similar straits, formed the nucleus of a party that only required a leader to enable them to return with interest the attacks to which they were exposed.

Leaders were found as soon as ever the reformed party became strong enough to be either courted or feared by the State; and the Huguenots had not long to wait for one. Throughout the wars, so called, of 'religion,' which lasted for about fifty years, no figures loom so gigantic as those of the two great soldiers of Dauphiny, the Baron des Adrets and the Constable de Lesdiguières. François de Beaumont, better known as the Baron des Adrets, drew his descent from an elder brother of Amblard, the prothonotary, and therefore represented in the more direct line those Beaumonts who at the close of the tenth century checked the Saracens in the Grésivaudan, and who in the twelfth century had followed the crusade of Bernard of Clairvaux. Bonne de Lesdiguières, on the contrary, was only lord of a small and very poor fief, that of

Champsaur, in the wildest district of Dauphiny. Both were partisans of the reformed faith, both, says Béra, 'very *bizarres*, very cruel, and both mighty good captains.' Bayle and De Thou have left such portraits of the Baron des Adrets as pencils dipped in hatred, declamation, and party spirit might trace, and in most of the cities that are watered by the Rhone and the Durance he is still spoken of as a devouring flame. In spite of many opportunities for growing rich by the spoils of the Church, the Baron des Adrets died as poor as when he first took up arms. 'He was,' says Béra, 'a scourge of God, and yet a warrior whom France might have placed among her greatest men but for his cruel and revengeful passions.'

Then alongside of him there grew up the greater warrior and the wiser party-leader, Bonne de Lesdiguières. The history of this '*bon capitaine*' has been written by his secretary Videt, and only the length and prolixity of the faithful servant's work prevents it from now being read as a romance. The incidents are amazing. Born of a Catholic house, but inheriting from his mother the blood of a Provençal and Protestant family, that of Castellane, the young Lesdiguières early embraced the reformed faith, and, though intended for the bar, as early adopted the profession of arms. He won his spurs in the breach at Sisteron, where his commanding officer noticed him, remarking if that boy's life was spared he would not fail to make himself known. This fortress of Sisteron is a spot intended as it were by nature for the first page of such a romance. Here the Durance is, on one side, commanded by the fortress and its guns, and is hemmed in on the other by bold cliffs and escarpments of yellow limestone. The river seems to be forcing its way with difficulty from Dauphiny down into those broad valleys that by Mirabeau and Pertuis will at length conduct its white waters to the Rhone. Young Lesdiguières felt that his day's work at Sisteron was critical, and he wrote soon after to his mother to tell her of his safety, and to remark that 'he who serves his country has entered on the road that leads to the highest honours.' The words were prophetic. Summoned while still almost a youth to the councils of the Huguenot party, he received many proofs of friendship both from Condé and from Henry of Navarre, and he continued to lead their troops for many years against the armies of the Ligue. On one occasion Lesdiguières took a terrible vengeance on the Catholic party at Embrun, where the common people still point out to strangers the shoe-prints of the charger on which the overbold heretic rode straight into

their cathedral. The death of such a captain was not long in being attempted by enemies who noted all his value to the Huguenot cause. The Bishop of Embrun contrived his assassination, but the plot miscarried, and Lesdiguieres, who seemed to bear a charmed life, summoned his would-be assassin into his presence. '*Mon amy,*' he said to the trembling prisoner, who probably expected nothing but a short hempen rope and a shorter shrift, '*faictes mes compliments à ceux qui vous ont envoyé,*' and no other vengeance was taken on the culprit. The Edict of Poitiers, in 1579, brought about a short lull, during which the Huguenots engaged to lay down their arms; but we can well believe that Lesdiguieres, who was far more ardently Protestant than the King of Navarre, rejoiced when, in 1580, a fresh rising took place in Dauphiny. The whole province rang with his exploits; and when he managed to fortify a place near Gap in thirteen days, what wonder that he was popularly credited with having the Evil One for his master builder, since 720 feet of wall and four bastions grew up like mushrooms in the night, so that Puymore was, on the fourteenth day, victualled, and ready to stand a siege? After the murder of Henri III. at Montretout, Alphonse d'Ornano, the royal governor of Dauphiny, was not sorry to make peace with Lesdiguieres, perhaps even to see himself replaced in Grenoble by the successful captain whom Henri IV. naturally delighted to honour, and whom he was wise enough to trust. Lesdiguieres, though armed with authority, knew that much yet remained to be done ere the monarchy was secured to the son of Jeanne d'Albret. We first see him fighting the Bastard of Savoy, and robbing him of thirty-two standards. Neither could Epemon resist him, and Lesdiguieres, crossing the Durance, swept into Provence, seized Aix, Toulon, Fréjus, and Cannes, and held them for his king. Henri IV. met him at Lyons, and then rewards and honours began to be heaped upon him. Marshal of France in 1607, and commander of Lower Languedoc, as well as of the Cevennes and the Vivarais, he finally received from Louis XIII. the title of 'Constable, because he had never been beaten, but was always 'a victor.' The fortunate soldier did not lack means for supporting these dignities. By his marriage with a Bérenger he had allied himself to the great house of Sassenage, and by the spoliation of many sees and abbeysteads he had become enormously wealthy, both in lands and in money. A subject so powerful might well have been feared in an age which was one of adventure, since only too lately, and at the very gates of Paris, had the crown of France seemed to hang on a bush.

What the Guises had done Lesdiguieres might have been suspected of attempting; but fortunately—and it says a great deal for both of them—no jealousies ever arose between Henri IV. and a servant who remained faithful to the reformed tenets long after the master had discovered that the kingdom of fair France was well worth a mass.

Lesdiguieres did ultimately join the Church of Rome, but under what influence or for what reasons has never appeared. The step possibly pleased his mistress, Marie Vignon, and certainly delighted his secretary Videl, who was a Catholic, and who tells us how seven years before his master's abjuration of the errors of the Calvinistic heresy he had been urged to recant by Cardinal Ludovisi. 'When your Eminence becomes Pope, I will then think about turning Catholic,' had been the ready but jesting reply of the courteous Constable; and it happened that in the whirligig of time both these things came to pass; Ludovisi sat in St. Peter's chair, and the old soldier ended more than sixty years of Huguenot victories by dying at Valence in the communion of the Church of Rome. He was then eighty-three years of age, and, brave as he had been, he had never felt a wound. Sully remarks that what Amblard de Beaumont had gained for the French crown was preserved to it by Lesdiguieres, and that the Constable was never accused of wishing to appropriate the sovereignty of Dauphiny. 'Perhaps,' slyly insinuates the minister, 'he *did* wish that the king might very long require his services, and above all never put his royal foot in the province.' Henri IV. never did enter it, but Louis XIII. visited this great subject at Vizille, where Lesdiguieres kept such state as never lieutenant-general kept before. The wooded hills that rise behind the castle were enclosed in his great park, and he built such towers, walls, and bastions, that in this instance again the common people declared that he had had Satan for his architect. Nor was it, alas! only in the Constable's mortar-tubs that the archfiend worked. He was known to have found a shelter (where a crevice too often has sufficed to hold him) in the breast of a woman. 'This great soldier was as weak under a pair of bright eyes as many a *bon capitaine* has been since that fatal morning when Achilles wept in his tent the departure of Briseis. Moreover, Marie Vignon, the wife of Ennemond Matel, a silk merchant of Grenoble, was said to possess a talisman by which she enslaved all hearts. Lesdiguieres, already white-haired, certainly loved her far too well, considering that his duchess Claudine de Bérenger was still alive, and that Matel had had spirit enough first to beat his faithless spouse, and then to send her back to her parents.

Fortune, or her talisman, however, presently came to Marie's assistance. The sickly duchess, by dying opportunely at Puy-more, left the Constable a widower, and honest Matel, who had no intention whatever of dying and of making his frail fair one a widow, was murdered one dark night in a vineyard in the environs of Grenoble, on a spot which for years has kept its ominous name of 'malanot' (*la mauvaise nuit*). Marie, first created Marquise de Tréfort, was ere long wedded to her old lover, who on his demise left her the richest widow in France.

After so many exploits of love and war it is no wonder that Lesdiguieres continues, even after the lapse of centuries, to be the hero of many legends in Dauphiny, and that his martial ghost still haunts the gallery of Vizille. No figure was ever more fitted to fill the popular imagination, and his really great works remain in the country to this day. They are not, like the ruined castles and scathed monasteries of the Baron des Adrets, mere monuments of destructive force, but abiding proofs of his genius and of his constructive energies. He commenced the works of the citadel of Grenoble and built its Bastille. The Pont de Claix was his work, and so were some of the gates of Grenoble, and that great road into Provence, which from his castle at Vizille ran to his paternal fief of Champsaur, and ultimately reached the lower country by way of Gap and Embrun. In the reign of Louis XIV. this route, made for the Constable's own convenience, ceased to be the only highway to Provence. A new road was cut through the passage of the Croix Haute to Serres. From either of these roads the traveller may judge for himself of the beauties of Dauphiny, a country only too little valued by tourists and artists. The mountains that overhang Gap are among the highest of the French Alps, but the Mont de l'Aiguille and the giants of the Devoluy chain affect the imagination by their extraordinary outlines. Whoever travels the *route de Provence*, whether in early summer sunshine, with the countless narcissus blossoms at his feet, or in an autumnal storm, when the hoarse raving of some swollen torrent warns him to seek for shelter ere the darkness falls, may invoke, as he walks, the spirit of Bonne de Lesdiguieres. The Constable may be remembered here, either as brave and young, swarming up the breach at Sisteron, or as rich and old, and calling out the peasants to labour on these roads by the short but pithy summons which he was wont to placard on their village walls, '*Viendrez, ou je brûlerai.*'

At last the wars of religion came to an end, and during a hundred years of rest from persecution the Protestants of Dau-

phiny founded their great schools and developed its industries. But the reign of Louis XIII. was far from being a fortunate epoch for Dauphiny; for while the ancient *états* were suppressed after 1628, the policy of Richelieu undermined the power of the nobles. At Versailles Louis XIV. fascinated his subjects by the splendours of his autocracy, but at the same time that he demanded and required prodigious grants from the provinces, the *grand monarque* did not hesitate to take a step that was to impoverish France for generations. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was a fatal blow to commerce in France, and Dauphiny was ruined by the *dragonnades*. The nobles emigrated to Switzerland or Prussia, the academies of Gap and Die succumbed, streets and valleys were drenched with gore, and Grenoble, which had refused to have a massacre of St. Bartholomew, had now to mourn for three thousand souls.* On a country thus depopulated taxation and the conscription both fell heavily, and the Dauphinois asked themselves sadly what had become of the thrice-blessed exemption from the *taille* for which Humbert stipulated three centuries ago. Royal palaces and a royal harem cost dear; the civil list of Louis XIV. was the most formidable to which a sovereign has ever owned, while a widespread and endemic pauperism ate into the spirit and relaxed all the energies of the population.

Through all the years of nominal glory for France, and of real misery for her provinces, the Parliament of Dauphiny complained bitterly, but complained in vain. Centralisation was fast effacing the old *régime* of provincial rights, and local jurisdictions, however numerous, had comparatively lost their importance after the appearance of fixed secretaries of State. There were, as Saint-Simon expressed it, five kings of France, and of all those who held the portfolios of office, assuredly the least to be envied were the finance ministers of the last half of the eighteenth century. Each made futile attempts to grapple with a hideous deficit, till France, in 1788, found herself threatened with nothing less than a national bankruptcy. How to meet public and private wants in Dauphiny was the problem that exercised the minds of the Périer family. Nature had done something for their native province. There were

* In the district of Mens Protestantism has now a very firm hold, and the reformed faith is favourably regarded in many *cantons*. That of Notre-Dame de Vaux is able to show a very unique relic of the old freedom of opinion in the province. It has a Jansenist congregation, for whom an aged priest says mass. His flock, though innocent of any memory of the Bull *Unigenitus*, have their own views on predestination and on the sacraments.

mines of iron and lignite, of anthracite and of ochre, a little lead, and some veins of silver, copper, and platina, not to speak of the vast beds of gypsum which now supply all France with cements of the greatest value. The blades of Vienne were famous, and the Rhone vineyards yielded noble wines, both white and red. The lower districts produced walnuts and almonds, while countless mulberry trees nourished silkworms for that trade in silk which Vaucanson's looms were soon to devlope. Now, as in the days of Hannibal, the Alpine pastures were in great repute, and grassy valleys reared the countless sheep whose fleeces were sent down to the cloth mills of Vienne and Voiron. At the latter place the Périers had started their cloth factory, and there Claude Périer wedded Marie Pascal. While she reared her beautiful boys her husband and her brothers took counsel together how to increase the wealth of Dauphiny, how to overcome the many cruel hindrances placed in the way of trade in France, and, above all, how to educate young men for the coming struggle of a too surely imminent catastrophe. It was patent now to every thoughtful observer that an abyss must soon open under the feet of the ruler of France. Food was extravagantly dear, the nobles spent their money in Paris, while paupers cooked the roadside weeds. Up in the high *mansardes* of Versailles some of the economists had shaken their powdered heads, and proposed for France a development of agriculture such as the elder Mirabeau believed might secure for this bankrupt country a millennium of corn and wine and *produit net*. But Mirabeau was himself more deeply in debt than anybody, and the public, not giving much belief to the economists, laughed at an hypocrisy of humanitarianism which, among fine people in Paris, only replaced the hypocrisy of devotion. Still able men like Claude Périer saw that trade might do for France what *boursecotiers* and economists were all unable to accomplish. It is upon the world of the *tiers état* that we enter when we place ourselves, in 1788, at the table of Claude and Marie Périer. The fare may be frugal enough, but by what a goodly company is it surrounded! Not one of the group but will be heard of; for here are the brothers-in-law Pascal and Duchesne, the sons-in-law Rollin and Teissière, the nephew Jordan, and the seven boys, of whom Casimir is the third in age, but the first in beauty of feature and in intellect. The Oratorians of Lyons, where he has been at school, esteem him the genius out of a band of brothers, of whom six will be heard of as deputies, and of whom the eldest (Augustin) will die a peer of France. Besides

the education given by the Oratorians, these boys received the practical training of their home life, and found themselves early interested in a hundred important questions. Claude Périer had many interests and many friends. There were the cloth factories at Voiron, and there was the friendship with Necker, to which Périer doubtless owed his introduction to the risks and the capabilities of the East India trade. But Périer possessed those quick intuitions which are as essential for commerce as for art. He bought Lesdiguières' old castle of Vizille, started a cotton mill, and set himself to master the mysteries of cotton-printing. When we consider the difficulties of transport, and the then elementary state of chemical knowledge in its application to industry, it must be admitted that these mills of Claude Périer are as great a testimony to his energy as the castle towers originally were to the pride of old fighting Lesdiguières.

Commerce on such a scale, and with such possibilities, demands liberty for its development, and liberty, alas! did not exist for French traders. Dues and monopolies, *entrée*, *sortie*, *péage*, and *aubaine* had all been as dead weights on enterprise; and though a few successful merchants like Jacques Cœur and Riquet of Marseilles had had honour from the princes whom they assisted, feudal and monarchical France had alike been cruel to trade. It had been left to Jews, Lombards, and Venetians, till Colbert gave its first impetus, and now, with Necker as minister, Périer planned a marvellous future for industry, for his family, and for France.

The royal governor of Dauphiny, on the other hand, thought only of the taxes. Since 1760, the Parliament of Grenoble and the Government had been at variance. The double capitation imposed by the one was refused by the other, and in 1787, the governor set up a Court of Notables as an opposition to a Parliament which had refused to register the royal edicts. The magistrates were exiled, and then happened that *jour des tuiles* which may be considered as the prelude notes of the great storm which broke over France and revolutionised society. Blood was spilt in the streets of Grenoble, the governor (the Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre) was threatened, and at a meeting of nobles, clergy, and bourgeoisie, it was determined to petition the king to restore the magistrates, and to convoke the *états* of the province as a preliminary to that assembly of the estates general of the kingdom which was demanded. The answer to this petition was the appearance of the Maréchal de Vaulx with several regiments. When, in 1675, 7,000 Bretons had revolted against M. de Chardon's government, this plan

was tried and succeeded. But in Grenoble, on July 21, 1788, it had a very startling result. In the coolness of the midsummer night, and by torchlight, there marched out to Vizille 49 priests, 559 nobles, and 187 representatives of the *tiers état*. Crowds of people followed them, and Claude Périer, receiving them, ushered into the Salle du Jeu de Paume of the castle an assembly of determined men, whose objects were the welfare of their province and the liberation of France. After having deliberated for sixteen hours they separated. In the court of the castle the torches were again blazing, and excited groups escorted back to Grenoble the principal actors of this astonishing drama. The nobles had outnumbered both the other estates on this occasion, and the Comte de Morges acted as president of a meeting that certainly had no precedent. But among the speakers two men distinguished themselves—two members of the *tiers état* who had especially fitted themselves for this struggle. They were Mounier, the juge-royal of Grenoble, and Barnave, the advocate—the one an ardent student of the principles by which liberty is secured in England, the other well known already by his independent protests against royal privileges. Mounier was thirty years of age, but over Barnave's head only six-and-twenty summers had passed when the *états* of Dauphiny got the royal warrant to open their sittings at Romans.

A hundred and twenty years earlier Mme. de Sévigné thus described the business of a provincial parliament:—

‘The Etats do not last long. They ask the king's pleasure. They themselves say not one word: and all is done! An infinity of presents given, of pensions granted, of towns and roads repaired; fifteen or twenty great tables constantly spread; unceasing gambling, perpetual balls; comedies three days a week; a great deal of finery—that is what we mean by the *Etats*. I am forgetting the three or four hundred pipes of wine which are drunk; but though I overlook this trifling item, others remember it.’

In a very different temper did the three estates of Dauphiny now meet in the church of the Cordeliers at Romans. The Metropolitan Archbishop of Vienne was in the chair, and thither with their swords came De Virieu and Lally Tollendal, and crowds of gentlemen, all charged to conciliate the rights of the nation with the power of the king, and eager to be themselves heard in this the first free assembly they had ever known in Dauphiny. Everything was new to these new men. They felt the importance of the hour, and determined to secure equality of representation. ‘The glory of his Majesty,’ cried Mounier, ‘will be to be not only King of France but of the

‘ French people, and it is not now so glorious to speak as it would be shameful for us to keep silence.’ The demands formulated at Romans strike us as curiously elementary, because we forget for how many centuries these things were denied to Frenchmen. They asked for a general convocation of the estates of the realm, equal representation of the *tiers état*, deliberation in common, voting by head, a constitutional form of monarchy which should diminish arbitrary taxation, the discontinuance of the sale of titles, and the permission for nobles to engage in trade. The king found their report much too freespoken, but the representatives of Dauphiny, far from lowering their tone, were ready, when sent up to Versailles in 1789, to enter still more vigorous protests against the cherished abuses of power. The declaration of Vizille and the demands of Romans have been admirably described by M. de Tocqueville as the first definite acts of the French Revolution.

Then began for Mounier his one short year of public life. One of the noblest citizens whom France has ever possessed, he appeared at Versailles as the embodiment of that manly and rational love of liberty which in Dauphiny had never become extinct. In spite of kings and dragoons there still beat in Grenoble a dignified intellectual life, and Mounier, if he was the best, was still only one of the many able and gifted men who appeared in 1789. They were not conjured up by the stroke of a magician’s wand. The severe training of the old *régime* had strengthened the character of the men of that generation, and made them at once desire and deserve their new destinies. He accepted the presidency of the Estates General of the kingdom at Versailles, and was received with acclamation. Calm himself among the agitations of a public assembly, he was prepared to be the apostle of that constitutionalism which he recognised in England as the barrier at once of the people and of the throne, but he shrank from destructive work, and soon found his legitimate power slipping away from him. He was really intended for the council-chamber of a constitutional government, and was quite out of place in the crowded and blood-stained streets where the sovereign people argued with deeds rather than words. The Bastille fell, and Mounier hoped that ‘ upon the ruins of that horrible prison of despotism would rise the statue of that good king who gave liberty and happiness to France.’ But the king was a cipher, and ere long the President began to perceive that ‘ the absence of visible power leads but to fatal uproar.’ A furious mob broke into the Assembly (October 6), and Mirabeau rising told the President that 40,000 such

Frenchmen were even now marching upon Versailles. 'Let them come!' replied the President, 'and let them kill us all. The affairs of the Republic will then prosper all the better.' It is said that Mirabeau felt the rebuke, but it was all too late. On the 9th Mounier retired to Grenoble. The twelve months of his year of public life had barely elapsed, but his hopes were at an end. The death of the king and the enormities of the Reign of Terror warned him, as a moderate citizen, to go even further from Paris. He passed into Switzerland, and there, during a twelve years' exile, he penned his admirable treatise

On the Causes which have prevented Frenchmen from ever 'becoming free.'

Many moderate men were wise enough to follow Mounier's example and to retire, and it is said that in one day six hundred passports were given to persons who judged it best to leave Paris. Barnave, either less prudent or more ambitious than others, remained. The career of this young and gifted man has not received the notice that it deserves, considering that he was in the *tiers état* a leader and a debater little less remarkable than Mirabeau himself. Everyone, however, knows his share in the arrest at Varennes and in the return journey of the king to Paris. He then raised his voice for moderate counsels; he pleaded that monarchs, like their subjects, have a right to the protection of the laws. But at that moment to be moderate was to be guilty; his popularity declined, and he was accused of conspiring with the Queen against the cause of the people. Sent prisoner to Grenoble, he languished in the Fort Barraux for fifteen months. There, hearing the roar of the distant struggle, and 'sad stories of the deaths of kings,' he had time to mourn over the hideous development of that Revolution which he and Mounier had once painted to themselves as beneficent and noble as it was just. He was hurried back to Paris, to be guillotined towards the close of the fatal year 1793.

Meantime, all through Dauphiny the Revolution was in full tide. Castles were destroyed, and suspected citizens denounced in Lyons, though in Grenoble itself the guillotine was only twice set up, and only four heads fell, which in all the four instances were those of priests. The Dauphinois have the instinct of order as well as that of liberty. The horrors and excesses of which they heard painfully impressed them, and they hailed the rise of the Directoire with satisfaction. Its constitution (of two legislative councils) was something analogous to that which moderate men in Dauphiny had begun by demanding. More moderate laws certainly emanated from the Council of the Cinq-cents where Camille Jordan pleaded for

toleration. Not content with restoring their property to the priests, he proposed a general revision of all those revolutionary edicts which tended to keep alive the spirit of civic hatred and mutual distrust. He was an admirable representative of the state of feeling in Dauphiny. Passions there did not run as high as they did in the south or in the west of France, and the crimes of the *Terreur* had convinced all intelligent men that the tyranny of the populace is to the full as arbitrary, as it is far more cruel, as that of any sovereign. Thus, when, in 1799, the political constitution of France was again altered, its new form, which was found to approach very nearly to the monarchical principle, was well received in Dauphiny. Tired of the brutal despotism and of the insecurity of all the preceding experiments, men sought to find some durable basis, and a formal address was sent up from Grenoble congratulating Bonaparte and taking no notice of his colleagues in the Consulate. It might be that in some respects the liberty for which Mounier struggled was as far off as ever; but, as the Directoire had been an improvement on the Thermidoriens, so the Consuls were an improvement on the Directoire, and Grenoble received without a murmur the first préfet for the department of the Isère. Richard was a nominee of Bonaparte, but he governed leniently and gained general approbation for the conciliatory tone of his first proclamations.

The new *régime* was intensely popular with the troops in a province which had sent hundreds of her sons to share the glories of the *grande armée*. The 32nd *demi-brigade*, that which fought so well in Italy under General Charlot, was recruited in Dauphiny. Championnet, who fought in Holland; Alméras, who served in Egypt, like Marchand, Donna, Planta, Moydier, and Barral, were all of Dauphinois extraction. Some idea of the military passions of the province may be gathered when we remember that four brothers of one house—the Debelles—all acquired distinction; and that in some of the *cantons* the taxes did not suffice to cover the half-pay and the pensions of all those soldiers who had left the hamlet to serve under the tricolor flag. What wonder, then, that Napoleon left partisans in Dauphiny and battalions in Chambéry whose sympathy secured his return to Paris and to power? Of all the episodes in the history of Grenoble, the most dramatic is the arrival of Napoleon on March 7, 1815.

The year 1815, when it opened found the Restoration an accomplished fact, and the Congress sitting at Vienna still busied in effacing from the map of Europe the footprints of the over-bold soldier whom Louis XVIII. used to speak of as

le victorieux. The Allied Powers had all congratulated the restored Bourbon on his crown, and the prospects of peace and of renewed commercial intercourse with all nations afforded him a chance of wearing it with honour. But scarcely was the government of the Restoration inaugurated when it began to work at its own destruction, and the Emperor Alexander was heard to mutter that these Bourbons, who never got cured of their faults, would prove a poor bargain, even after all that he had been urged to do for them. The passions and pretensions of Frenchmen were all unappeased. The Orleans family had its party composed of persons whose theories were monarchical without any dynastic devotion to the Bourbons; the army was notoriously disaffected, the revival of the clerical element in society was unpopular, and many things pointed to the island of Elba. Marie-Louise was at Aix-les-Bains, on the confines of France, and Joseph, a resident in her neighbourhood, also worked in his brother's interests. Jaucourt, who was Talleyrand's Parisian correspondent, warned him, while at Vienna, that 'everything was in a false and 'unfortunate position, and that there was much to fear from *'the man.'* * Savary one day said to M. d'Hauterive, 'We shall see Bonaparte again, and it will be entirely their fault.' He alluded to the Bourbon princes, but they, so far from sharing Savary's 'air of extraordinary conviction,' were blind to the danger. The Duchesse d'Angoulême was especially slow to discern its signs. She saw that loyal courtiers had flocked to Paris, that girls bred up in exile were being taught the curtsy and the etiquette of the modish and highbred society which again surrounded the Court, and she accepted every flattering word as a homage to the memory of her murdered parents. She was at Bordeaux with her husband when all France thrilled at the electric tidings: Bonaparte had escaped from Elba, and was again on French soil, for he had landed in the Golfe Jouan. A low range of pine-clad hills there encircles a roadstead so fine that eleven ironclads have been seen at anchor within gunshot of a hedge of roses and aloes, and of the little wooden jetty that runs out into the blue waters of the Golfe. But the roadstead was empty, and the spot was

* The correspondence of M. de Talleyrand with Louis XVIII. from Vienna in 1814 which has recently been published does great honour to the skill and sagacity of the minister and to the patriotism and dignity of the king at that critical period; but they lost in France the ground they succeeded in gaining in Europe. This work is a valuable contribution to the history of the times.

solitary enough, when the brig 'Inconstant' and her convoy dropped their anchors there on the afternoon of March 1, 1815. The long promontory of the Cap Garoube served to conceal the landing-place from the eyes of the garrison that was lodged in Vauban's little sunburnt fort of Antibes, and though Toulon of course bristled with troops and guns, Toulon, like Marseilles, knew nothing of Napoleon's escape. There was an English frigate charged to watch the station at Elba, but it happened at that moment to be lying at Leghorn, because Sir Neil Campbell was watching the eyes of a fair and beloved lady in Florence. Thus with only a few charcoal burners, *douaniers*, and fishermen to stare at him, he landed, to test the popularity of his person, of his dynasty, and of the Empire in France. The disembarkation was made before 6 P.M.; before the evening mists had descended on those white Alpine peaks which alone seemed to mount guard along the coast. Napoleon, spreading his maps before him, remained for some time under the trees, while Eméry started off through the hills for Grenoble, and Cambronne, with an advanced guard of 200 men, rode into Cannes to buy horses and provisions. The inhabitants of Cannes in 1815, were few. It was but a small town of dark and narrow streets, with a little quay, above which rose the Mont Chevalier, crowned by the ruins of an old castle, and by the big sombre *paroisse*, of which the bells were ringing *couvre-feu* as Cambronne made his appearance. He submitted the demands of the Emperor to the mayor, M. Reybaud. Some mules were hastily requisitioned for the carriage of stores and of the military chest, but there were no horses to be had. The mayor refused to swear allegiance to General Bonaparte so long as his sovereign King Louis XVIII. was alive, and he made some difficulty about the 500 rations which Cambronne had been desired to procure. Moreover, Cannes did not possess a printing press, and many copies of Napoleon's proclamation had to be printed off for distribution by the way; so Cambronne pressed on to Grasse in hopes of getting the work done there, and of laying in such stores of provisions as were needed before the little army plunged into that stony and frostbound wilderness which lies between Grasse and Digne.

The Emperor himself made a short halt in Cannes, where the name of a modern street still preserves that of his *bivouac*. It was his first bivouac in France, and, if the local tradition may be believed, it was one that nearly proved his last; for when the camp fires served to throw out his figure with great distinctness, a peasant was discovered taking aim from behind a fence at that well-known head. Had the shot only been fired,

it is possible that there might have been no Waterloo and no St. Helena.

At midnight Napoleon was again in the saddle, and he began the ascent of the steep hill which rises immediately behind the Grande Rue of Cannes. He had for his personal escort the men of his old guard, while the Corsican *chasseurs* brought up the rear. In this order they progressed, and as the moon showed all the undulating landscape in its sombre monochrome, Napoleon must surely have asked himself which was the dream, his former glories, his months of abasement in Elba, or this hazardous march under the fast hurrying stars? He breakfasted at Grasse, on a knoll just above the town, and then began the long and arduous ascent of the mountains, of that range of limestone which, by forming a screen for Southern France, secures for her such an exceptional winter climate. The climate of the region itself is however rigorous in the extreme, and the roads were so slippery that Napoleon had often to dismount, and to plunge into the snow on foot.

The effort soon told severely on the troops. He had with him about 400 of his grenadiers, and 400 of the old Imperial Guard, with 200 Corsican *chasseurs*, 100 Polish lancers, and the six guns of the brig 'Inconstant.' Perhaps, when he first landed these round-mouthed pieces from the brig, he congratulated himself on their possession, but once the shore and the flowering trees of the Golfe had been exchanged for ice-covered roads, these guns proved an intolerable incumbrance. It was impossible to drag them round the countless zig-zags, and over the frowning defiles of limestone that guard the sources of the Siagne, so the guns had to be abandoned before they reached the Clus de Seranon. The lancers were already encumbered with their saddles, and ahead of this little band of 1,100 men lay greater natural obstacles than any which they had as yet surmounted.

There was the long *montée* of Castellane, and beyond Barrême, where they next slept, was the Clus de Chabrières, with its deep pot-holes, and the many raving torrents that would seem to bar the approach to Digne. That city was actually empty of troops, for General Loverdo had withdrawn a garrison whose loyalty was uncertain, and Digne had for its bishop a prelate whom Napoleon had himself appointed to the see. From this brother of General Miollis he now naturally met with a warm reception; * horses were collected to mount some

* Monseigneur Miollis is the prelate whose goodness and simplicity Victor Hugo has described and rather caricatured in his novel of the

of his lancers, and copies of his proclamations* were hurriedly drawn by printers who had not, however, sufficient confidence in the enterprise to put their names on such compromising broadsheets.

After Digne the road, as it follows the course of the Bléone, is much less difficult, and at the Castle of Malinjay the Emperor halted to breakfast, while he sent on Cambronne to cross the Durance at Château-Arnaud and to reconnoitre along the approach to Sisteron. The guns of this place, though it is but a fortress of the third order, might easily bar the passage from the basin of the Durance into the Hautes-Alpes. General Ernouf, however, was not disposed to offer any resistance, and Cambronne rode back to tell his master that he might safely proceed. But the question was, in which direction? for, after emerging from the defile which Sisteron fills, the road forks, and Napoleon might choose either that Route de Provence which, through Serre, goes to the Col de la Croix-Haute, or the right-hand road which goes to Gap, and ultimately reaches Grenoble by Mure and Vizille. He selected the latter because it lay further from the garrisons in the valley of the Rhone, and would offer the quickest passage into Italy in the event of any disaster.

The fact of his presence in France had already spread. It was not officially announced by the 'Moniteur' till the 8th, but the king had learned it two days earlier through a despatch of Massena's. He paled at the tidings and had a severe attack of gout, but on the 8th he sent for the thirteen ambassadors and *chargés d'affaires* in Paris, and bade them tell their courts that he was not uneasy at the news, since he had confidence in the success of the measures he had taken to make Bonaparte repent of his audacious enterprise. The Duchesse d'Angoulême was told of the landing as she was dressing to represent at a ball in Bordeaux the restored monarchy of the Bourbons. Her husband started off next morning to head 12,000 men at Nismes; the Comte d'Artois set off for a command at Lyons, and the Duc de Bourbon for one in Brittany. Strong anti-imperialist demonstrations took place in Marseilles and Avignon, while from Toulon Masséna

'Misérables.' The original 'Jean Valjean' was really saved by the Bishop from a life of infamy. He was sent to serve with Miollis in Egypt, was put on half-pay after the abdication, re-enlisted when Napoleon passed through Digne, and fell at Waterloo.

* 'A number of proclamations, all horrible.'—Talleyrand to Louis XVIII., Vienna, March, 1815.

was able to send off three regiments to join the Duc d'Angoulême, of whose army one division kept the left bank of the Rhone, and was intended to follow Napoleon into Dauphiny. These were formidable odds, 'and if,' wrote the Duke of Wellington from Vienna, 'we find that the King of France 'is not able to make an end of him alone, we shall set in motion all the armies of Europe.' Meantime Napoleon held on his way to Grenoble. On the conduct of the large garrison collected there must depend the issue of his undertaking, and Grenoble would make of him either Cæsar or nothing. His landing was reported in that city by midday of March 6, and General Marchand, to defend its approaches, sent a detachment to block the invader's path in the narrow defile of St. Bonnat. Should the invader have already traversed that pass, the troops had orders to blow up the bridge of Ponthaut. It is said that Napoleon, when he reached Gap, exclaimed joyously, 'Ah! 'now we are really in France!' and it is true that he had already overcome immense difficulties and left behind him many of the eighty leagues of Alpine journey which he had to accomplish ere he grasped the keys of power. The miles that still stretched before him were, however, very rugged, and the snow lay deep from Gap to Corps. But he knew that delay would be fatal to him, and the energy that had already performed so much must do more. He made such despatch that both the defile of St. Bonnat and the bridge of Ponthaut had been successfully traversed ere the troops with the white cockade came in sight. To block his path was no longer possible, and the only thing left was to fight; but the officers of the defending army, having little confidence in the loyalty of their men, preferred to put off till the morrow having recourse to 'the last argument of kings.' Among the mountains whose snowy crests divide the department of the Isère from that of the Hautes-Alpes lies Laffrey, with its chain of lakelets. When the morning of the 7th broke among the hills, the Fifth Regiment was seen to be encamped on the little mamelon of Laffrey and along the grassy margin of the lake. The hills were covered with peasants, whose loud cries showed their pleasure, or at least their excitement, at the approach of Napoleon. This was felt to be a decisive day, since a few hours must test the temper of the troops, and either send the invader a triumphant emperor on his way to Lyons and Paris, or drive him through the passes a fugitive into Italy. At this moment the Emperor was still uncertain whether Eméry had or had not been able to reach Grenoble unchallenged, and to fulfil his mission to the imperialist agents

there. And, even supposing him to have escaped detection and capture (which he only did by a miracle), what was a handful even of enthusiastic supporters against six regiments, all hired servants of a king whom France had agreed to receive? Yet to recoil to-day before Laffrey was to renounce an empire, and Napoleon, only so lately weak and perplexed at Fontainebleau, was now equal to the occasion, and as dramatic as this surprising situation required. At ten o'clock he appeared, leaped from the saddle, tossed the reins to a Polish lancer, and advanced. In vain then was the word of command given to men who saw their old leader coming towards them alone, on foot, and at the head of a handful of those grenadiers who had shared with him and with themselves the glories of many a hard-fought field. The result is well-known—how the *petit caporal* bared his breast and dared any man to shoot his emperor; and how a shout rose from the Fifth of the Line, and from soldiers who hastened to tear off their white cockades. Randon, the nephew of General Marchand, was present. He saw that the game was lost, and he turned his horse's head sharply round, intending to carry the fatal news to head-quarters. Some Polish lancers noticed the gesture and gave chase, but Randon, who was at home in the roads and valleys of his native country, contrived to elude their pursuit, and also to avoid being stopped at Brié, where Labédoyère, with the Seventh Regiment, was already in open defection, and awaiting most eagerly the arrival of Napoleon.

Noonday was striking in Vizille when the Emperor rode up to the gate of Lesdiguières' castle. Young Dumoulin, the glover, one of the sympathisers to whom Emery had been despatched, now appeared, and laid 100,000 livres at the feet of a master who bade him follow him to Paris. The marshals Bertrand and Montholon next joined his *cortége*. The women wept, and the populace of Vizille pressed Napoleon to linger on a spot so sacred to the earliest traditions of revolution in Dauphiny. But their hero felt that it was best to strike at Grenoble in this the first moment of mingled panic and enthusiasm. The present road along the beds of the Romanche and the Drac did not exist in 1815. The way led through Brié, where Labédoyère awaited them, and after Brié it runs in a straight line, bordered with tall trees. At the end of this vista the eye discovers at once the Montrachais, with its Bastille, and the opening of that great valley which would be the conqueror's path to Lyons if Grenoble once received him as her lord. Labédoyère would not answer for it. General

Marchand was firm, he reported, in his allegiance to the Bourbons, but many of the regiments had been recently called in from Chambéry, and were certainly, like his own, eager to wear the tricolor. 'Never,' cried Napoleon, as he embraced the young colonel of the Seventh, 'never will I forget what you have done to-day for me and for France,' and then they rode on together to the Porte Bonne. Did either of them remember that promise some months later, when the Emperor, on board the 'Northumberland,' was far from France, and when Labédoyère, from the prisons of the Abbaye, was led out to be shot, for the sake of that twilight ride from Brié?

Before seven o'clock the little band stood before a city of which the gates were locked and the walls bristled with cannon; but not a gun was fired, nor had the ditches been filled, so that Napoleon rode straight up to the gate and ordered it to be opened. Numberless sympathisers joined him where he stood; some dropped over the walls to do so, and after a resistance that was merely nominal the Porte Bonne yielded, and Napoleon found himself in Grenoble. M. Fourier, the *prefet*, was a savant who had been with the army in Egypt, and he had by this time given himself an opportune leave of absence. General Marchand, on receiving Randon's report, abruptly withdrew from the command of a place where no one obeyed him, while the legitimist Comte d'Agoult galloped off to Lyons to warn the Comte d'Artois of the disaffection of the troops, the treason of Labédoyère, and the immediate advent of Napoleon. The Emperor in the meantime supped at the Hôtel des Trois Dauphins, and there received the most influential of his friends. The Place Grenette and the Grande Rue were crowded to a late hour, and the chill night air carried up to the Bastille the songs and cheers of a rejoicing host. This is not the place for following his march by Voreppe and Bourgoin to Lyons. There 100,000 voices greeted him, and when he left it his army consisted of six regiments, which, added to those he had before, brought up his force to nearly 10,000 men. He hurried on his way to the Paris which, as he said, 'let him come as it had let the others go,' and to which after less than a hundred days he was to bid farewell for ever. Once more France had to receive a Bourbon prince, and his ministers had to do their utmost to give the most popular aspect possible to a sovereign who followed in the wake of hostile armies. They succeeded for a time, since most Frenchmen had come to feel that the conscriptions and losses of a military despotism were worse than the worst of the Bourbons.

Yet Didier's conspiracy, in 1819, proves that in Dauphiny at

least there was still a lurking opposition to the Restoration and some sympathy with the Empire. This rising was not, numerically speaking, of very great importance, but it was sufficiently popular in the department of the Isère to reunite at once all the regrets of the Chauvinists and all the aspirations of the more democratic party. Its ostensible object was to restore Napoleon, or at least his son, and its ostensible head was Paul Didier, the advocate. But the real attitude or object of that restless ringleader has never been perfectly understood even in his native department. He was a lawyer whose profession did not suffice for his energies, or for the ambition of a man who was born with the instincts of a conspirator, and nurtured in the convulsions of political anarchy. He was at one time a supporter of Louis XVI., and it is certain that in 1794, and when the *émigrés* were under sentence of death, he did at his own risk, and disguised as a coachman, drive the Comte Antoine d'Agoult on a secret visit to his family and his estates near Voreppe. He appeared, however, as an Imperialist during the Hundred Days, and now, after coquetting with the Orleans family, and entertaining the notion of a regency conducted by Louis-Philippe, he found Napoleon's name had charms in Vizille and Grenoble, and there excited a mob of hot-headed boys and old soldiers to expect another March 7. He flattered himself and his band that the garrison of Grenoble was with them. The result proved the contrary. The authorities were warned of the plot, Didier's combinations miscarried, and the whole affair collapsed. A signal vengeance was, however, taken of this tragi-comic conspiracy by a king in whose memory still lived the victorious flight of Napoleon's eagles 'from steeple to steeple till they reached the towers of Notre-Dame.' Twenty-one men were condemned, and fourteen of them were shot on the esplanade of the Porte de France. The unhappy Didier, who had fled to a village in the Maurienne, was betrayed by his landlord, and thus found himself in the hands of justice, represented at that moment by the Minister Décazes and by General Donnadieu. He was executed at Grenoble, at the close of what has been well termed the 'White Terror' in France, and of a prosecution which served to bring to light many public and private grudges. It did not reconcile the republicans to the government, and we accordingly find a most daring choice made in the Isère in 1819: the Abbé Grégoire was returned to the Chamber as one of its deputies. But public opinion voted this choice rather too daring, for Grégoire, like Sieyès and Cambacérès, had been expelled from the Sénat and

from the Institute ; so this election was declared void, and the regicide was not permitted to take his seat.

Dauphiny was at this moment most nobly represented in Paris by the bank of the brothers Scipio and Casimir P  rier. We have said something of Casimir's youth at Vizille. His manhood had been exposed to all the vicissitudes of an era of revolution. His father's fortune had been engulfed in the struggle, and while his brothers and his cousins were preparing their way to eminence he himself, being drawn for the conscription, had to shoulder a musket under the walls of Mantua. His abilities, however, amply fulfilled all their early promise. Proposed as deputy for the department of the Seine before he had attained his political majority, he entered into partnership with his brother Scipio, and in 1817, we find the P  rier house negotiating a great public loan, and arranging how to meet the necessities of the Restoration. Casimir, who had made a rich marriage, was able, after his brother's death, to carry on the business alone. And what a business ! ' Everything was grist to his mill ; he did everything : banking, ' speculations in estates, mortgages, factories, ore-smelting, ' sugar works, soap-boiling, and everything on a great scale. ' Everything succeeded in his hands,'* and because of this success he was named first to the tribunal of the Chamber of Commerce, and then to the government of the Bank of France. In 1817, the Parisians, who had grown fond and proud of the commercial reputation and of the noble figure of Marie Pascal's son, sent him up to the Chamber as their deputy. Sprung from the *bourgeoisie* and tenacious of those liberties which the *tiers   tat* had conquered, he led a strong opposition both to the ministerial man  uvres of M. de Vill  le, and then to the clerical tendencies of the men who, like Sosth  ne de la Rochefoucauld, would fain have covered France with confraternities. He became the Ajax of the opposition ; his sonorous voice and the fire of his dark face made him observed whenever he spoke, and during six years he spoke constantly against a ministry which combined, in his opinion, the ruins of the past with the vices of the present. In 1828, when the Martignac Ministry came in, he figured on the list of candidates for the presidency of the Chamber, and sometimes appeared at the whist table of Charles X. ; but under the ill-fated Ministry of Polignac he found his work cut out for him in a revolution which he had certainly not invoked,

* Notice n  crologique sur Casimir P  rier. Par Nicholas Fleury Bourget. Lyon, 1832.

but which he did his utmost to control. Dramatic were his experiences during the 'Three days.' The mob stormed at the door of his house, where anxious meetings were held, since all constitutional thinkers turned to him instinctively. He did truly embody the principle of constitutionalism, and spared no opportunity of declaring that a ruler must be supported in his rule by the advice of men drawn from the heart of the nation that is governed. When the revolution was over, Casimir Périer, President of the Chamber of Deputies, read the declaration by which a new monarchy was provided for France. Along with Guizot and Sebastiani he tasted all the powers that a subject can ever wield, and Guizot's 'Memoirs' bear witness alike to his energy and to the anarchical state of many of the great cities of France. The labour of controlling Frenchmen was now almost too great for Casimir Périer, for the violent emotions of life had undermined his gigantic strength, and when he accepted the portfolio of the Ministry of the Interior in 1831, he declared that he should certainly come out of office feet foremost. Yet his administration surprised even those who admired him, as well as those who thought that his day was over. To every act of popular insubordination he presented the boldest front. Determined to make the torrent of revolution retire into its bed, he offered an unflinching resistance to the tyranny of the mob. The proletariat was furious, and the Liberal minister found the struggle almost too great for his strength. The heat of parties in France was such that no question was ever allowed to be argued out on its own merits, nor was any dispute permitted to be localised. The smallest matter, such as a local squabble about a regiment in one of the garrisons of Dauphiny, sufficed to threaten the whole fabric of government, and even the cholera, when it broke out in Paris, was made an excuse for excitement and for scenes of the most deplorable description. To pacify the public mind the Duke of Orleans went to the Hôtel-Dieu, and, in the company of the Minister of the Interior, visited the wards where the patients lay. Casimir Périer, himself an invalid, had a horror of this complaint, and dreaded infection, but duty compelled him to go through this tour of inspection. A dying man, beside whose pallet Périer stood for a moment, seized him by the hand, and, attracted perhaps by the remarkable beauty and dignity of the minister's face and figure, clung to him for some moments. Struck by the incident Périer returned home to sicken, and after a long struggle he died on May 16, 1832.

The attitude of the province of Dauphiny was very republican

throughout the reign of Louis-Philippe, and the popularity of a newspaper called the 'Patriote des Alpes' did a great deal there towards preparing for 1848. A republic was proclaimed, but before long the words of Barnave must have recurred to many minds: 'Are you not afraid that this mobile nation may not yet be moved by enthusiasm towards some great man's name, and in that day *upset your republic?*' During its first ten years the Second Empire was popular in Dauphiny, but before its close the Dauphinois began by their elections to manifest some of the old stubborn and independent spirit of their province. Then came the end, and a Franco-Prussian campaign which brought very near to Grenoble the horrors and privations of war. If she escaped the cruel experiences of Dijon, she heard at least enough of them to make her signify her determination for the future to discountenance a wailike policy in the rulers of France.

ART. V.—1. *La Nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti.* Del Sac. C. M. CURCI. Firenze: 1881.

2. *La Gerarchia Cattolica per l'anno 1881.* Rome: 1881.

IT has been said that there is no nobler spectacle than that of a good man struggling with adversity. If this be so, Leo XIII. has assuredly presented such a spectacle to the world during the entire period of his pontificate up to the present time; for there can, we think, be no doubt that he is a good man, highly conscientious, and most anxious to do his duty to the best of his lights and powers in the difficult position to which he has been called. The success which had attended his career as a legate and diplomatist had, in accordance with the almost invariable practice of the Apostolic Court, ensured his promotion to the purple. But it was notorious that Gioachino Pecci was not a man after the heart of Pius IX.; that Cardinal Antonelli, the Secretary of State, disliked him; and that his Archbishopric of Perugia was in fact an honourable exile from Rome, its Apostolic Court, and its intrigues. After having represented Gregory XVI. for three years at the court of Brussels, to the entire satisfaction of King Leopold I., who always entertained a high respect and kindly remembrance of him, he was appointed to the See of Perugia in 1846. He continued for thirty-two years to administer that important diocese in a manner which secured the esteem and affection of a population not much prone to respect their ecclesiastical rulers.

But in Rome Cardinal Pecci was never, or but rarely, seen, and very little known or heard of. A few months, however, before the death of Pius, Cardinal Pecci (his old enemy Antonelli having disappeared from the scene) was appointed to the high office of *Camerlengo* of the Church. Then he came to Rome; and his tall spare figure and homely, though kindly, features were seen in Roman drawing-rooms with a frequency unusual with his brethren of the Sacred College in these latter days. It may perhaps be thought that his conduct in this respect even then indicated an opinion adverse to the policy of seclusion which had been adopted by Pius IX. and his cardinals. Gradually more and more during those last months of the life of Pius, when it had become clear that the end of the unexampled pontificate of thirty-one years was at length at hand, the name of Cardinal Pecci began to be heard in speculations as to the probable successor of the dying Pontiff; and when the cardinals went into conclave on February 18, 1878, it was pretty evident that, both in ecclesiastical and outer lay circles, he was, if the phrase may be permitted us, the favourite. It had been very generally expected that the conclave would be a long one: the task it had to accomplish seemed so difficult. What man could be found to accept the inheritance of Pius IX.? In the eyes of that Pontiff's admirers the awful weight of it was, by his unparalleled virtues and sanctity, rendered too great for any lesser man to bear; while, in the estimation of all the rest of the world, that inheritance had been loaded with increased difficulties by the imprudence, impolicy, and vanity of the late Pope. It was also thought, not perhaps very reasonably, that the work of the conclave was likely to be protracted because the sixty-one men who entered it were not guided by the old well-known party organisation which had shaped the operations of former conclaves. The nature of the personal considerations which chiefly determined the struggles between the 'creatures' of successive Popes in these assemblies is well known, despite the secrecy in which it has been sought to envelop them. But in this latest conclave all the members of the Sacred College, save two,* were the 'creatures' of Pius IX. This was the natural, but unprecedented, result of a pontificate which had lasted for thirty-one years. It had

* Schwarzenberg and Amat, created by Gregory XVI. Neither of them had much influence in the conclave—the former, because he was a foreigner scarcely known at Rome; the latter, because his last sands were even then running. He died about a month later.

been, moreover, a pontificate which, whatever might be its other faults, was wholly unstained by nepotism. If there were a party in the conclave that could be called in any special sense the party of the late Pope, it was composed of those who thought that his policy should still continue to govern the course of the Church.

The old interference, too, of foreign powers, with their *vetos* and intrigues, was, for the first time during many generations, entirely absent. There had been much talk, for some time before the death of Pius, of the possibility of such interference with the independence of the conclave, and especially as to pressure to be feared from the Italian Government. Those who had any real knowledge of the policy of that Government were, however, well aware that such fears, or affected fears, were absolutely vain. Nor did it seem probable, under the conditions in which Europe then found herself, that any foreign government would use its old *quasi* right of veto.* The result justified this view. The conclave was left, without party organisation, without guidance, and without external influence of any kind, to choose its Pontiff in accordance with its own inspirations.

There was, indeed, one question of a preliminary sort which is known to have divided the cardinals, and to a certain degree to have formed two parties in the conclave—the question, namely, whether the conclave should be held in Rome at all. In spite of some opposition, the decision to hold the conclave in Rome was taken, and, contrary to the general expectation, the election was a very short one. The cardinals met on the evening of February 18, according to the provision of the canon which prescribes that a period of ten days shall elapse between the death of a pontiff and the commencement

* It may perhaps be worth while to mention here that the very generally received notion that the great Catholic Powers have, or had, a right to exercise a *veto* on the election of the conclave, is an entirely erroneous one. A *veto* on a consummated election was never exercised, nor was any pretension to exercise it ever claimed. The practice was for the cardinal entrusted with the *veto* of any State to station himself at the door of the chapel, as the electors passed into it for the election, and there to communicate to each cardinal, as he entered, the fact that the Power he represented would find the election of his Eminence A. B. objectionable. But it was a matter of courtesy, not of right; and several cases of an election made, and carried into effect, in the teeth of such a *veto* might be cited. Curiously enough, however, one Catholic Power had, and has, the right of *veto*, granted to it by special bull—Portugal, the only one which has never exercised it.

of the conclave which is to elect his successor; and, at a quarter past one on the afternoon of the 20th, the announcement was made from the balcony of St. Peter's in the ancient form: 'Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum. Habemus Pontificem eminentissimum et reverendissimum Dominum Joachim Pecci, qui sibi nomen imposuit Leo XIII.' The important words were uttered in the quavering voice of Cardinal Caterini, who, despite the feebleness of extreme age, insisted on exercising this privilege of his position as senior deacon of the Sacred College.

Three scrutinies only had been needed to arrive at the election: one on the morning after the entry into conclave, one on the evening of the same day, and one on the morning of the 20th. At the first scrutiny the number of votes for Cardinal Pecci was not large; but it included a very great proportion of the foreign cardinals, of whom there were twenty out of the sixty-one in conclave. It may in fact be said that the election of Leo XIII. was due to the foreign vote. Both as a man of extensive culture and especially as a diplomatist, he was better known north of the Alps than in Rome. His long and retired residence in Perugia had made him a stranger in the capital. But there existed neither any strong desire to elect any other, nor any reason for not electing him; and this striking testimony of the foreign cardinals that by the Church at large he was deemed a fitting man, and would be well received, produced a strong effect. At the afternoon scrutiny on the 19th there were thirty-five votes in his favour, and at the first scrutiny on the 20th he was elected by a majority of forty-four.

The completion of the election took the city by surprise. Twice on the 19th, in the morning and the evening, the traditional *sfumata* (the smoke arising from the burning of the voting-papers, which are thus destroyed after each unsuccessful scrutiny) had declared to the anxious watchers on the piazza of St. Peter's that no election was made; and on the morning of the 20th the *sfumata* was again seen, which told the world that the third scrutiny had been equally unsuccessful. But this third burning of the papers seems to have been a mistake; perhaps the lapse of thirty-one years had sufficed to cause some unimportant points of the traditional routine to be forgotten. The circumstances attending the conclave which elected Leo XIII. were, as has been seen, very special in many respects; and of the election itself it may be said with much confidence that it was the purest and the most truly canonical which the Church has known for many generations.

Such was the vote which, after only three scrutinies, elected Joachim Pecci to be the new Pontiff. Of course there were the usual *nolo episcopari* stories as to professions of unwillingness, which, if made, were probably more than ordinarily sincere at the time; and most assuredly every day and almost every hour that has passed from that moment to this, has shown such reluctance to have been but too well founded. The sincerity which springs from conviction may be said to be the first requisite for the man to be placed in St. Peter's seat. But it is very evident that firmness and resolution were not less indispensably necessary for carrying out his task. The Church needed a ruler not only *justum*, but above all *tenacem propositi*. It was abundantly evident that he would be assailed in his task of steering by efforts of all sorts, and proceeding from all sides, to seize the helm, or at least to bias, and even to force, the hand that held it. Was the Church found in Leo XIII. the man so sorely needed in her time of trouble—the man *tenacem propositi*?

In the various positions in which he had been placed, Cardinal Pecci had not shown himself to be a weak man. He left Perugia with the reputation of an energetic and vigorous administrator; and a perfectly authentic story is related of his conduct as delegate of Benevento, which assuredly does not represent him as wanting in force of character or determination. Benevento, although it formed a part of what were then the States of the Church, is wholly enclosed within the territory of Naples. Thus cut off from the central authority, situated among the Apennines, and remote from any of the great lines of communication, the little province formed the headquarters of the brigands who infested the neighbouring Roman and Neapolitan territory. The ease with which malefactors could slip across the frontier, as well as the lawless habits and propensities of the feudal nobles of the country, rendered the task of governing it an extremely difficult one. The owners of the castles among the hills found it easier and more profitable to live on good terms with the brigands than to side with the pontifical authority against them. They audaciously claimed for their fortresses immunity from the authority of the magistrates, and afforded to the brigands an inviolable asylum; and these lawless feudal nobles were supported by very powerful friends at Rome. The new delegate began by obtaining from Gregory XVI. a very capable man as head of the civil force in the province. He then procured from Naples orders to the Neapolitan police authorities on the frontier to support him to the utmost of their power. Thus

prepared, he sent a force of gendarmes to one of the hill castles, in which several brigands were known to have taken refuge, seized them, and safely lodged them in prison. The owner of the residence thus violated was one of the most powerful men in the province; and on the morrow he visited the delegate in the city of Benevento, and with extreme anger intimated that he was on his way to Rome, whence he should soon return with an order for Monsignor Pecci's recall. 'That you can do, Signor Marchese,' said Pecci quietly, 'but you must put off your journey for three months, since I am going to put you in prison for that period, during which I shall give you only bread and water.' And he was, to the letter, as good as his word. He was thanked by Gregory XVI., he was invited to Naples to receive the expression of King Ferdinand's approbation, and Benevento was for the time cleared of brigands. Assuredly this anecdote is not told of a weak or irresolute governor. But the spectacle of a man victoriously master of an inferior position, yet unfitted for superior command, is not uncommon. Years, if they ripen and perfect the reflective faculties, are apt to impair resolution and the strength of will necessary for successful supremacy. Moreover, it is to be observed that, in the case of the brigands at Benevento, there was no conflict of conscience; the line of duty was clear and plain.

The first public act of the new Pontiff was an ominous one. Leo XIII., in accordance with immemorial custom, was about to proceed to the balcony on the outside of the west front of St. Peter's, there to give the traditional benediction *urbi et orbi*, when those about him hurriedly assured him that this could not be done; that all those forms were now in abeyance; and that the blessing could only be given from the interior balcony looking into the church. And Leo XIII. yielded! To those not well acquainted with Roman matters, and with the peculiar position which the Church had chosen to occupy since the entry of the Italian troops at Porta Pia in 1870, it may seem a very small matter whether the Pope gave his benediction from the outside or the inside of the church. It was not so. It was a most important and pregnant moment, and a great opportunity was lost.

All the world knows the story of the imprisonment of Pius IX., the absurdity of the fiction, and the profitable uses it had subserved. It secured from sympathising devotees in all parts of the world the contribution of many millions of francs to the pontifical treasury. But it did not excite that indignant uprising of political Europe against the acts of the Italian

Government, which Pius IX. and his cardinals had hoped it would provoke. On the other hand, it involved a series of evils and embarrassments, from which the Church and the Pontiff are to the present moment suffering. What was to be the end of this imprisonment? Was it to be eternal? But if the Pope, in the unimpeded exercise of his free will, were to come out from the Vatican to-morrow, it would become too clear that he might have done so yesterday, or at any other time since the 'imprisonment' commenced. The whole story would be too manifestly declared *urbi et orbi* to have been from the first a fiction. A policy of abstention and self-effacement can rarely be successful. Pius IX. eclipsed himself, imagining that the world would be startled and terrified at the darkness which would ensue. But the busy world scarcely perceived it. It was a *coup manqué*. And now how was this self-inflicted imprisonment to be brought to an end?

It has been mentioned that when Cardinal Pecci came to Rome as *Camerlengo* of the Church, a few months before the death of Pius IX., he mixed in the society of the capital more freely than had been usual with his brethren of the Sacred College during the eclipse of the Church. For though their Eminences did not think it necessary to imitate the absolute seclusion of their Pontiff, they deemed it decorous and desirable so far to 'look like the time' as to renounce the outward magnificence and the festive gatherings, which in other days made so conspicuous a feature of Roman society. There were no more illuminations of palace façades and brilliant assemblies on receiving the hat. No more red coaches splendid in their old-fashioned grotesqueness, with gilded wheels, and silver-mounted harness and long-tailed black horses, were seen in the streets of Rome. It was thought that these self-denying ordinances would go far towards teaching the Romans to regret all that they had lost when they gave their allegiance to the usurper. It was thought that foreigners would miss the quaint spectacles, and grandeurs, and ceremonials, which had helped to make Rome unlike any other city in the world, and had constituted no inconsiderable portion of the interest that had attracted them thither in such numbers. It was hoped that many of them would cease to come, and that thus all the considerable population which in Rome lives on the foreigner would find that the new times were bad, and be led to regret the good times which were gone. It was a miscalculation. Fresh interests grew up to supply the place of those which had disappeared. The foreigners grumbled a little that grand church ceremonies were no longer performed for their amuse-

ment. But they remembered that Rome had still her skies, and came to bask under them as before. And their Eminences, rarely seen, were in a fair way to be wellnigh forgotten.

But how was the situation to be changed? The first communication of the new Pontiff with the people of Rome was an admirable opportunity for breaking the ice. And if Leo XIII. had but shown strength of will enough to put aside the presumptuous opposition of those who thwarted his purpose, and had come out to the balcony overlooking the *piazza*, where some thousands were awaiting his appearance, and there given his blessing *urbi et orbi*, he would unquestionably have been perfectly well received. It would have been understood and accepted, that the imprisonment of the Pontiff was not to be supposed to apply to the new occupant of St. Peter's throne, and that with the new man a new order of things was to be inaugurated. But it was not to be. The Pope docilely allowed himself to be imprisoned anew, and the opportunity—never to be followed by one equally favourable—was lost.

The beginning of the new pontificate was marked by another important step taken by the Pontiff, not equally public, but at least equally unfortunate in its results. The body of cardinals—the Sacred College, as it is called—is in theory the council of the Pope. He addresses them always as 'brethren;' and the original intention of the Church was that he should govern by means of their co-operation and with the assistance of their advice. But for many generations papal practice has varied very widely from this theory. Each Pope had his Secretary of State, who was a member of the Sacred College. But the cardinals, one or more, whom they called to council, were men already well known to be of their own way of thinking, and were for the most part used by the pontiffs merely for the labours of administration, rarely for the purpose of guiding—certainly never of checking—the course of their masters' autocratic will. To give, or to restore, to the entire College of Cardinals the real functions of a consultative body, is a very different thing. But this is what Leo XIII., in the newness of his zeal to be a model Pope, and to carry out the intentions of the Fathers of the Church, determined to do. Calling together the cardinals, or the most influential of them, he reminded them of the functions which the Church intended them to discharge, intimated his purpose of conforming his practice to the true and ancient theory, and expressed a hope that they would perform their part of the arduous task by giving him their best advice and assistance. A more purely well-intentioned and con-

scientious act no ruler ever performed. But it was hardly a wise or prudent one. Leo XIII. must have been already well aware that his own view and appreciation of the present times must lead him on many occasions to pursue a path diverging from that of his predecessor. But the body of men whom he proposed to call to council were all the creatures of that predecessor, and all more or less absolutely pledged to approbation of his policy, and disposed to resist any departure from it.

The step which Leo XIII. then took has been fruitful of evil to the Church, and of increasing troubles to himself, from that day to this. And it is within our knowledge that he soon began, and has never ceased, bitterly to repent it. At every attempt to depart from the policy of Pius IX., according to his own conviction as to the best interests of the Church, he found himself encountered by an opposition too strong for him to overcome. From the very earliest days of his pontificate, Leo the Thirteenth's conscience compelled him to act in a manner which aroused discontent and hostility among those immediately surrounding him. The new Pope found the internal economy and administration of the Vatican and Apostolic Court overrun with abuses of every description. These disorders had established themselves during the easy-going reign of an aged Pontiff, whose character had no quality which rendered an abuse, as such, obnoxious to him, and whose coffers were so readily filled, that neither he nor his administrators felt themselves obliged to take heed to petty dilapidations. But the present financial position of the Apostolic Court, even if no motive of a higher order had counselled the step, made it absolutely necessary that all these abuses should be extirpated; and Leo XIII., to whom not only was an abuse detestable in itself, but who very soon found that one of the difficult problems facing him was that of, in vulgar phrase, making both ends meet, came to a very speedy resolution that all these evils should be remedied, and all these abuses abolished. It is hardly necessary to point out that from that day some of his bitterest enemies were to be found in his own household. Once before Rome had known a financial reformer in St. Peter's chair, a frugal Fleming whose idea was that every man should be made to do his duty, and receive no more than his fair pay for doing it. He was called Adrian VI. Rome was dismayed, disgusted, and indignant at the phenomenon. The Eternal City declared herself to be absolutely ruined, and so effectually exerted herself, with the concordant action of all classes, to break his heart, that she succeeded in getting rid of him in something over a twelve-

month. But these were the smaller pin-pricks that have contributed to make the triple tiara truly a crown of thorns for Leo XIII. The opposition respecting more serious matters, his struggle against which has constituted the main story of his pontificate up to the present time, forms the historical interest of his reign.

The general line of policy adopted by Pius IX. after the entry of the Italian troops into Rome, and the absorption of his dominions by the kingdom of Italy, is sufficiently well known. It has been summed up in the famous phrase which has become historical: 'Non possumus.' That this was synonymous with 'Non volumus,' need not prevent us from appreciating the conscientious scruples which dictated it. 'These scruples represented to the papal mind all that was demanded of the Pontiff as an absolute impossibility. Pius IX. answered to all attempts at negotiation 'Non possumus;' and he never varied in his reply. He never would abate, modify, or cease to urge, his claim to the sovereignty of the states of which he had been King as well as Pope. He protested by actual personal imprisonment, voluntarily inflicted, against the moral imprisonment which he declared impeded the free exercise of his spiritual duties and rights. And he enjoined on all good Catholics and faithful sons of the Church absolute abstention from any act which could be construed into even a tacit admission that the King of Italy was King of Rome or of any part of the pontifical dominions. Hence sprang necessarily the celebrated formula 'Nè eletti, nè elettori'—we will have nothing to do with your voting and your elections; we will neither give votes to any man, nor be elected by any man. Absolute isolation from all contact with what, in the language of the Vatican and its adherents, was called 'the *legal* Italy,' was to be the profession and practice of all good Catholics.

This was the policy to which Pius IX. and the Church dignitaries of all ranks, who echoed his voice with obedient unanimity, adhered consistently and inflexibly to the last. No doubt there were individuals even in the Sacred College who had grave doubts of the prudence of this policy and serious misgivings as to its fitness to serve the interests of the Church at that conjuncture. But, whether such doubters were few or many, no voice was heard to question the wisdom of the *dicta*, or to oppose the will of one of the most autocratic of pontiffs. Of all the virtues prudence is probably the one most assiduously cultivated in the Sacred College. Cardinals rarely have much knowledge of the innermost hearts and minds of their brethren in the purple. And, for aught that appeared on the surface, it

might have been supposed, at the death of Pius IX., that his policy was approved by every individual belonging to the ruling classes of the Church.

One man there was, however, in nowise included in those classes, who, having very strong convictions upon the subjects in question, cast prudence to the winds, and raised his voice in vehement protest; and the voice was one which could not fail forcibly to arrest the attention of those whom it addressed. Father Curci was a member of the Company of Jesus. The Jesuits were, speaking generally, the most violent and thoroughgoing of all the supporters of Pius IX. in his claims, his purposes, and his policy. Yet it was from the ranks of the venerable company that issued this solitary voice arraigning the wisdom of the line of conduct marked out for the Church by its rulers. Father Curci was an eminent member of the Order, and one of whom it had good reason to be proud. He was known as a man deeply versed in theological learning, especially great in exegesis, and as a preacher of rare eloquence. He had given at Florence a series of exegetical lectures on the books of the New Testament, and received much praise for them. But on publishing these lectures in four large volumes, he inserted a preface (published also separately as a pamphlet), the effect of which within the ecclesiastical pale was as the sudden and clanging blast of a trumpet breaking a drowsy silence. This was towards the end of 1874.

This very remarkable pamphlet, consisting of fifty-six closely printed octavo pages, was sold for half a franc, and was therefore evidently intended for extensive circulation. It is in truth more than remarkable: indeed, considering the position of the author, a most extraordinary manifestation of opinion, highly curious in many respects: curious from the striking difference between the mode in which the author's mind evidently works and that to which the reading world is accustomed by modern thinkers; curious from the strictly ecclesiastical style of the writing, looked at merely as literary composition; and above all curious as the study of a very original, powerful, and conscientious mind, subjected to all the influences, all the pressure, all the education of a Jesuit priest. The fifty-six pages of the pamphlet would be well worth a close and detailed examination, not only for the above reasons, but on account of the sensation caused by the publication, and the results which ensued from it. But much more recently, in June 1881, the author published a volume, entitled '*La Nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti*,' in which the opinions expressed in the former work are set forth at greater length,

and illustrated with new arguments and a wider survey of the entire question. The learned author's manner is in this latter work more uncompromising and aggressive; but the conclusions at which he arrives, and the opinions as to the future line of policy which it behoves the Church to adopt, are substantially the same. We shall return presently to some further consideration of this volume, but for the moment it will suffice to state succinctly what are the views which Father Curci holds and urges on the Church.

Father Curci, then, holds that the temporal power was given by Divine Providence to the Church for the benefit of humanity; and that it has been taken away by Providence in its inscrutable wisdom, partly as a chastisement to the Church for having abused the gift, and partly as a punishment to the world for falling away from religious faith. He further holds, that all the supposed promises to be found in the sacred writings as to the everlasting permanence of the power of the Church, on which churchmen are wont to rely, are altogether misunderstood and misapplied. It is against the everlasting spiritual truths of Christianity that the gates of hell shall not prevail, and not against ecclesiastical dignities and temporalities, respecting which no promise is to be found. Further, there is, humanly speaking, no probability that the temporal power which the Church has lost will be restored to her within any limit of time to which we can look forward. Consequently all those efforts on which the Church is at present spending her strength are misdirected and thrown away. The aim to which the Church should bend all her efforts and all her energies is the re-establishment of the 'Christian conscience.' The earlier influences of the Church had produced in nations, as well as individuals, a Christian conscience, which has now (at least nationally) altogether perished, by the fault, as Father Curci strongly and courageously insists, of the Church herself.

Here he brings a terrible and unanswerable indictment against the Church—at all events as she exists in Italy. He reminds his readers that those men who are now leading the nation in the paths of 'the revolution'—which phrase, in ecclesiastical mouths, implies infidelity, atheism, and rebellion against all legitimate authority—were the pupils of Church teachers; that the generation which has thus gone astray was shaped and fashioned by the Church, when she had the sole shaping and fashioning power in her own hands. He points out at great length how the true faith of Christ has become obsolete and dead in the hands of the Italian Church; how trivial and superstitious observances and practices—the newer

the more fashionable—have usurped the place of the religion taught by the Apostles; and how the clergy are too frivolous, too worldly, and, above all, too ignorant, to preach the real truths of the Gospel; and he insists that the remedy for these evils can only be found by putting into operation the same means which first established and diffused Christianity. This, therefore, should be the aim and scope of the efforts of the Church. Should it be in the designs of Providence to restore the Church to the temporal position she has lost, such restoration will assuredly come to pass in God's good time, without the febrile and ineffectual struggle which now so injuriously absorbs the energy and the thoughts of the Papacy. What the Church has to do is to address herself *totis viribus* to the extension of her purely spiritual influence, not only as regards individuals, but as regards nations; and with this view it is supremely necessary that she should cease to withdraw herself from all that constitutes national life; that she should take her part in the political existence of the nation; that she should go to the public hustings, and make her presence there a means of stemming, so far as may be, the tide of revolution.

This is the doctrine of Father Curci, who was a Jesuit when his first pamphlet was published, though he was soon afterwards expelled from the Company of Jesus. Of course every effort was made to induce him to withdraw, recant, or modify it, and, failing success in those efforts, to cause it to be believed that he had done so. It is needless now to occupy space with a detailed account of the persecution to which he was subjected during the short remainder of Pius IX.'s life. It was quite a matter of course that such a work as Father Curci had put forth should call down upon its author manifestations of the severe displeasure of the ruling powers of the Church. But with the beginning of the new pontificate a very marked change took place in the position of the ex-Jesuit. In a word, it was made evident in many ways that if a large majority of the Sacred College and of the Fathers of the Company to which he had recently himself belonged, were as fiercely hostile as ever to Father Curci's opinions, such were not the sentiments of the Supreme Head of the Church. The Pope's elder brother, Giuseppe Pecci, who had been at one time a member of the Company of Jesus, but had quitted it from some diversity of opinion on points of theological erudition, was an old friend of Curci. He was made a cardinal, and, as librarian of the Vatican, had apartments assigned to him in the Apostolic palace. Father Curci, driven forth from

among the Jesuits, had wished to find refuge and retirement in the Basilian monastery at Grotta Ferrata. But the superior of that establishment refused to receive him. Thereupon Cardinal Pecci offered him hospitality in his own apartment in the Vatican, which was accepted. Now it is not to be supposed that such a step as this could have been taken without the, at least tacit, approbation of the Holy Father. But besides this it is a fact that Curci had several long interviews with the Pope during his stay in the Vatican. This was very strenuously denied at the time, but we are able to assert positively that such was the case. Moreover, it may be mentioned that when shortly afterwards Father Curci published his new translation of the Gospels, prefixing to it another preface, which was in fact little else than an amplification of the doctrines enforced in the preface of his former work, Leo XIII. purchased many copies of the work, which he gave as presents to a variety of ecclesiastical seminaries. It so happens, however, that we are able to add to the above strong grounds of inference the direct testimony and categorical statement of Father Curci himself. In the last week of 1880 an English resident in Rome had a long and very remarkable conversation with the celebrated ex-Jesuit. He recapitulated the heads of the profession of faith, which have been summed up above. He insisted much on the absolute necessity of a reconciliation with constitutional Italy. This, he considered, could only be rendered possible by a frank recognition on the Pope's part of the sovereignty of the King of Italy, and of his own duty, as a Christian and a priest, to submit himself to the ruler appointed by God. On some doubt being expressed as to the practicability of such a course in the position in which the Holy Father is placed, Father Curci replied textually, and with exceeding emphasis, '*The Pope thinks on this subject as I do!*' Of course, in making such a statement, the ex-Jesuit could only give his own opinion as to the sentiments of the Holy Father. But it is certain that a very large part of the conduct of Leo XIII. during the three years of his pontificate would seem to confirm the accuracy of Father Curci's impression. It is certain also that he has enjoyed special and frequent opportunities of ascertaining the Pope's real sentiments. When Father Curci asserts that he believes the Pope to agree with him on such or such a point, there are few men in Italy who will for an instant doubt that he does so believe.

The ideas of Pius IX. upon the same subjects are more notorious than those of his successor, and they have also been briefly stated in the foregoing pages. Let it further be remembered

that the entire College of Cardinals (save two) had, in the course of a pontificate of thirty-one years, been filled with the 'creatures' of the late Pope; and that his successor had committed the well-intentioned imprudence of commencing his career by informing the Sacred College so composed that he purposed ruling the Church with, by, and through them. Bearing these facts in mind, the reader will have a sufficiently clear idea of the opposition with which Leo XIII. has had to contend at every step in his path.

It is evident that an opposition so constituted must become weakened with every year of a Pope's life, and his power of controlling it proportionately increased. Cardinals are almost always old men, and promotion in the Sacred College is accordingly rapid. Up to the end of January 1881, fifteen Cardinals have died during the pontificate of Leo XIII. One of them, however, Monsignor Pic, Bishop of Poitiers, was a creation of the present Pope. The college, therefore, as it existed at the death of Pius, has since that time lost fourteen of its members. Fourteen also have up to the present time been created by the reigning Pope; and it is to be presumed that these fourteen new Cardinals are men likely to support the policy of the pontiff who created them; though it has to be borne in mind that a Pope cannot in every case create just those men whom he might wish to promote, to the neglect of all those whom he less cordially approves. Certain high dignities and charges at the Apostolic Court, as well as certain periods of diplomatic service as nuncio, are held to entitle their bearers to the purple. Use and precedent are extremely powerful at the Vatican, and it is very difficult for even a Pope to disregard them. To these causes tending to limit the free choice of the Holy Father, may be added the very frequent claims and pressure put upon the Vatican by foreign powers as regards the foreign cardinals. And, lastly, those cases may be taken into consideration, in which the hat is given simply and purely as a recognition of high personal merit, without any political consideration whatever. Such, for instance, was the creation of Cardinal Newman, whose elevation, for obvious reasons, contributed nothing towards strengthening the hands of Leo XIII.

The entire number of the present College is sixty-three. Of these, thirty-six are Italians, and twenty-seven belong to other nationalities. There are seven Austrian cardinals, six French, five Spanish, three English, two German, one Portuguese, one Belgian, one of the United States, and one Armenian. Among the various reforms in the interior adminis-

tration of the Apostolic Court, projected or effected by Leo XIII., one (and not the least important) consists in an intimation which he has caused to be conveyed to the high dignitaries of the Church—that those charges connected with the Court and the diplomatic service, which have heretofore been looked upon as giving a title to the purple, must for the future be considered as conferring no such necessary claim. It will be readily understood that the announcement of such a purpose on the part of the Holy Father has contributed not a little to increase the mass of discontent and ill-humour which many of his best-intentioned measures have produced.

We have in the preceding pages touched on several points of policy, especially those regarding his attitude towards the Italian Government, in respect to which we have more or less conclusive evidence of the present Pope's purpose, or at least desire, to deviate from the ideas of his predecessor. But there remains one subject of yet more importance, as affecting not Italy only, but the entire world of Christendom, respecting which there is abundant evidence that Leo XIII. thinks differently from Pius IX.

On St. Patrick's Day, in the year 1876, Dr. Vaughan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, preached in the Church of St. Isidore, at Rome, a very remarkable sermon. The general scope of the preacher's arguments was to the effect that in every country in Europe the classes which, possessing nothing, are dependent on their daily labour for their daily food, are rapidly becoming ungovernable by the civil authorities of the different governments; that their discontent menaces the overthrow of the entire fabric of civil society as at present constituted; and that the only person capable of dealing with this state of things, and averting this danger, is the Roman Catholic priest. Governments having separated themselves from the Church, and become for the most part hostile to it, have no means, save the soldier's bayonet or the policeman's staff, of acting on these seething and upheaving masses. The priest alone, whose hand is often as horny as that of the labourer who grasps it, can still influence those classes which the magistrate calls dangerous. Now such a sermon would assuredly not have been preached in that pulpit, had the argument of it been disagreeable to the authorities of that time in the Vatican. Other utterances here and there, as occasion served, were not wanting to give the keynote of the policy which the Church was then beginning to entertain. That policy was one which the Church has practised with victorious effect ere now, when she has lacked other means of bending

the civil governments of the world to her will. Pius IX. had cried aloud to all the governments of Europe, and none had given him any assistance or comfort in his sore need. Therefore he and his counsellors (especially those who, since the Council and the declaration of his personal infallibility, had been most influential with him—the Fathers of the Company of Jesus) were once again very seriously turning their thoughts to the old game. ‘Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo’ would have been a not altogether inaccurate rendering of their thoughts. The Church was beginning to entertain this policy. She had not entirely adopted it; for a very weighty consideration held her back. What of these discontented and unquiet democracies whose smouldering wrath it might be so easy to fan into a flame? Would that flame be such as the Church could use for her own purposes? They were ‘ages of ‘faith,’ those old times when the Church had found her profit in taking part with the oppressed against the oppressor. How would it be now? Had the Church any secure hold on the masses? Were not these disaffected democracies to the full as deeply disaffected to the mitre as to the crown? The doubt was a pregnant one; and it availed to prevent any active and thoroughgoing adoption of the policy in question. But the policy was one which the Church, knocking at the doors of princes and finding no response, was strongly tempted to adopt. Thus matters stood when Pius died. But Leo was a man of a very different cast. He had been a diplomatist. His outlook on the world had been a much broader one than his predecessor’s; and his better-balanced mind was far less liable to be moved by anger, pique, or impatience of the position made for him. He at once, and decidedly, put aside all thought of any such line of conduct. For the reasons which have been given, it is not probable that this change in the policy of the new Pontiff occasioned so much opposition among the members of the Sacred College as the other points to which we have adverted; although that turbulent and mischievous prelate, the Archbishop of Malines, and, possibly also, his Eminence the Archbishop of Gnesen (Ledochowski), might have preferred a more hostile attitude towards their respective governments than that adopted by the Holy See. But it is certain that from the first day of the pontificate of Leo XIII. he has been anxiously and actively striving to heal the breach between the civil and ecclesiastical authority in every country in Christendom.

It would take too large a space, and would not be of much interest to the English reader, to follow in detail the more or

less successful negotiations which have been carried on during the present pontificate in most of the principal countries of Europe. It will suffice to say that in every case the policy of the Pope has been to push the concessions needful for attaining an amicable *modus vivendi* with the civil authority to the utmost limit consistent with maintenance of essential Catholic doctrines. In Germany the *Kulturkampf* cannot be said to be extinguished. The famous May laws have not been abrogated. But the recent appointment to the see of Treves, without the exaction of the oath of obedience to those laws, shows that considerable progress has been made in the restoration of peace even between Prince Bismarck and the Pope. And at the present moment it seems probable that diplomatic relations will be resumed between the Courts of Berlin and the Vatican. We should rejoice to learn that similar relations were established between the Vatican and the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

Catholic France has, in truth, tried the patience and long-suffering of the Pontiff much more severely. Few recent facts have been more illustrative of the changed spirit of the times than that France should have proceeded to the strong measure of expelling the monastic orders, and that the Pope should not have deemed it wise to venture on a public and authoritative word of reprobation for such a proceeding. How many Popes have there been who would have hesitated to visit such a deed with excommunication and interdict? But Rome knows well that a rein which is too weak to endure much strain is yet better than a rein that has snapped in one's hand. Had the interdict been launched against France, and had the Gallican clergy proceeded, as it is probable enough they would have done, to baptise, marry, bury, ring their bells and say their mass, as if nothing had happened, the latter state would have been far worse than the former. Despite, therefore, all the angry insistence of the more violent spirits in France and in the Vatican, Leo XIII. repressed his sore grief and indignation, and forbore. An opinion has undoubtedly been growing up among the governments of Europe, that the support of religion and its ministers may be found valuable in the struggle with disaffected populations, which most of them have more or less to fear. To this feeling is undoubtedly due the marked tendency to meet the overtures of the Apostolic Court halfway, and to facilitate the healing of outstanding differences, which has been shown by Russia. One object of Leo's earnest hopes and desires is the establishment and extension of the influence of the Latin Church

in those parts of south-eastern Europe where recent events have seemed to favour such an attempt; and to the Pontiff's schemes for the establishment of new hierarchies Russia has lent a not unfavourable ear. Singularly enough a certain amount of jealousy has been awakened in Austria. But it seems probable that both the Eastern Empires are more inclined than was the case a short time ago to live on good terms with Rome. In Belgium, too, whose preponderant liberalism has been felt as a specially severe blow by the Church, and where the double dealing of the Archbishop of Malines did produce a suspension of diplomatic relations for a short period, a more cordial feeling between the two governments has arisen. This has been due to the prudent moderation of the Pontiff in instructing the Belgian bishops scrupulously to avoid any collision with the law in their opposition to secular education.

But how far ought this statement of the Pontiff's policy of universal conciliation to be qualified by the exception of Italy? It is undeniable that the quarrel between the Italian Government and the Holy See is a very different one from any of those which have existed, and still, in a modified form, exist, between the Church and the other governments of Europe. The position which the Pontiff is constrained to hold towards the King of Italy and his government is of an essentially different character from that in which he stands towards any other sovereign or people. It would be vain to hope that it should be otherwise. For how do matters stand between them? The Italian nation and its ruler have, by force of arms, deprived the Pontiff of a sovereignty which he deems (and is bound to deem) that he held by the most sacred and indefeasible of all tenures, and have taken from him the means of exercising that authority which the Church holds to be absolutely essential to the performance of his sacred office. It is difficult to see how such a quarrel can be terminated by any species of compromise. The English resident in Rome, in the conversation before alluded to, urged this difficulty on the consideration of Father Curci, and professed that he was unable to see any other basis of conciliation than a full and frank avowal on the part of the Pope that the King of Italy is King of Rome, and that the Pontiff is his subject; adding that he saw no possibility of the Pope's taking such a step. To this Father Curci replied, with much vivacity, that he could recognise no difficulty at all in the Holy Father's making such an avowal. 'I hold it,' said he, speaking with great energy, 'to be a mortal sin to refuse that obedience to the powers that be

‘ which St. Paul enjoins us to render.’ And again, he added, ‘ The Pope thinks as I do.’

It is true that the learned ex-Jesuit entered into no distinction between sovereignty *de jure* and sovereignty *de facto*. And it is also true that in his celebrated prefaces he speaks of the temporal power having been given by God for the benefit of the world, and of the possibility, at least, that Providence may, at some future day, restore it. It must be owned that the most entire believer in Father Curci’s sincerity and single-ness of heart can scarcely doubt that such a recognition by the Pontiff of the King of Italy’s sovereignty would be dictated by policy rather than by principle. ‘ Let us agree ‘ to say nothing about it ’ may be a satisfactory treaty of peace on some isolated subject between two disputants who have to live together; but such a resolution, however sincerely taken, can hardly supply a *modus vivendi* between a civil government and a Church which holds the very existence of that government to involve the denial of its own sacred and imprescriptible rights.

Nor can it be affirmed that some of the arguments put forward by the Church to prove that the sovereignty of which she has been deprived is necessary to her, are altogether without weight. A cry has been raised that the necessary freedom of communication with all parts of the Catholic world can only be secured to the Pope by his temporal sovereignty. But this may at once be dismissed as untenable. It is evident that, unless the limits of the Pope’s temporal power were co-terminous with those of Christendom, the absolute freedom of his communications could be ensured only by the despatch of special messengers; and these he is as much at liberty to make use of now as he would be under any other circumstances. But there is another point on which there is more to be said. His sovereignty supplied him with the income needed for the support of the outward fabric of his Church. How is that to be assured to him by any other means? The Italian Government proposed, as is well known, to endow the Pontiff with an annual income of three millions and a half of francs payable by the national exchequer. He has never accepted this money. For him to do so would be, of course, tantamount to acknowledging the sovereignty of the Italian Government. But, even if that difficulty were got over, the Church urges that she would have no security whatever for the permanence of such an income. It would be held at the pleasure of the Italian Chamber of Deputies; and the Pope may well be excused for considering such a tenure in the highest degree

precarious. The same of course might be said of any scheme for assigning him revenues in land. The power that gave might take away.

But it appears to us that there is a way, which we have never seen proposed, by which the income in question might be secured to the Pope in a manner far less liable to such objections. If the Italian Government were to assign to him capital sufficient to produce an annual income of three millions and a half, he could, under the modern conditions of credit, place it beyond the reach of any resipiscence of the Italian Legislature. It would be necessary for the Government to place the sum, so to speak, in the Pope's hand, leaving him and his counsellors to invest it wherever he and they might think fit. It would thus be put beyond the power of any legislature; while to Italy the operation could not be more onerous, from a merely pecuniary point of view, than supplying the Pope's income in any other manner.

But supposing that this essential question of income could be thus, or in any other manner, satisfactorily arranged, how far may it be safely assumed that Father Curci is correct in his supposition that the Pope thinks on these subjects as he does himself? Of all people in the world, differently moulded as they are by the circumstances in which they live, a man who has been a cardinal, and is a pope, is perhaps the least likely to wear his heart upon his sleeve. But putting this aside, and without suspecting Leo XIII. of duplicity, is it not extremely probable that his opinion on such points as those in question may not be on Tuesday what it was on Monday? Nor does this supposition imply such a degree of weak vacillation as it might at first sight appear to involve. It is not, it must be remembered, on a question of principle, but of policy, that we are supposing such changes of opinion to occur. There has never been any suggestion that the Pope has for a moment doubted that, as a matter of principle, the temporal power ought to be restored to him. The question is, how had he best act under exceedingly difficult and complicated circumstances? The Pope is steering his bark amid shoals of ever-shifting quicksands; and it would be strange indeed if one engaged in such a task did not tack and trim and alter his course almost from hour to hour. Hence have unquestionably arisen those apparently capricious changes of tendency, and we might almost say of mood, which have continually puzzled and baffled the closest observers of his conduct. His encyclical instructions to the Italian episcopacy; the behaviour of the archbishops and bishops with whom the King

and Queen came in contact during the royal progress in the South of Italy last winter; the absolute refusal of the Holy Father to allow irritating topics or allusions to be introduced into any address offered to him—all seemed to indicate a desire for conciliation. Suddenly there arises some occasion—such as the arrival of a band of ‘pilgrims’ from Spain, or France, or Germany, or a deputation of Roman adherents to wait upon him—which he seizes to utter a speech of the most uncompromising hostility. A striking instance of this was seen some little time ago, when he told a deputation of the ancient civil servants of the Apostolic Court that never while he lived would he cease to raise his voice for the restoration of the temporal power. He places men of known liberal and conciliatory tendencies in the Sacred College; he leads all those who most closely surround him to believe that he is on the point of sending the Catholics to the polls for political elections—or at least of allowing them to go there—when he suddenly enunciates the dictum that it is not for the present expedient that they should vote. It had been decided so recently as last May, that the Holy Father should this autumn leave the Vatican and spend a few months at Frascati. The decision had been come to in consequence of the urgent representations of the Pope’s physicians. Their opinion to this effect was not then expressed for the first time; and it was in accord with his own strong desire—also not manifested for the first time. Duke Grazioli had placed his villa at the Holy Father’s disposition, and everything was arranged. All at once, towards the end of May, all the preparations for the papal *villeggiatura* were countermanded, and it was announced to the world of the Vatican that the Pope would not leave its walls. None of those to whom the announcement was made misunderstood for a moment the importance and significance of it. That the Pope’s health imperatively required him to leave the Vatican, and Rome during the autumn, and that it had long been his earnest personal wish to do so, was no secret. But Pius IX. had declared to the world that he was detained a prisoner in the Vatican. And the present Pope in the first moments of his pontificate had incautiously suffered himself to be led into accepting the inheritance of this fiction. He, too, had allowed himself to be represented as the prisoner of the Italian Government. How, then, could he go freely to Frascati or elsewhere? This consideration had already compelled him to remain in Rome during the previous autumn to the prejudice of his health. And the determination to drop this pretence, and say no more about his imprisonment, was felt by every-

body to be a notable step in the path towards reconciliation with the Government.

Why was this sudden change of purpose determined on?

It is very significant that it occurred nearly simultaneously with the address above referred to, in which the Pope declared his intention of never abandoning his claim to the temporal power. And it is still more significant that this sudden change of purpose, and this unexpected exacerbation of tone, were shortly preceded by communications from Paris urgently pressing the Holy Father to assume an attitude of hostility against Italy. For some time back strong complaints had reached the Vatican from the Legitimists in France of the marked intimacy subsisting between Monsignor Czacki, the Nuncio at Paris, and the men of the French Government—especially M. Gambetta. The Legitimists urged that the Nuncio was betraying the cause of the Church and of France, and vehemently insisted on his recall. Monsignor Czacki, however, was deemed at the Vatican one of the ablest and most trustworthy diplomatic agents in the service of the Holy See; and the Pontiff turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances in question. Now it is Monsignor Czacki who has been the principal (though not the only) medium of the incitements to the Pope to assume an attitude of overt hostility towards Italy. The Nuncio has insisted very strongly in this sense, and was on the point of coming himself to Rome in May last to urge his arguments in person, but was ordered by Secretary Jacobini not to leave his post for the present. Similar representations are said to have been made by persons in the confidence of the French Government. And what is to be said of the effect produced on the mind of Leo XIII. by these remonstrances? That they had sufficient influence to cause him to abandon his cherished purpose of leaving Rome for the autumn, and to announce with unwonted directness and energy that he would never cease to claim the restoration of the temporal power, we have seen. That they have superinduced an acute crisis in the contest between the two currents of opinion which prevail in the Vatican, is within our knowledge. But there seems to be great reason to doubt whether the invitations, incitements, and promises of the French Government will avail to produce any permanent effect.

There are not wanting, however, other very significant circumstances calculated to impart to the Pope's policy a direction similar to that in which France is urging him. It is matter of notoriety that Pius IX., in the latter years of his pontificate, received very large sums from the spontaneous

offerings of the Catholic world, under the time-honoured name of Peter's Pence—or *obolo di San Pietro*, as the phrase goes in Italy. This is, indeed, the main source to which his successor has to look for an income. Leo XIII. has been a very poor man as Pope. Many of the administrative reforms which have helped to make him unpopular at home have, as has been already observed, been forced on him by financial necessities. The whole course of his conduct, on the other hand, has shown him to be most apostolically disinterested, so far as he is personally concerned, in all such matters. When the eldest son of his eldest brother was about to be married some months since, he applied to the Pope to aid him on the occasion. The Holy Father, unable to comply otherwise with the request, borrowed a thousand pounds for the purpose, and shortly afterwards he made over to the members of his family the whole of his very modest patrimony, assuring them at the same time that it was all he possessed in the world, and that neither then, nor after his death, must they look for anything further from him. A 'Palazzo Pecci' will not be added to the magnificent edifices which still remind the Eternal City of the names and shames of her past Pontiffs.

But it is impossible for the Pope to maintain even the outward semblance of dignity in the administration of his Church without a large income. The revenue, therefore, derived from the precarious source of the *obolo*, is a matter of vital consequence to the Holy See. Now, notwithstanding the amount of the sums which reached the coffers of Pius IX. from the *obolo*, it was notorious that they were much smaller than they ought to have been, and that embezzlement to a considerable extent had gone on. One of the first cares of Leo XIII. was to put the collection of these offerings, which had been effected to a great degree by voluntary zeal and by irresponsible persons, on a better footing. It was arranged that the *obolo* should be collected entirely by means of the bishops and by persons by them appointed in the different dioceses. But, to the great disappointment of the Vatican, it soon became evident that the proceeds of the *obolo* were not increased by the change, but, on the contrary, very notably diminished. It looked as if the opportunity for embezzlement had acted as a stimulus to the zeal of collectors. It was stated at the same time, we cannot say with what degree of truth, that the Jesuits, who had been active promoters of the offerings made to Pius IX., gave themselves no trouble to swell the revenues of Leo XIII. Nay, it was even said that they more or less overtly discouraged them. Other reasons were,

however, adduced to account for the falling off. It was admitted on all hands that Leo XIII. did not occupy so large a space in the eyes of the world as his predecessor had filled; and it was further observed that the times were hard.

The receipts from the *obolo* have been observed at the Vatican to vary according to the tone of policy indicated by the Pope's public utterances. Every manifestation of a determination not to allow his claim to the temporal power to fall into abeyance has been followed by a marked increase in the amount collected. The latest and most remarkable declaration of this kind—that of last May—was followed by so striking an increase in the contributions of the faithful, that the proceeds of the *obolo* for that month exceeded the whole of the sum collected during the previous part of the year. It may be safely assumed that a comparatively small part of the offerings came from Italy; and it may therefore be taken as proved that the wishes of the faithful in France, Austria, and perhaps Spain, are in favour of a militant and intransigent attitude.

The embarrassments of this position have recently been grievously aggravated by the publication of Father Curci's latest work, '*La Nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti*.' The term '*Zelanti*' will not be a new one to readers of Roman Church history. They will remember that the *Zelanti* have been a well-defined party in many a conclave. And the phrase, so used, will be found to bear a sense very analogous to that of Pharisee in the New Testament. The *Zelanti* were always those who assumed the most bigoted religious tone, maintained the duty of making exclusively Church interests override all political considerations, and were generally absolute and impracticable. Father Curci's *Vecchi Zelanti* are very readily identified with the *Intransigenti*, the uncompromising upholders of the policy of Pius IX.; and the gist of the views maintained in this, Father Curci's latest work, is essentially the same as that of the doctrines preached in his two famous prefaces. But these views are more boldly and aggressively set forth and illustrated more at large in the latter work, which runs to 246 octavo pages.

The volume opens with the assertion, maintained at some length, that the Italians of the present day, despite all superficial appearances to the contrary, desire that the nation should possess a religion: and the author goes on to show that this religion will, and necessarily must, be Roman Catholicism. He points out the infinitesimally small measure of success which has attended the unimpeded efforts of Protestantism

during the last ten years to plant and extend itself in Rome. And, quoting Minghetti's book on 'State and Church,' in which the same opinion is expressed, he maintains, most convincingly to our thinking, that the Italian people will never become Protestant. Such being the case, he argues that the cause of the undeniable hostility to the Church and the prevalent irreligion of the masses in Italy is the Church's opposition to that political unification which is more dear to the nation than any other thing; and that, if this opposition were to cease, Italy would become reconciled to the Church, and open to religious sentiments. Hence it follows that the Churchmen who continue to maintain that hostile attitude are, in the sight of God, responsible for the loss of the souls who are by reason of it alienated from the Church. This accusation is again and again pushed home against the Italian clergy in the pages of Father Curci's terrible indictment.

Examining at considerable length the causes of the enmity which has existed between modern democracy and the Church, Curci, quoting M. de Tocqueville,* remarks that

'the French Revolution attacked the clergy not with reference to their spiritual ministry, but because it found them first among the privileged classes, abounding in wealth, in the enjoyment of monstrous privileges, and above all because they had made common cause with an effete absolutism which was rotten and destined to come to an end. It was inevitable that in the first breaking of the tempest, the Church should share the fate of the monarchy. And thus it came to pass that everywhere, by reason of the famous *alliance of the altar with the throne* (italics in original), the whirlwind which overwhelmed the one could not spare the other.'

Curci thus continues in his own language:—

'But the tempest was a passing one. And, in fact, in France itself Pius VII., disregarding the outcries of the Zelanti who stormed as usual, veiling their legitimist fanaticism under the mantle of religion, made in July of 1801 a Concordat in regular form with the Directory represented by Bonaparte as First Consul. Nor did that holy Pontiff fear the appearance of legitimating by that solemn act the monstrous wickednesses of the Revolution, the spoliation of Church property, or the violent usurpation of so many states, including the greater part of the pontifical dominions. These enormities remained under the weight of the anathemas they merited. And the Pope's act approved nothing and renounced nothing. He only acted, according to the obligations of his apostolic ministry, in such sort as to provide for the salvation of souls. We are not informed of all the reasons why the new Italy should not have been dealt with, or should not now be dealt with,

* L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution, ch. ii.

similarly. Whatever these reasons may be, we are bound to respect them. But I do not think that I am failing in respect when I say that the reason for not so acting which it has been sought to draw from the occupation of Rome, does not appear to me of any weight.'

The author proceeds to argue that if a course similar to that pursued by Pius VII. towards the Directory had been pursued towards Italy, the religious condition of the country would now be very different indeed.

In arguing against that continued expectation and hope of a restoration of all that the Church has lost, which constrains her to adhere to her attitude of enmity towards the present civil government of Italy, Father Curci uses words which are well worth quoting for their universal applicability and the soundness of the theory enunciated:—

'As long,' he writes, 'as any social body is in the act of changing its form of government, it would be a felonious crime to contribute to such change. And therefore every citizen has the right to oppose the same, even in arms—although it is not precisely at that conjuncture that legitimists are wont to come forward. Nevertheless, when a regular government has been constituted which maintains itself amidst an orderly and sufficiently contented society—let the order and form of justice be what it may—then submission becomes the serious duty of every Christian man. So much so that a sovereign legally constituted ten days ago is not, for such purposes, less legitimate than another which has endured for ten centuries.'

Of course by 'legally' the learned author means 'according to legal form.' Of course, also, he is addressing himself *in foro conscientie* to such as acknowledge the teaching of Christianity to be paramount.

Few men knew Pius IX., both before and after his elevation to the Papacy, so well as Father Curci, and probably not one man equal to Curci in intellectual and moral capacity. He sets forth in a few sentences the opportunities he had, during a very long course of years, for forming a judgment of the late Pope, pointing out the pleasant terms they had always been on with each other, and observing that

'the great misfortune sent to me by the Lord for the sanctification of the latter portion of my weary life, was the work of others. The Pontiff, then well nigh *in extremis*, so far from being able to judge of the matter, was in those days not in a condition to know anything about it.'

'Giovanni Mastai,' proceeds Father Curci, 'always preserved an upright mind and a lively desire for the right. He had not a lofty intellect, nor a very comprehensive one, but rather a shrewd and quick intelligence. He had acquired a store of manifold and varied information, but of learning, properly so called, he had no more than is generally found in any ordinary priest. His special gift was a great

facility of eloquence, enhanced by an attractive appearance and an harmonious voice. But his discourse was insinuating rather than weighty; and inasmuch as he felt pleasure in speaking, and delighted in giving pleasure, he was enormously lavish of it. And hence, especially in his latter years, his speeches seemed to have lost all value. For such speeches, coming from the highest earthly authority, acquire increased importance from their rarity, and lose importance from nothing so much as from frequency. From nepotism he was entirely free. But he knew of its existence in the Curia; and he tolerated it where it was, if less large in its results, more wide-spread and more mischievous. . . . He had always on his lips, and doubtless also in his heart, the glory of God, of the Virgin, and of the Saints. But in this at the same time his own glory had no small part, and seemed occasionally to have the larger share. This turn of mind, joined to an intelligence of no elevation, made him impatient of superior men, and inclined him towards those who were mediocre, and in some cases even of no worth at all. In fits of caprice, which were not rare with him, he would sometimes exalt such men as if in emulation of the Omnipotence which creates out of nothing. And then he would make mockery of the purple-clad puppets with whom he delighted to surround himself. In this deeply marked and instinctive repugnance to superiority, and in a corresponding propensity towards the mediocre and even the low, was to be found the secret source of all that accumulation of great and permanent disorders which he allowed to arise and grow to gigantic size, in a sovereignty which was slipping from him under his eyes. I remember once—it was, I think, in 1856—he was speaking to me with great openness, and passed in review his various ministers, beginning with Antonelli, whom he esteemed little and loved less, and expressing, with regard to all of them, opinions anything but favourable. Upon which I permitted myself to observe respectfully, “But how, then, does your Holiness, knowing them so well, yet leave in their hands the management of public affairs?” To which he replied, “It is true they are good for very little. Nevertheless, the ship holds her course!” Whither the ship—assuredly not that of St. Peter—has gone, all men can now see.’

Respecting the too famous *Syllabus*, Curci points out, what has been before asserted and is demonstrably true, that it contains no new doctrine and no new ecclesiastical pretension whatever. The publication of it was, nevertheless, most injudicious, most mischievous, and eminently calculated to widen the breach between the Church and the world. The authors went out of their way to create one of those *offendicula* which St. Paul was so earnest in removing from the path of Christianity. The mischievous process consisted in gathering together every proposition which the Church has at any time put forth as tending towards the embodiment of her ideal of a perfect Christian State, and presenting the totality at the head of the lay world as one might present a pistol, with an intimation

of 'This or nothing!' which necessarily produced alienation. Father Curci likens the theoretical excellence and practical harmlessness of the propositions there gathered into a focus to a number of minute parcels of gunpowder which, innocuous when isolated, may become fatally dangerous when united into one mass.

The publication of this book has been a very terrible event for the ecclesiastical body in Rome. No doubt there were many who rejoiced that their 'enemy had written a book,' and had delivered himself into their hands. But even among these the rejoicing was mingled with fear and trepidation. And probably to none was the publication a subject of greater trouble and sorrow than to the Pope. He must have foreseen at once the embarrassing position in which he would be placed by it. For, in fact, what was the Church to do in the matter? To take no notice of such a book by such a man, with its audacious invective, its profound knowledge of the subjects treated, its searching criticism, its earnest pleading, was altogether impossible. This was clear to all men. The Pope himself had, besides, the consciousness that the main part, at all events, of what the 'priest C. M. Curci' said, was contemporaneous with his own most profound convictions, and that the writer knew this was so. Moreover, the Pope was not ignorant that this knowledge was shared very generally by the whole of the Curia, and he must have felt by anticipation the humiliation awaiting him.

A large number of the most violent cardinals and prelates—the leaders of the *Vecchi Zelanti*—at once urged on the Pope the necessity of condemning the book in its entirety, and immediately. There were others—the Pope's brother, Cardinal Pecci, as it is understood, foremost amongst them—who as strongly pressed upon the Pontiff a contrary course. Leo XIII. impassibly replied to all these advisers and advocates by coldly saying, 'There is a congregation whose business it is to see into and judge this matter. It is for them to do their duty.' The congregation referred to was, of course, the 'Congregation of the Index,' which accordingly met to sit in judgment on Curci's book. Now, the duty of the so-called Congregation of the Index is, not to pronounce whether a book is on the whole laudable or pernicious, moral or immoral, good or bad, but whether it is heretical. And this question must be decided not by any statement as to general tendency, but by putting the finger on some word, phrase, or passage, and declaring such word, phrase, or passage to be heretical because it contravenes such or such an

authoritative declaration of Catholic faith, as set forth in this, that, or the other decree, bull, or canon. And to this task the Congregation of the Index addressed itself. The sixth chapter of Father Curci's book is entitled 'Two Serious Stumbling-blocks (*offendicoli*) which the Zelanti have put in the way of the laity's receiving the Gospel, by means of the Syllabus and the erection of the Infallibility into a dogma.' And the passage selected by the Congregation for attack was that section of the sixth chapter which is headed 'By whom, and why, this step (the dogma of Infallibility) was determined on; the liberty of the Council rendered doubtful by intruders.'

That a very strong pressure, utterly incompatible with any real liberty of action, was resorted to for the extortion of the vote which erected the proposition in question into a dogma of faith, is so notorious * that space would be wasted on any

* The reader desirous of further and abundant information on this subject may refer to a volume published at Florence in 1873, entitled '*Otto mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano, per Pomponio Leto*'—a *nom de plume* assumed by the Marchese Vitelleschi, who writes with a very intimate knowledge of the subject.

One very striking testimony to the absence of that freedom which is essential to the canonicity of an Ecumenical Council may however be added here, since the testimony of the writer whose words we are about to cite may be considered as absolutely conclusive on the subject. Herr Strosmeier, Bishop of Diakovar, whose personal character and merit, rather than his position in the Church, have rendered his name authoritative in every country of Europe, writes the following letter addressed 'to an Old Catholic.' The letter is dated November 27, 1870; was first printed in the '*Deutsche Merkur*;' and was reprinted by the '*Kölnische Zeitung*' on July 13, 1881.

'My honoured friend,—Some time ago I received a communication from Bonn, in which some distinguished Catholics put the question to me, whether I, as a member of the minority in the Vatican Council, persisted in the conviction which I there expressed and defended. Permit me, my dear friend, to make you the medium for communicating the following reply, to the effect that my conviction, which I shall uphold before the judgment-seat of God, as I upheld it in Rome, is firm and unshakeable. And this conviction is that the Vatican Council was wanting in that freedom which was necessary to make it a real Council, and to justify it in making decrees calculated to bind the consciences of the whole Catholic world. The proofs of this lie before the eyes of everybody. . . . Everything which could resemble a guarantee for the liberty of discussion was carefully excluded. Everything calculated to convert discussion into the mere expression of pre-conceived opinion was brought into play in the most lavish and, I

examination of the matter here. Suffice it that the ingenuity of the theologians composing the Congregation, sharpened as it was by the strongest possible desire to condemn the book, was unequal to the task of finding assignable grounds for doing so. They would not find that the book had nothing heretical in it, but fell back on the very absurd declaration that they were incompetent to decide the question.

But there is at Rome another tribunal whose rules and traditions enable it to proceed in a more summary manner. The Holy Inquisition gives no reasons for what it says and decides on; and to this body, on the abandonment of the task by the Congregation of the Index, Curci's book was submitted. The Holy Inquisition made short work of it. In a very few hours the book was condemned as a libel on the Church and the Holy See. The sentence was forthwith submitted to Leo XIII., and he signed it.*

Truly the author might well say, in speaking of the present Pope, that the tendency to sacrifice his own convictions to those of others, however good in those whose place is to obey, is not equally good in one whose duty it is to command. The personal feelings of Leo XIII. when he found himself compelled to sign the condemnation of a work expressing sentiments in which he himself mainly agrees, and which he deems essential to the future well-being of the Church, must have been very little enviable. He must be aware, too, that he has riveted on his own hands the chains which have hitherto impeded him from accomplishing that good work for the Church towards which his desires urged him, though his fears held him back. He has given himself bound into the hands of his enemies,

might say, most shameless manner. And, as though all this did not suffice, there was added a public violation of the ancient Catholic principle, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. In a word, the most naked and hideous exercise of Papal Infallibility was necessary before that Infallibility could be elevated into a dogma. If to all this be added that the Council was not regularly constituted; that the Italian bishops, prelates, and officials were in a monstrosly predominating majority; that the apostolic vicars were dominated by the Propaganda in the most scandalous manner; that the whole apparatus of that political power which the Pope then exercised in Rome contributed to intimidate and repress all free utterance, you can easily conceive what sort of *liberty*—that essential attribute of all Councils—was displayed at Rome.'

* It deserves to be noticed that the reason assigned by Count Campello, a canon of St. Peter's, for his secession from the Roman Church, was this condemnation of Father Curci's opinions.

whom he well knows to be such. His want of moral courage in this instance has fatally marred many high and noble qualities, and has frustrated the great opportunities which the time, and the needs of the Church, placed before him. The strength of will of a Pius V., joined to his own enlightened perception of the conditions of the time and of his own position in it, might have made of Leo XIII. one of the greatest and most efficacious pontiffs in all the long and wonderful line. But moral cowardice in the place of moral courage mars all. There can be little danger of error in predicting that the remainder of his pontificate will be even as the past portion of it has been, and that the thirteenth Leo must be added to the list of those of whom it may be said, in the words of the Roman historian, '*Dignus imperii nisi imperasset.*'

ART. VI.—*Le Comte de Circourt, son temps, ses écrits. Madame de Circourt, son salon, ses correspondances.* Notice biographique offerte à leurs amis par le Colonel HUBER-SALADIN. Paris: 1881.

THIS unpretending biographical sketch, from the pen of an old friend, privately printed for circulation amongst the members of a generation and a society already thinned by time and death, is probably the only memorial which will exist of one of the most remarkable and accomplished Frenchmen of this century—the more remarkable inasmuch as it was his pleasure and his desire to live and die comparatively unknown by the public, for he was alike devoid of vanity and of ambition. With an insatiable curiosity and love of knowledge, with an extraordinary facility in mastering languages, and a universal love of literature—with a memory so precise and so inexhaustible that it retained without effort all he had acquired, so that hardly the minutest detail of topography, genealogy, or history perplexed or escaped him—M. de Circourt found in the mere exercise of these singular gifts a sufficient employment for a long and not inactive life. He was entirely indifferent even to literary fame, and though he wrote enormously on a variety of subjects, his works were for the most part published anonymously, scattered in reviews, or never printed at all. Augustin Thierry, the illustrious author of the '*History of the Norman Conquest of England*,' said to Mr. Ticknor: '*If M. de Circourt would select some obscure passage in history between the sixth and the seventeenth centuries, and set to work upon*

‘ it, he would leave us all behind him.’ But this vast mass of erudition and of labour was hoarded, or only brought to light in small fragments or fugitive productions. Though a Royalist and a Catholic by birth and education, and a man of intense aristocratic sympathies and fastidious tastes, M. de Circourt belonged to no party, for he was a passionate lover of the noblest forms of freedom, of constitutional government, and of broad principles of thought. What he most abhorred in the revolutionary democracy that seethed around him was its intolerance, its destructive propensities, and its pursuit of low material objects. For himself he cared for none of the ordinary prizes and rewards of life; he would belong to no learned society, he would accept and wear no decoration, he was entirely contented to live on a small competency with the noble frugality of the old French gentry; and although somewhat inclined to take a dark view of an age which had deviated so widely from his own principles and pursuits, he lived upon the whole a happy and contented life, self-contained in the exercise of his own mental powers. He lived too by his strong affections. A wife of incomparable talents, tact, and grace shared his home and collected round it the most cultivated society in Europe; and M. de Circourt himself possessed and enjoyed the friendship of an extraordinary number of men of the highest distinction, not only in France, but in all lands. The correspondence he carried on with his friends in Germany, Italy, England, Switzerland, America, and Russia, was inconceivably voluminous. To each of them he wrote in their own respective language, equally vehement and profuse in every tongue. No man, therefore, was better informed of the events of the time, and he saw history growing beneath his eyes. There are men, even in this stirring struggling age, so jealous of their independence and so indifferent to what is called success in life, that the friendship of the wise, the great, and the good, is their chief, nay, their sole, ambition. They are content to be the intelligent spectators of the great drama of life. He who looks back on the first half of the nineteenth century can hardly fail to be struck with the astonishing array of intellectual power which marked the progress of those fifty years. The great writers, the great statesmen, the great orators, the great discoverers in science, the great inventors of mechanical applications to the wants of society of that time, have left their mark on the history of mankind. It was the good fortune of M. de Circourt to enjoy the happiness of unrestricted intercourse and confidential friendship with a large number of those whom Burke and Lord Beaconsfield called ‘ the men of light

‘and leading’ in this great social evolution both in his own and in other countries. They valued his boundless acquirements and his disinterested character; and their esteem sufficed to fill the measure of his desires.

In the early years of the Consulate a Royalist soldier of the army of Condé, a French gentleman of somewhat broken fortunes, having obtained permission to return to the province of Lorraine, married a lady of his own rank, and retired to a small country house at Bouxières, near Nancy. This was the father of Adolphe de Circourt, and here the subject of this notice was born in 1801. The family belonged to the *noblesse* of Franche-Comté, one of the latest acquisitions of the crown of France; and perhaps the cosmopolitan spirit of M. de Circourt, and his enlarged sympathy with other nations, may be traced to the traditions of his birthplace, although in later times his family adopted and retained the closest union with France as their country and the French sovereign as their king. The means of the returned emigrant were straitened, and the education of his children was entrusted first to a village priest and afterwards to the schools of Besançon. But this singular boy, who was his eldest son, had begun to read with facility and avidity at four years of age. When he was eight it was thought necessary to deprive him of his books, and to shut him up in a darkened room, to save his eyes from inflammation. He still begged for a German grammar and a few sheets of paper. In a short time he had translated the German grammar into Latin! In 1812 and 1813 the Count and Countess de Circourt successively died, leaving five sons, hardly removed from infancy, to make their way in the world. Adolphe was the eldest. Their father left them a noble exhortation to adhere, through good and evil times, to their duty, their religion, and their country: he had not much else to leave. But the boys were not neglected. A great-aunt, Madame de Perrinot, exclaimed: ‘Je veux le savant. Il mangera chez moi de la vache enragée: je le logera dans une mansarde. J’en veux faire un homme, mais s’il se tue de travail, je suis là pour jeter ses bouquins par la fenêtre.’ The ‘savant’ was as gay as his younger brothers, but he persevered with his ‘bouquins.’ In 1816 he carried off all the prizes at the Lycée of Besançon; and in 1817 he started for Paris, provided with numerous letters of introduction to the connexions of his family and an allowance of 1,200 francs a year.

It was the most brilliant moment of the Restoration under the sagacious government of Louis XVIII. and the adminis-

tration of the Duc de Richelieu. The old French aristocracy had resumed its place in society, not untaught by the lessons of the Revolution. The love of letters and the desire to strengthen the government of the King by strenuous exertion had succeeded to the frivolity of the old court. Circourt was received with marked favour by the Marshal de Viomesnil and his daughter the Marquise de la Tour du Pin-Montauban. The noble Faubourg regarded him as a lad of promise. He pursued his studies in the schools of law, and a great way beyond them. He contrived to live on his small allowance in the most courtly and opulent society of Paris; and in 1822 he obtained a clerkship of 1,500 francs a year in the Home Department. Here he speedily rose, and had become in 1829 'Chef de Cabinet' of M. de la Bourdonnaye. Upon the resignation of that minister, Circourt also resigned from a chivalrous feeling of attachment to his chief, and he declined a small pension offered him from the King. But his talents were too well known for him to be left in idleness, and upon taking office in the following year Prince Polignac placed him in one of the departments of the Foreign Office, where he found himself allied to his friends M. Bois-le-Comte, M. de Flavigny, and M. de Viel-Castel, and working under the eye of the Prince himself--indeed under the eye of the King, for the facility and lucidity with which he drew up the *précis* of despatches for the sovereign were remarked by Charles X. himself. But these were inauspicious favours of fortune. His short connexion with the administration of Prince Polignac was fatal to his career as a public servant and a diplomatist. In a few months the Revolution of 1830 swept away the whole promise of an active life, and changed his destiny.

Although M. de Circourt was not only employed by M. de Polignac, but admitted to the intimacy of his family circle, he was too young and too inexperienced a politician to have taken any part whatever in the desperate measures and the egregious follies which led to the ruin not only of that minister and his dependents, but of the monarchy. Some years ago we had an opportunity of asking M. de Circourt whether he had known anything of the Ordinances of July 1830. His answer was remarkable. We noted it at the time; and as it throws a new light on an important passage of history, we now publish it.

M. de Circourt was at that time engrossed with the affairs of the foreign department to which he was attached, and had paid comparatively little attention to what was passing in the interior of France, though from the violence of the conflict

between the Court and the Chamber he foreboded a catastrophe. Polignac had told him nothing of the Ordinances, nor had he told the Princess his wife; for M. de Circourt dined with them on the very day these fatal decrees were signed, on Sunday, July 25, 1830. The minister was *distracted*. The Princess took Circourt aside to the piano after dinner, and said to him, '*Il se passe quelque chose*: do you know what it is?' Neither of them knew: possibly M. Bois-le-Comte was in the Prince's confidence.

In consequence of the absence of Marshal Bourmont, who was then commanding the expedition against the Dey of Algiers, Prince Polignac was Minister of War *ad interim*, as well as Minister of Foreign Affairs. But he had not made the smallest military preparations, or even enquiries as to the possibility of putting down a popular tumult. On that Sunday, for the first time, he sent for the officers in command of the troops about Paris. A dispute arose between them, which Polignac had to settle. It then turned out that in the whole of the first military division, which included not only Paris but Orleans and Rouen and all the intermediate places, there were not 12,000 men; in Paris itself there were about 3,400 at that moment, including the gendarmerie. The reason of this singular absence of troops from the capital was a political and military combination which the Government had formed, but which has, we think, to this day escaped the notice of the historians of the Restoration. Polignac had for some time been intriguing to detach Belgium from the dominions of the King of the Netherlands, partly from a fanatical desire to release a Catholic population from this Protestant connexion (in which he was seconded by the priests), but in part also from a notion that a military demonstration on the side of Belgium would be popular in France, and would disarm the Parliamentary Opposition; so that the movement which took place at Brussels shortly after the Revolution of July, and was attributed to the example of that democratic explosion, had in fact been prepared by Polignac himself. This is strange enough; but what is still more strange is that the very means taken to promote this lawless object proved to be the ruin of Charles X. and his minister.

With a view to the occupation of Belgium, or at least to a demonstration on the frontier, the French Government had assembled two large camps at Luneville and at St. Omer; and in these camps the bulk of the available forces of the kingdom were collected, leaving but a small residue in Paris and the centre of France, the more so as Bourmont had with

him a considerable and well-appointed army in Africa. So that, at the very moment when troops were most needed in Paris, one portion of the King's army was beyond seas, and another out of reach on the Belgian frontier.

Marshal Bourmont was perfectly aware that some such scheme as that of the Ordinances of July was contemplated by the Court and the Ministry. The King had given him special orders to terminate the campaign in Algeria, to carry off the Dey's treasure from the Kasbah, and to bring the troops back to France as soon as possible. About a month before the Revolution a ciphered despatch came from Bourmont to Polignac, in which the Marshal earnestly entreated the King to take *no important step* until his return, adding that he hoped in a few weeks to terminate the African expedition, and to prove to the King what he was capable of in his Majesty's service. He had calculated that by the month of September he could bring the greater part of the army then in Algeria back to Paris, and that the success they had recently had in Africa would attach the troops to himself as a commander, so that he would then be in a condition to crush all resistance to the measures of the Court. Had this plan been adhered to, it is by no means impossible that the *coup d'état* might have succeeded, as we have seen other conspiracies succeed on some subsequent occasions. But Bourmont's despatch in cipher had exactly the opposite effect to that contemplated by the Marshal. It produced in the mind of Polignac a violent jealousy of his military colleague, and the determination to act in Bourmont's absence, so as to have all the credit to himself and remain at the head of the King's Government. On the day the Ordinances were signed, the Prince said to M. de Circourt, 'From this day the King begins to reign, which he has not done before.' These were the motives which precipitated the blow, and caused it to overwhelm its authors with ruin and confusion.

Such was the account of this memorable transaction, taken down many years afterwards from M. de Circourt's own lips; and although he had no previous knowledge of the conspiracy, and would at no period of his life have approved of measures so arbitrary, illegal, and impolitic, probably few persons were at the time living in closer intimacy with the head of that calamitous and insatuated administration. This short narrative is therefore a contribution of some value to history.

The immediate effect of the Revolution of July on M. de Circourt himself was, as we have said, to destroy his prospects in official life. He immediately quitted France, and repaired

to Geneva in September, 1830, where he established relations which made that city a second country to him, and at times an adopted home. He had previously made the acquaintance in Paris of Mlle. Anastasie de Klustine, a young Russian lady of the most distinguished talents and attractive grace. We believe a marriage was already in contemplation between this lady and the brilliant young attaché of the ruling minister, Prince Polignac. They met again at Geneva in the autumn, when Circourt was poor, almost an exile, and shorn of all the promise of his life. But Mlle. de Klustine was of too noble a nature to break off her marriage on that account. She gave him her hand, her fortune, and her heart, and never did the union of two remarkable persons turn out more happily. Each of them was said to know at least ten languages. Mlle. de Klustine had contributed at eighteen a remarkable paper on Russian literature to the *Bibliothèque Universelle* of Geneva. Both of them were full of intelligent curiosity, and alive to every incident in the political and literary world. Both excelled in conversation, and were indefatigable lovers of society. If Paris still failed them, they cast themselves upon Europe. Geneva, Italy, Dresden, now and then England, afforded a wide field of research and amusement. For seven years they travelled abroad, everywhere received by the most eminent persons of the age, everywhere forming acquaintances which ripened into friendship.

Geneva itself, in the winter of 1830–31, just fifty years ago, was a microcosm of the most polished society in Europe. De Candolle, De la Rive, Necker de Saussure taught science in her schools; the illustrious Rossi, afterwards the victim of Roman atrocity, professed civil law and lectured on the immortal contest of the United Provinces against the tyranny of Spain; Sismondi, the historian of the Italian Republics and of France, and the brother-in-law of Macintosh, kept an open house; Bonstetten, the friend of Gray and the rival of Alfieri, still survived. The government of the little republic was carried on, with gratuitous and enlightened zeal for the public interests, by men of hereditary reputation for talents and virtues. The recent revolution in Paris had cast on the shores of Lake Lemman many of the most brilliant members of French society. M. de Chateaubriand appeared there. Cavour, still young and half Genevese (for his mother was a Mlle. de Sellon, sister of the Duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre), began to mix in society. Mrs. Marcet and the Romillys represented the most cultivated society of England, and a host of foreigners of all lands, Russians, Poles, Italians, and Greeks, sought in

Geneva a haven of safety or a seat of learning and of freedom. Colonel Huber-Saladin, who is himself a distinguished member of the Genevese aristocracy, has given us in these pages a vivid picture of his celebrated little Republic at the most brilliant period of its existence. In this remarkable assemblage it is not too much to say that M. and Madame de Circourt shone with pre-eminent lustre, and they took their place in the society of Europe.

From Geneva they passed into Italy, where the same welcome awaited them. Sismondi introduced them to Cicognara, General Filangieri, and that type of old Florentine nobility, Gino Capponi; Bonstetten to Manzoni, Rosini, and the polished Court of Tuscany. It was the first time Circourt had visited Italy, but he was perfectly familiar with her language and her literature; he could repeat every line of the 'Divina Commedia,' and retrace every incident in Italian history. Society seemed to strew their path with flowers. But the sage Bonstetten wrote to his young friend: '*Allez dans le monde, mais ne toilettez pas trop. Cette vie est le vol d'Icare, ayez soin de vos ailes.*' M. Huber-Saladin remarks with truth:—

The most curious and instructive time to visit Mount Vesuvius is that which precedes the chilling and crystallisation of the lava. Circourt, after the great European eruption of 1830, had the good fortune to travel for seven years, which enabled a keen observer such as he was to survey the fissures and the rifts, still gaping and smoking, in the crater of those times. But to complete that survey the privileged position which opens the doors of palaces and *salons* is not enough: it must extend to the middle classes, the region of science, the region of letters, and even to humbler ranks. The ex-attaché of the French Foreign Office knew the language of society—the thorough gentleman possessed that simplicity and good nature which put the humblest at their ease, and, as he spoke all the languages of Europe, he was everywhere welcomed with equal alacrity. His indefatigable power of walking (which lasted to the very close of his life, for he literally died walking at the age of seventy-eight) enabled him to explore the town and the country, as well as the libraries, museums, and churches of Italy. With his insatiable curiosity, always awakened, and a mind constantly engaged on subjects of importance, no man ever derived greater advantage from his travels, or drew from this extended horizon more enlarged and accurate views of the future destinies of his own country.'—(p. 31.)

In 1837, after a residence of two years in Germany and a visit to Russia, M. and Madame de Circourt established themselves in Paris, and, to the surprise of the world, this Russian lady, the wife of a French Legitimist, with a limited income,

inhabiting a small apartment *au troisième* in the Rue des Saussaies, succeeded in a short time in creating a *salon* and drawing round her tea-table the most brilliant society in the French capital. Madame de Circourt was eminently Russian—very tall, graceful rather than handsome; with an extreme mobility of features, expressive eyes, and a marvellous flexibility of manner, she combined a rare earnestness of purpose and a genuine warmth of feeling and of heart. She was energetic and she was sincere. That probably was the secret of her success as much as her varied talents and acquirements. The title of *Corinna Borysténide*, which had been awarded to her in Italy, would have terrified the Faubourg St. Germain. Her foreign extraction was an advantage, for it gave her house a cosmopolitan and neutral character. French society was already much divided, though not so bitterly as it has been in more recent times. The embassies under Lady Granville, Madame Apponyi, and Madame de Brignole were accepted as neutral ground. The *salons* of Princess Lieven, Madame de Boigne, Madame de Broglie, Madame de St. Aulaire, and those of the pure Faubourg St. Germain had a pronounced and exclusive political character. But amongst all these great houses the two or three low rooms of the Rue des Saussaies held their place. The institution of five o'clock tea perhaps originated there. The Faubourg St. Germain, the Luynes, the Vogués, the Rauzans appeared there not unwilling to meet on neutral ground the parliamentary leaders of the day or the last arrival from Turin, Petersburg, or London—Cavour, Count Orloff, or Arthur Stanley. These meetings became the business of Madame de Circourt's life, and they continued with unabated success until the deplorable accident by fire, which reduced this accomplished lady to the condition of an invalid— *pauvre brûlée* she called herself—for the latter years of her life.

It may be said of the French at the time when a constitutional monarchy intervened between the ever-shifting scenes and struggles of the Revolution, which has been in intermittent progress for nearly a hundred years, 'felices nimium sua si bona nôrint.' The much-decried reign of Louis-Philippe, with no wars, with a moderate conscription, with a system of taxation and expenditure and debt which has since been enormously augmented, with a free Parliament which included the ablest and most eloquent men in the country, shone with conspicuous lustre in literature, in art, and in all that dignifies and graces society. The *salons* of Madame de Circourt and her friends, though altogether remote from the influence of the Court, were the types of that enlightened and amiable epoch.

The Opposition grumbled at the Government; the Legitimists stood aloof from the ruling powers; but the nation was alike free from the false glare, the despotism, and the perils of the Empire, and from the incessant inroads of a destructive democracy, which have ostracised or extinguished all that was brightest and noblest in the society of France, and reduced her to the lowest level of intellectual culture ever known in her history. The time will come, perhaps it has come already, when these records and reminiscences of the society of Paris between 1837 and 1848 will be regarded with interest and regret. Our own countryman, Mr. Nassau Senior, has preserved to us a lively picture of some of the conversations of those days; and although we cannot accept them as a perfectly accurate portrait of his friends, for every one of them speaks precisely in the style of Mr. Senior himself, and not with the wit and vivacity of the original interlocutor in his own language, these reminiscences are valuable. M. de Circourt often figures in his pages, and not always favourably. A voluble and vehement talker often says in conversation a good deal more than he would say in print: sometimes his meaning may be misinterpreted by a reporter writing in a foreign language. These conversations attest M. de Circourt's wide and varied acquirements, but they are not fair specimens of his discretion, his insight, and his judgment.

With the Revolution of 1848 all this came to an end. The society of Paris under the Empire was entirely changed. It became an incessant protest against the vulgar despotism which had usurped the throne of France and extinguished the liberties of the nation. But in the short interval of republican freedom which succeeded the flight of Louis-Philippe and preceded the accession of Louis-Napoleon, M. de Circourt played for a few weeks, and for the only time in his life, a political part. M. de Lamartine, who came to the front immediately after the catastrophe of February, which he had stimulated and in some measure provoked, felt, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, that his first duty was to calm the apprehensions of Europe. M. de Circourt was one of his earliest and most faithful friends—equally faithful in later years, when Lamartine had fallen into indigence and obscurity, as when he was at the height of power. Lamartine pitched on his friend to represent the young Republic at Berlin.

'I found at once,' he says, 'the man ready to my hand. He had served in diplomacy under the Restoration. The Revolution of 1830 had thrown him into the obscurity of private life. He had employed those years in studies which would have absorbed the lives of other

men, but which were the pastimes of his own. Languages, races, geography, history, philosophy, travels, constitutions, the religions of mankind from the beginning of the world to our own times, and from Thibet to the Alps, he had incorporated them all, reflected on all, retained all. You might interrogate him on the totality of facts and ideas which compose the world, and his memory would supply the answer.'

Such an envoy was welcome to the accomplished King of Prussia, to whom he was personally known; and he was acquainted with Humboldt, Schelling, Ranke, Grimm, Raumer, Pourtalès, the Arnims, and Radowitz, the *élite* of the society of Berlin. The French Republic could not have a more polished representative. He contracted no engagements; he gave no pledges. His simple object was to serve his country and his friend by endeavouring to maintain peace, and, if possible, to establish an alliance between France, England, and Prussia, should the absolutist powers of Russia and Austria prove hostile. Circourt arrived in Berlin on March 9, thirteen days after the Revolution in Paris. But the tempest which had just overturned the throne of Louis-Philippe spread with fearful rapidity over continental Europe. He was accredited, as was supposed, to a powerful and stable government; but hardly a week had elapsed before Berlin was almost reduced to the state of Paris. On March 18 Circourt walked through the city with Humboldt, and witnessed with him the attack on the palace by the mob. That same evening the troops were again masters of the town, and the barricades offered no serious resistance. But the King's heart failed him, and he resolved to withdraw the forces. The envoy of M. de Lamartine's Republic expressed his extreme surprise, and condemned the measure. The King remained a mere hostage in the hands of the populace and the students. Happily the citizens of Berlin are not French revolutionists, and by humiliating concessions the monarchy, which has since become the most powerful in Europe, was saved. But this was no time for diplomatic negotiation. The very basis of society throughout the Continent was shaken by the earthquake.

The circular published by M. de Lamartine on March 2 contained some highflown expressions about the 'reconstruction of oppressed nationalities in Europe or elsewhere,' and the right of the French Republic to arm in their defence. This language had alarmed the courts of Europe; it was specially understood to apply to the wrongs of Poland, because the Polish cause had been one of the pretexts of the February Revolution in Paris. On March 21, a deputation of Poles

from Posnania (the Prussian portion of Poland) arrived in Berlin, headed by the Archbishop of Posen. They demanded the re-establishment of the throne of Poland, either under the King of Prussia himself, or under a prince of his House. Frederic William refused the throne, but he consented to grant an entire autonomy to the Duchy of Posen, and to use his influence at St. Petersburg in favour of the Polish claims. M. de Circourt was of opinion that these concessions were as much as it was reasonable to expect from the King of Prussia. The Poles, however, were not satisfied. No Polish gentleman would consent to serve under the conditions of allegiance to the crown of Prussia. The Polish revolutionary party flocked into the duchy, provided with French passports. On the other hand, the German population of the duchy openly resisted this Sarmatian incursion. Prince Czartoryski arrived at Berlin on March 28, to urge his claim to the crown of Poland, which would have involved a general insurrection and war with Russia. Circourt's instructions were to preserve peace, not to foment insurrections. But very shortly a conflict between the two races broke out. Then the sympathy of all Germany manifested itself for her own nationality, and against the Poles. An attempt was made to separate the duchy into two zones, which M. de Circourt traced with his peculiar topographical knowledge and sagacity; for he knew the history of every parish in Posnania. This, too, came to an end on May 1.

This was but a piece of by-play in the great drama of revolution then acted in Europe, but it was an incident that might have led to serious consequences and extended the general conflagration. The duty of M. de Circourt was to prevent, if possible, that extension, and at the same time to obtain what he could for the Poles. This duty he performed during that month of April with adroitness and some success; but, as was natural, he was abused and misrepresented by both sides. His confidential despatches to Lamartine were read in the French Chamber and denounced as reactionary. The more advanced members of the Provisional Government insisted on his recall: and the first act of M. Bastide, who succeeded M. de Lamartine as Foreign Minister, was to name M. Etienne Arago in his place. Arago arrived in Berlin on June 5.

In the course of this short and abortive mission Circourt had several audiences of the King, who, whatever his faults may have been as a sovereign, was a perfect judge of good conversation, and would willingly have chosen his ministers, as he chose Humboldt and Bunsen, for their erudition. M. de Circourt and his wife dined at the palace in private

on the eve of their departure, and the King embraced the retiring envoy with tears in his eyes. Three years afterwards a portrait of his Majesty, executed on the fine porcelain of Berlin, reached the Rue des Saussaies, with this message : ' This portrait is from my own manufactory ; but you owe me ' three thalers for the frame. You shall not accuse me of an ' attempt to bribe you.'

From Berlin M. de Circourt brought back a strong conviction that the military and political ascendancy of Prussia over the whole of Germany was certain, and was only a question of time. He held, therefore, that it was in the true interest of France so to act that this powerfully organised State should not be turned against herself. But M. de Circourt's far-sighted predictions were seldom listened to. He was the Cassandra of his country, and foresaw calamities which it was thought unpatriotic to conceive until they arrived with irresistible force. After this short experience of service under a friendly Republican minister, Circourt withdrew altogether from public life.

In 1852, immediately after the accession of Louis-Napoleon, he thought that the moment was opportune to pay his respects to the exiled head of the Bourbons at Frohsdorf. He never doubted that sooner or later the second Empire, after a period of some success and brilliancy, would fall by its own violence in a foreign war. What lay beyond it? None could say ; but there was a moment when the moderate Royalist party thought a second Restoration might not be impossible ; and so indeed it would have proved but for the infatuation of the Prince himself. At Frohsdorf M. de Circourt was well received, and he was favourably impressed by the serene dignity of the Prince. He speaks of him in the following terms :—

' The king has no ministers, and still less has he any favourites. Religious from the depths of his heart and his intelligence to its utmost height, he displays no superstitious subserviency to the clergy. He is a Catholic of the mild and very Gallican school of Charles X. He understands freedom, and sees that his vocation, if ever it is accomplished, will be to restore the liberties of France, as well as the authority of the Crown ; but as to the measures it may be fitting to take, he awaits the course of events. In all things he looks with a serene gaze on the great theatre of events and the actors in them, in the firm belief that all things are ordered by Providence, and that these actors are for the most part playing a part whose effects they scarcely understand.'

Circourt adds that he does not know that any other system of policy would have answered better. But in point of fact he lived to see and to regret in 1871 the consequences of this

fatalism. It is curious that the deposed sovereigns who adhere, as a matter of faith, to the belief that Providence will in its own good time restore them to their thrones, should overlook the fact that, if this be so, it is this same Providence which has deposed them from those thrones ; and it might be argued that it was more just to depose them for their faults and their crimes than to restore them for their virtues. Their fall is an accomplished fact, and one of the lessons of history ; their restoration is a mere speculation on the course of future events.

As far as his own opinions went, Circourt was in matters of religion essentially a Gallican Catholic, sincerely deploring the Ultramontane tendencies of the Church of France in the present age ; and in politics he regarded the British Constitution, with its limited monarchy, its aristocratic influences, its broad democratic institutions, and, above all, its liberal principles, as the model of free government. He held that this Constitution, based on these solid foundations, was the only form of government which could adapt itself to the future transformations of society without injustice and without violence ; and he regarded with profound dismay every attempt to upset the balance of power on which it rests. M. de Circourt therefore looked upon England with peculiar regard ; and none of his friends and correspondents were more favoured than those of this country. English history, too, was one of his favourite studies, and his Essays on the ‘ Battle of Hastings,’ on Milman’s ‘ St. Paul’s,’ on Stanley’s ‘ Canterbury,’ and on Macaulay’s ‘ History of England ’ are among the best of his writings. The Essay on the ‘ Battle of Hastings ’ was written after a pilgrimage to Battle Abbey, then the seat of Sir Augustus Webster, and it is a monograph of singular interest on that classical spot, which he holds to be the most important battlefield of the modern world, on the county of Sussex, the Saxon kings, the Abbey itself, and the character of the Norman conquerors.* It is animated by a spirit of affectionate interest and regard for the traditions and institutions of Great Britain. But, writing under the influence of M. Thierry’s narrative of the Norman Conquest, and adopting the extreme views which have since been greatly modified, M. de Circourt falls into the exploded error of supposing that the Norman rule was one of unmitigated tyranny and persecution of the Saxon race, and that the English nation has been formed on the Norman type ; and he somewhat rashly asserts that the spirit of the Norman

* It was published in the ‘ *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* ’ for October 1858.

conquest is still discernible in the dealings of English rulers with foreign and subject races.

‘Never,’ he exclaims, ‘did so close an oligarchy, founded by such audacious violence, serve as the basis of freedom so just and so enduring as that which England now enjoys. But let it not be supposed from the course of ordinary affairs that the spirit of the Conquest is extinct in the nation, which still bears its ineffaceable mark. Within their island and in all that concerns themselves, the English have resumed that respect for justice, that love of legal authority, and those civic virtues, which were the boast of the days of Alfred. In their relations with foreign nations, the soul of William and his Normans revives from generation to generation down to the present day. If there be no William the Conqueror (for nature is not prodigal in men of genius), the stern brutality of William Rufus, the sanguinary cunning of Henry Beauclerc, manifest themselves among their chiefs, whenever occasion calls, as they did against the Saxons on the morrow of the Conquest. These qualities amass accumulated hatred; but it cannot be denied that they are favourable to the acquisition of power.’

And he went on to make some further unfavourable remarks on the haughty reticence of the English in their intercourse with foreigners, and their too common reluctance to learn and speak foreign languages.

He certainly did not intend these expressions to apply to the national character in general, for no Frenchman ever lived in more genial and cordial intercourse with his English friends. The passage was a flight of his pen into the regions of rash generalisation. However, the papers containing these expressions having been sent to Lord Macaulay, they elicited from that great historian a very strong and patriotic protest, written only a few months before his death, which took place on December 28, 1859. These letters have been placed at our disposal, and we think our readers will peruse them with interest.

‘Holly Lodge : July 23, 1859.

‘Sir,—Some months ago I read, with great pleasure, your remarks on my “History of England.” I have lately received a copy which you have been so obliging as to send me. I entreat you to believe that I shall always value your present, and that I am much gratified by the favourable opinion of so able and well-informed a critic.

‘I have the honour to be, Sir, your most faithful servant,

‘MACAULAY.

‘A Monsieur M. le Comte de Circourt.’

‘Holly Lodge, Kensington : August 28, 1859.

‘Sir,—I have received your obliging letter and the two pamphlets which accompanied it. The paper on Prescott I have read with unmixed pleasure. The paper on the “Battle of Hastings,” highly interesting

as it is, has given me, I will frankly own to you, some pain. For it has forced on me the conviction that even those enlightened Frenchmen whose abilities and attainments peculiarly qualify them for the beneficent and noble office of mediating between the two great civilised nations of Europe, are not themselves free from the prejudices which it is their special mission to combat. Pardon me if I add that I am surprised that you should have taken up one notion, which I knew to be common on the Continent, but which I should have thought that you would have at once perceived to be both false and pernicious—the notion, I mean, that the power and prosperity of England, and particularly the dominion which she exercises over great countries separated from her by many thousand miles of ocean, are to be attributed to her profound immorality, to her bad faith, to her rapacity, to her cruelty. It is, no doubt, very soothing to the envy of minds of a very different order from yours to be able to ascribe the greatness which gives them pain to the “*machiavélisme de la perfide Albion*.” But you, I am confident, will not be satisfied with such an explanation. You cannot but feel that, if the English empire in Asia had been a greedy, ferocious, faithless tyranny, it could not have lasted a hundred years, or fifty, or ten. Above all, it never could have survived the shock of 1857. I am, I believe, pretty well acquainted with the history and constitution of that Empire. The adventurers who founded it doubtless committed some crimes. But it is not to those crimes that their success is to be imputed. In fact those crimes were not only crimes but blunders, and had no more to do with our ascendancy in India than the execution of the Duke of Enghien with Napoleon’s ascendancy on the Continent of Europe. I hold, with firm faith, the doctrine that all immorality is impolitic. If I am asked by what qualities our Empire in the East is really upheld, I answer—By valour, by patriotism, by a high sense of honour, by an utter scorn of unlawful gain, by toleration, by veracity, by the strict observance of plighted faith. These qualities, in spite of that haughty and unsocial demeanour with which you justly reproach us, and which makes us everywhere unpopular, enable us to govern a hundred and fifty millions of human beings who differ from us in race, colour, language, manners, and religion, who do not, and indeed cannot, love us, but who respect us, and who know our rule to be, beyond all comparison, more just and more humane than any that preceded it, or that is likely to succeed it. We owe nothing to the “*rudesse sombre*” or to the “*astuce sanguinaire*” which you impute to us. The “*rudesse sombre*” has done us nothing but injury. The “*astuce sanguinaire*” has no existence. I will venture to say that, within the last seventy years, no English ruler of India has been guilty of any act to which malice itself can apply the words “*astuce sanguinaire*.”

‘I will only add that I am puzzled by one charge which you bring against us. One thing, you say, which characterises us in our dealings with foreigners, is that we never learn any foreign language. If you speak of our dealings with other European nations, I will venture to say that, for every Spaniard who knows English, ten Englishmen know Spanish, that, for every Italian who knows English, twenty Englishmen

know Italian, and that, for every Frenchman who knows English, fifty Englishmen know French. In my parish of Kensington there are, I believe, more people who can read Molière than there are people in all Paris who can read Shakespeare. Who ever heard of an English prime minister who knew no French? Or what Englishman would think of writing a history of the reign of George III. without knowing French? M. Thiers, a man of eminent abilities, was prime minister of France, and has written a history of the Revolution, and a history of the Consulate and the Empire, without knowing a word of English. I really think, therefore, that our neighbours in Europe are hardly entitled to reproach us as "*n'apprenant aucun langage.*" But, if you were thinking of our Oriental dominions when you wrote that passage, I can assure you that there is not, in the whole Indian Civil Service, a single man who is not acquainted with at least two of the native languages, and that many members of that service are admirable linguists.

'But I must stop. Indeed I ought to have stopped long ago. But my subject took possession of me. I was unwilling that my country should stand low in the esteem of a foreigner who stands high in mine. Excuse my prolixity; accept my thanks for your courtesy; and, when next you visit England, remember that you have a correspondent who would account it an honour and a pleasure to be personally acquainted with you.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

'MACAULAY.'

After the receipt of this letter M. de Circourt sent Lord Macaulay a copy of a paper he had published on the Manchester Art Exhibition, with a further communication which led to the following rejoinder in defence of British commanders and British policy.

'Holly Lodge, Kensington: September 10, 1859.

'My dear Sir,—I have just received the paper on the Manchester Exhibition, and have read it with much interest and pleasure. I should have enjoyed a walk in your company through that immense collection. Many people here would think you unjust to Hogarth, considered as a painter, and to Turner. But my opinion as to both those artists agrees with yours. You are quite right as to the comparative merits of Reynolds and Gainsborough. But I must say that I should not have been surprised if your judgment had been different. For Reynolds's best pictures were not at Manchester; and all Gainsborough's masterpieces were there. I am a little surprised at your not mentioning Etty, a mere colourist, it is true, but the greatest of the English colourists, and inferior only to the best painters of Venice.

'The topics on which you touch in your most kind and courteous letter are so numerous and of such importance that it would require a volume to discuss them properly. I will trouble you with only a few remarks. With much that you say I entirely agree. We English have great faults; and I often think, as you do, that, instead of abusing

our Transatlantic cousins, we should do well to consider whether their character be not our own character developed by different circumstances. I am far indeed from wishing that those accomplished Frenchmen, who are our sincere friends, should be our flatterers. I am thankful for their reproofs. Nevertheless I must again object to the phrase *astuce sanguinaire*; and I am persuaded that you will, on reflection, admit that the instances which you have cited do not bear out that expression. You mention Clive and Nelson. Clive was certainly on some occasions *astucieux* to a most culpable degree. But he was not sanguinary, and was never, as far as I am aware, accused of being so. I do not believe that he was ever concerned in the shedding of blood, except on the field of battle. As to Nelson, it is most true that, under the despotic influence of an abandoned woman, whose beauty and blandishments had completely bewitched him, he did things which no Englishman ever mentions without sorrow and shame. But that madness of guilty love, in which a man forgets duty, honour, and compassion, ought not to be called *astuce sanguinaire*. When I saw, the other day, a charming portrait of Lady Hamilton, I said that, if it were mine, I would put under it the lines of Ariosto—

“La gran beltà ch’al gran Signor d’Anglante
Macchiò la chiara fama e l’alto ingegno.”

‘With your remarks on Indian affairs I can by no means agree. It is perfectly true that, in the first transports of grief, rage, and horror excited by the murdering, the mutilating, the torturing of women and babes, there was, in this country, such a cry for revenge as had never been heard before. But I cannot help thinking that our vindictiveness had more affinity with humanity than with cruelty; and the wonder to me is, not that justice and moderation should have been, during some time, forgotten, but that they should so soon have regained the ascendancy. As to the annexations of which you speak, there are two about which I am in some doubt, that of Sattara and that of Sindé. There are two which I think perfectly justifiable, and which ought to have taken place much earlier, that of Berar and that of Oude. You are, I assure you, under an error if you imagine that, in annexing Oude, the Indian Government deviated from the maxims of Lord Wellesley and of Lord William Bentinck. The annexation of Oude was Lord Wellesley’s favourite scheme. From my own very intimate knowledge of Lord William Bentinck, I can attest that he looked on the Court of Lucknow with utter loathing. He justly thought it disgraceful to England to tolerate and to support a frightful misgovernment, uniting all that is worst in tyranny and all that is worst in anarchy; and he considered the question of annexation simply as a question of prudence and of time.

‘One word more. I must have explained myself very ill if I appeared to say that, in my opinion, no dominion founded on injustice could be of long duration. What I meant was that it was a great error to attribute to Machiavelian arts the continued progress of a great society in prosperity and power. As to tyranny such as that which the Italians, eighteen hundred years ago, exercised over the neigh-

houring nations, such as that which the Spaniards exercised over the New World, such as we too long exercised over the Irish, I do believe that such tyranny is a curse to the ruler as well as to the ruled. The liberty and happiness of Italy were destroyed by the means which she employed to oppress the provinces. The degradation of Spain was the effect of her colonial system. We have been severely punished, God knows, for our injustice to Ireland; and though we have repented of our fault, the punishment, I am afraid, is not yet over.

‘Pardon the length at which I have trespassed on your attention, and believe me ever, my dear Sir, your faithful servant,

‘MACAULAY.’

‘I confidently reckon on the pleasure of seeing you whenever you revisit England. The pleasure of my visits to France would be doubled if I knew your language as well as you know ours.’

We agree with Lord Macaulay that this hasty imputation on the character of English rulers is as untrue as it is fantastical; though Lord Macaulay seems to us to have somewhat exaggerated and misapprehended the nature of the charge, which is of a much less sweeping character. We are convinced that M. de Circourt never seriously maintained the opinion that the greatness of the British Empire was due to Machiavelism and crime. The whole tenor of his writings and his mind shows that he regarded England as the great bulwark not only of civilisation but of freedom. It needed not Lord Macaulay’s eloquence to convince him of that, although he might trace the vestiges of Norman ferocity in some passages of our history. But this correspondence is an interesting example of the relations which may spring up between two accomplished men of letters, united by no ties of personal friendship; for we believe they never met, and the hope expressed by Lord Macaulay in the postscript to his last letter was frustrated by his own death. The British peer had the best of the argument in his patriotic protest against M. de Circourt’s exaggerated expressions; but the French critic might have retorted on Lord Macaulay that his own writings are by no means free from rhetorical expressions which are in excess of his own meaning and of the justice of the case.

Years drew on. The society and the politics of the Second Empire alienated the best society of Paris, and M. and Madame de Circourt withdrew more and more, owing in part to her failing health, to the cottage she had created and adorned in the pleasant village of La Celle St. Cloud, about four miles from Versailles. Their shrubbery abutted on one of the Emperor’s parks. They preserved his pheasants. Louis-Napoleon, with that good breeding which never forsook him

in private life, sent them word by a friend that he hoped they should be good neighbours, and proposed a friendly exchange of a small piece of ground, while he gave them a key of his park. In 1863 Madame de Circourt died from the effects of her cruel accident, and her husband retired more than ever from the world. The remaining years of his life were devoted exclusively to his studies, to his correspondence with intimate friends, and to literary works not destined to see the light of day. With all his enormous stores of knowledge M. de Circourt was not a brilliant or a successful writer. He never acquired what the French regard, not perhaps unreasonably, as the most essential of literary gifts—a *style*. Careless of the form in which he cast his thoughts, he preserved the substance of whatever interested him. The interest of the subject sufficed for himself, but he sometimes forgot that it might become tedious to others.

The solitude of his latter years was cheered by the affection of his brothers, and by the intimacy which existed between him and the excellent Countess Affry and her daughter, the Duchess Colonna-Castiglione, who has left to us in sculpture no mean proofs of her genius as an artist. Their house at Friburg, in Switzerland, became to him a second home. But the Duchess Colonna was also destined to the premature close of a life of singular promise, and one of the last painful duties M. de Circourt had to perform was to close the eyes of that charming and accomplished woman on the shores of Castella-mare. He returned to France profoundly saddened by this melancholy event; and in the course of the following winter, during one of the walks which he never ceased to take with unremitting activity, he was stricken with apoplexy, and shortly afterwards expired on November 15, 1879, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. None knew the value of his heart and of his intellect so well as those with whom he had maintained a lifelong correspondence and intimacy—such as the venerable Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen, Monseigneur de Bonnechosc, Arthur Stanley, the late Dean of Westminster, and Mr. Winthrop, the worthy descendant of the first Governor of Massachusetts. To these names a multitude of others might be added; for it was the privilege and the joy of Circourt's life to have possessed the friendship of the best and noblest men of the age he lived in, and in the light of their fame his own memory will not be wholly eclipsed or extinguished.

ART. VII.—1. *Ballads and other Poems.* By ALFRED TENNYSON. London: 1880.

2. *The Works of Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate.* London: 1881.

TO all admirers of Mr. Tennyson's genius his last volume should be one of singular interest; and this for two reasons. It is interesting, in the first place, on account of its own merits; but it is interesting also in a much wider way. It not only claims our best attention for itself, but it turns our attention even more forcibly to its author. It throws a new light on his whole position and history, and at once helps and incites us to reconsider them. The poems comprised in it are of unequal merit and importance; but their strength and weakness in this way are both alike instructive. By-and-by we shall speak of them more in detail. It will be enough at present to make a brief allusion to one of them in which he has broken on the world with a new strength and splendour; in the poem of 'Rizpah' he has achieved a second reputation. Of this astonishing production it has been said, that were all the rest of the author's works destroyed, this alone would at once place him amongst the first of the world's poets. Such was the verdict pronounced by Mr. Swinburne. It has all his characteristic generosity, and not much of his characteristic exaggeration.

Now to many men, whose opinions are worth considering, an event of this kind must have been quite out of their calculations. It has been thought by many that, for a number of years past, Mr. Tennyson's powers have been more or less declining; and the decline they date probably from the publication of 'Enoch Arden.' With this view of the matter we do not ourselves agree, but we by no means hold it groundless. We hold, on the contrary, that it embodies an important truth, but a truth apprehended in a false and confused way. It is this confusion, we think, that the present volume will dissipate; in what manner we shall endeavour to show presently.

Of many men of genius it may be said truly that their powers declined towards the latter years of their lives, and in some cases altogether left them. Not to go far afield, we need think but of Scott and Southey, or of Swift, who 'expired a driveller and a show.' Here we have instances of a certain decline of powers, which, in a larger or less degree, is no unusual thing; and when it has been said of a genius that his powers showed signs of failing him, it has been meant

generally, and probably meant truly, that a certain change had taken place in his brain. There are other cases, however, in which similar signs occur, but the cause to which they are due is altogether different. It is external, it is not internal. No change is involved in the brain of the man in question. His powers may still exist in all their earlier vigour. What does not exist as it once did is the earlier stimulus to use them. The powers of some men, for instance, have been mainly roused by poverty, those of others by ambition; and with the achievement either of fame or riches the powers have not decayed, they have only been employed languidly. Mr. Tennyson's case, we conceive, is analogous in one way to these. We do not mean that either fame or wealth has affected in any degree the exercise of his genius, but that the cause that has affected it is equally external. It is not in him, it is without him. His last volume must convince us that his vigour is unimpaired. His sight is not dim, nor his bodily strength abated. We may compare him to a mirror reflecting the sky's light on us, which was once dazzling, but which has slowly been growing dimmer; and the cause we shall find to be not that the mirror is tarnished, but one very different—that the sun is sinking.

We have not chosen this last image at random. The days have long gone by since the man of genius was looked upon as a kind of mysterious aerolite fallen to earth from heaven, and connected with his surroundings in only an accidental way. He is recognised now as the special outcome of his age; and he is conditioned by its conditions, even while he assists to change them. This remark will apply to all genius, but we are speaking now with a special view to the poet's. The poet is, as it were, at once a mirror and a burning-glass. He receives the light and the images that are round him; he intensifies the one, and he reduces the other to order: but the spectrum of this reflected world still depends on the actual world it reflects. This is true even of those poets who are said to be most original. The word *original* indeed, in this connexion, has been a source of great confusion, and it still serves to perpetuate an entirely false conception. It is supposed commonly to be a word of the highest praise when applied to a poet's genius, and the judgment conveyed by it seems to amount to this—that the poet's chief ideas spring from himself alone, and that he has not acquired or chosen them from any external source. Now the truth is, that could this be said with accuracy of any ideas at all, it could be said not of the greatest, but only of the most contemptible; and if we use the word in question with the meaning above referred to, we shall find

more originality in the eccentricities of a baby than we shall in the pages of a Shakespeare. The sources of the highest poetry are, on the contrary, essentially external, and often borrowed from that which has preceded the poet or from that which surrounds him. Nor is this true only of plots and of constructions; it is true also of thoughts, and true in a deeper way. The great thoughts of the world have always matured slowly; they have never sprung full-grown from the head of any Thunderer; and when they have burst on an age as new from the lips of any poet, they have been thoughts that were already existing, only existing unrecognised. The poet has evoked them from the age, he has not added them to it.

And is this all, it may perhaps be asked—is this all that the greatest poets do for us? We answer that this is far more than it seems to be. We have compared the poet to a mirror, we have compared his works to a reflection; but the mirror and the reflection are both of a special kind. What is shown us is an image of the common world we live in, but it is not that world as common eyes see it. Spirits are reflected as well as bodies; bodies themselves become half-transparent. As we look our eyes are opened, the invisible is revealed to us, we are shown our own existence under new and unexpected aspects. The hopes, and thoughts, and doubts that have been hovering in the air around us, troubling all of us and eluding all of us, have been compelled by the poet to put on fitting bodies—to assume a ‘questionable shape.’ What the poet does is to reveal an epoch to itself. No poet can do more than this; only the greatest poets can do so much. But more is comprised in this than there may at first sight seem to be. In the vulgar sense no great thoughts may be original, but practically the man may be well said to originate them who makes them arrange and show themselves, who confronts the age with its own image, and who points its aspirations to the goal they have been dimly seeking for.

If this be accepted as the great poet’s function, we shall realise two points as to the great poet’s genius. We shall realise first how great that genius has to be. The poet’s mind can reflect those things only with which it is itself in sympathy, and, to reflect the character of an age, it must be in sympathy with many things. It must have grasped the science and the philosophy by which the intellect of the age is either ruled or agitated; it must have the same grasp on religious and political feeling. These requirements must be remembered, and how great these requirements are. But there is something more besides. We must remember that be the

genius never so great, it can grasp and assimilate nothing but what is present for it to assimilate; and that its nature, be it what it will, is subdued to what it works in. .

We have been led into making the above remarks because, in a singularly clear way, Mr. Tennyson is an illustration of the truth of them. In his poetry, more clearly than in that of most poets, we can recognise his own age reflected, and perceive the real relation between art and nature; indeed, from a study of his more mature poems one might almost construct the spiritual and even the political history of his epoch. That such a history would be complete we do not say. It is given to no one man to understand his own epoch completely, and there are doubtless forces at work in the world at present that have eluded Mr. Tennyson. To say this is not to disparage his genius. What he has failed to do does but show that he is not greater than the greatest men; what he has done shows that he is very nearly their equal. The more we study his best and sincerest works, the more shall we realise how wide have been his sympathies, how varied his knowledge, and how firm has been his grasp of whatever matter he has mastered. The speculative philosophy, the scientific knowledge of his age; the bearings of these upon religion, and the bearings of religion upon conduct; the passions of a people either for peace or war, for order or for liberty; the dark and the bright side of civilisation and material progress; the self-assertion of the people as against the claims of birth and privilege; and again the claims of culture, and the sense of *noblesse oblige*—all these has Mr. Tennyson understood and assimilated. In his powers of understanding and sympathy he is many-minded, not only many-sided. He is not one man, but a host of men. He is at once metaphysician and physicist, sceptic and theologian, democrat and aristocrat, radical and royalist, fierce patriot and far-seeing cosmopolitan; and he has revealed to the age the strange interaction of these varied characters, and how the beliefs and the passions of each modify and are modified by those of all the others.

If we will but bear in mind Mr. Tennyson's relation to his age, and the history of that age during the past thirty-five years of his life, we shall better understand the history of his own genius, and of what has seemed to many the decline of it. We shall see that in reality it has not declined at all, and that it is the age that has changed, not he. His own powers still remain what they were. All he has lacked latterly has been adequate use to put them to. We purpose first to consider what these powers are—to consider, that is (if we may again

use the 'simile'), what is the material of the mirror before we criticise the reflection.

Poets are divided commonly into two great classes, for which the current antithetic names are *lyrical* and *dramatic*. The division is a true one, and corresponds with a well-known fact; but the names, we think, are both inadequate and confusing. The nature of the difference which they serve so ill to indicate, is, we conceive, this. Each class of poet exhibits human nature; but the one does so through the characteristics that individualise men, the other through the characteristics that unite them. The one shows us human characters, the other the human character. Shakespeare is a poet of the first order, Mr. Tennyson of the second. It will be seen that, as a rule, and with but one or two marked exceptions, the characters Mr. Tennyson has treated with most effect are of interest because they are without any private personality. The sentiments and the thoughts are appropriate to the average man or woman, and all that is individual in the case is the material or the mental circumstances. Let us take, for instance, the fine poem of 'Ulysses,' and contrast it with 'The Northern Farmer.' The first of these is typical of Mr. Tennyson's usual treatment; the last is an exception to it. The Northern farmer is a special, an individual character. He is of interest to us because he is strange and external to us. To borrow a phrase from philosophy that is rather plain than elegant, he is emphatically the *not-me*. But with Ulysses the case is exactly opposite. His feelings, his aspirations interest us because, or in so far as, they are a fragment of the *me*.

'I am a part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.
How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
'To rust unburnish'd, not to shine in use!
As tho' to breathe were life. Life piled on life
Were all too little, and of one to me
Little remains: but every hour is saved
From that eternal silence.'

All these, it is plain, are not individual thoughts and sentiments. They are what, under the required conditions, are to some extent shared by every man. Let us compare them with those of the Northern farmer. There is a *bizarre* likeness between the two, which will make the difference clearer, as in both cases the thing represented is an active man confronting the approach of death.

‘Do godamoighty knaw what a’s doing a-taäkin’ o’ meä? ·
 I heant wonn as saws ’ere a beän an’ yonder a pea;
 An’ Squoire ’ull be sa mad an’ all—a’ dear a’ dear!
 And I ’a managed for Squoire coom Michaelmas thutty year.’

It will be seen that the idea in the farmer’s mind is much the same as that attributed to Ulysses. Both men think it vile

‘To rust unburnish’d, not to shine in use.’

Both long to save something from ‘that eternal silence.’ But this longing is specialised in the one case; it is universalised, by symbolism, in the other. Now it is true that, in the case of the ‘Northern Farmer,’ Mr. Tennyson has specialised with singular success. He has done the same thing also in certain other poems. But if we take his genius and his works as a whole, to do this is not characteristic of him. What he does for the most part is the exact opposite of this; and it is through such opposite treatment that his chief work has been accomplished. It has been said of Hamlet that he is not a man, but that he is man. A similar, though not the same remark, might be made of Mr. Tennyson’s chief creations. We can say of nearly all of them that they are not men; we can say of no one of them that he is man; but they are each of them certain parts of man. They represent the general human character, as Mr. Tennyson sees it, developed in certain directions, or stirred and sometimes distorted by certain events or passions.

Few students of the Arthurian Idylls can fail to be struck with this. The men and women described in them are no doubt diverse; but they are not, properly speaking, so much diverse characters as diverse characteristics. Arthur, for instance, is virtue; he is not a virtuous man: he is virtue, distilled out of man in general, not embodied in one man in particular. The same may be said of Lancelot; he too is a distillation. He is simply Arthur, with a baser element added. And these two figures are typical. All the men and women of the Idylls are creatures of a like substance, with but one or two exceptions, and these unimportant. Contrast Mr. Tennyson’s heroes with those of the Homeric poems, and the fact is at once apparent. Achilles, Hector, and Ulysses—these are men, they are not qualities. They are embodiments; Mr. Tennyson’s are disembodiments. In the Homeric poems we see various men and women; in Mr. Tennyson’s poems we see self under various conditions; we see self as it may be, or as it might be.

‘I am thyself: what hast thou done to me?
 And I, and I, thyself—lo, each one saith.’

Nor must the variety of the forms mislead us in which self is thus presented. In all, or in nearly all, there is one of two things—the common male self or the common female self; only they are shown to us under all influences. They are shown us modified by youth and age, by thought, by passion, and by affection, by moral perplexities, and by evil or good volition. But through all these varied circumstances we have still the common character. The remarkable scene in which Vivien ruins Merlin may strike us, at first sight, as dramatic, in the common sense of the word. But it is really not so. The actors in it are really not a man and woman. They are the wise man's weakness and the wicked woman's attraction. Mr. Tennyson, it is true, has attempted to make one of them more than this; but in so far as he has done so, he has failed. He has tried to make his Vivien an individual. He has tried to give her some special personal character. He has given her certain tricks of speech and ways of smiling 'saucily,' and he has doubtless accomplished something in the direction aimed at. But with what result? Vivien as an abstraction is worthy of Mr. Tennyson. Vivien as a special young lady is worthy of Mr. Anthony Trollope. According to the common use of the word *dramatic*, we doubt if Mr. Tennyson has been dramatic in any memorable way, excepting in the case of 'The Northern Farmer.' Gawain is a spirited sketch; Limours is a delicate one; Sir Kaye the scneschal, though slight and coarse, is a distinct one; and there are many more of the same degree of merit. But it is not here that we must look for Mr. Tennyson's true powers. We must look for them, as we have said already, in his revelations of man and woman, not in his creations of separate men and women.

It seems to be accepted as very nearly an axiom, that creative art, such as that of the Homeric poems or of Shakespeare, is, of all forms of art, the highest. We are not concerned to dispute or deny this. We may concede that Mr. Tennyson's art is but art of the second order; but it has certain qualities of its own that belong to no other kind. It may not do all that creative art *can* do, but it does certain things that creative art *can not* do; and it is suited in a special manner to the age that Mr. Tennyson has been born in. It is on this point that we now desire to dwell.

Mr. Tennyson's age is in many ways peculiar. We have contrasted his art already with that of Shakespeare. We may contrast his age with that of Shakespeare also. In both, life and thought have been exceptionally active; but the activity has taken very different forms, and has been the result of very

different forces. In the first, it was the activity of action. In the second, it has been the activity of reflection. For Shakespeare the question was, what shall men do? For Mr. Tennyson it has been, what shall man do? Life, as Shakespeare knew it, was intenser in some ways than it has ever been since; and thought, in some ways, was as active then as now. But thought was quickened without being bewildered; and scepticism was not afraid of itself by suspecting, in any degree, its own ultimate tendencies. As to theology, it is true, the human mind was in a ferment; but scepticism as to theologies was but a sign of faith in theology. The infinite solemnity of every human life, the infinite importance of each separate human destiny—these were things that were not questioned or doubted of. As to thought and feeling on practical moral questions, the ethics of Catholic Christendom were still dominant. The Catholic ideal was still the unquestioned standard. What is noble in man, and what is pure in woman—all men were agreed on these points; and as to the value as well as to the nature of virtue their consent was equally unanimous. The extraordinary power of the great Elizabethan drama is mainly due to this. Every action in life, to the thought of that age, was either a triumph or a catastrophe; and the strongest evidence of this fact is, in many places, the poet's silence about it. What we never doubt of, we have no need to affirm. Mr. Ruskin has divided poets into two classes, one of which, he says, has the ascending vision, the other the descending. Thus Dante looked upwards to heaven, Shakespeare downwards to earth. And this may be true enough. But though Shakespeare may only have seen the earth, he saw it by the light of heaven; and the same is true, too, of his fellow-poets and his epoch.

But now all is changed. What in Shakespeare's days men took for granted, in Mr. Tennyson's they have had to fight for, to question, and to reconsider. They have had to seek for the site of their city, not to make designs for their houses. Human nature, as Mr. Tennyson has found it, is at a singular crisis in its history. When he first began to look about him, 'ideas,' as George Eliot says, 'with fresh vigour' 'were making armies of themselves.' New scientific knowledge, new political aspirations were forcing themselves into the common consciousness, and the old elements with the new were forming unfamiliar combinations. The world was waking up to the condition that for three centuries it had been preparing for itself, and it was waking up to it with hope, and fear, and wonder. It was in such a state that Mr. Tennyson found it—a state unparalleled in any preceding age; and this

fact is reflected in all his works. He found the common circumstances by which the men of his time were united more important than their private and personal varieties. They differed more from the men of other ages than they did from each other; or this common difference was, at all events, of a more pressing and profound significance. Human souls might each have their own vicissitudes; but the human soul was undergoing one more important. The spiritual climate was rapidly changing round it, and it had to adapt itself to new fashions of life. How should this be done? That was the great question. What was the extent, and what the nature, of the change? How much of the old could man retain? How should this much be reconciled with what was strange and new? The issue was one of infinite complexity. Most men could but discern some fragment of it. Mr. Tennyson has discerned, we do not say the whole, but more of it certainly than any of his English contemporaries. He may not on any subject possess the knowledge of a specialist; but he has grasped with astonishing accuracy the salient points—the points of common moment—in countless branches of thought and of discovery, and he has seen their bearing on the daily life of man.

How accurate this grasp has been, we may illustrate by a single example—the example of the short poem of ‘*Lucretius*.’ The beauties of this masterpiece have met with but little recognition generally; and from the very nature of the subject it must necessarily be obscure to many. Its poetic qualities, however, we are now not concerned to insist upon: what we refer to is the intellectual power displayed in it. The Lucretian philosophy is in places very obscure, and it has been beyond the power of many of the most accomplished scholars to expound clearly some of the author’s scientific conceptions. But Mr. Tennyson, in his short poem, has done more than a score of commentators. On the dark places of the ‘*De rerum naturâ*’ his verses fall like a beam of sunlight. He conveys more in a line than others have done in chapters. Never, for instance, has the aim of the Roman poet been interpreted so vividly as in the following passage, where Mr. Tennyson makes him speak of

‘My golden work in which I told a truth
That stays the rolling Ixionian wheel,
And numbs the Fury’s ringlet-snake, and plucks
The mortal soul from out immortal hell.’

But an example can be given more striking even than this.

Of all the obscure parts of the system of Lucretius, the most obscure is perhaps his theory of vision. It is a difficult thing to understand clearly ; it is still more difficult to express clearly. Any student who has tried to master this matter, and comes fresh upon Mr. Tennyson's allusions to it, can hardly fail to be startled by the sudden illumination they afford him. Lucretius is made to describe his impure dreams as

‘ The phantom husks of something foully done,
And fleeting through the boundless universe.’

And in another moment he goes on thus to question himself:—

‘ How should the mind, except it loved them, clasp
These idols to herself? or do they fly
Now thinner, and now thicker, like the flakes
In a fall of snow, and so press in, perforce
Of multitude, as crowds that in an hour
Of civic tumult jam the doors, and bear
The keepers down, and throng, their rags and they
The basest, far into that council-hall
Where sit the best and stateliest of the land?’

In these passages, more especially in the single line—

‘ The phantom husks of something foully done’—

there is a grasp displayed of an extremely intricate subject, and a magical power of making an obscure subject lucid, to which in any writer it would be hard to find a parallel. And as Mr. Tennyson has mastered ancient thought, so in the same way has he mastered modern. And herein lies one of the chief secrets of his influence. He has had a broad intellectual grasp of those unique and diverse circumstances that have given its character to our age.

The poet, however, needs more than such powers of intellect ; and Mr. Tennyson possesses more. We have said that what he deals with is the common human character, and he understands and he treats this like a master. We may describe him as busy with two distinct heroes—the Spirit of the Age, and the Spirit of Human Nature ; and his theme is the latter of these as making terms with the former. Human nature in its broadest and most general sense—of this he has a consummate knowledge. He knows its good and evil, and all its various workings, whether glad or sad, tender or terrible. He knows the qualities in it that are of all time, as well as the circumstances of it that are of his own time. Such knowledge, on its more philosophic side, he manifested very early. There are three poems of his, all written before he was twenty-six, which most men have to live ten years longer before they can

understand properly. We refer to 'The Palace of Art,' 'The Vision of Sin,' and the short stanzas called 'Will.' All these show a piercing vision, a prophetic vision also, of the needs of the human soul, and the result on it of certain courses. The young man writes with all the wisdom of the old; and in the first two of the three poems named the wisdom is all the more remarkable, because the language it is expressed in is sometimes almost puerile in its freshness. As an artistic production the 'Palace of Art' is poor; so is the 'Vision of Sin' also. In neither is the style sufficiently chastened. The poet, with a boy's glee, has introduced boyish ornament. But the matter is in startling contrast. What he deals with is no youthful feeling, but the barren years that succeed to a youth mis-spent. The real burden of his story is the sorrows of the soul in middle and in old age, and these are described with all the prescient force of genius. The bitterness and the lonely cynicism that are the doom of vice and selfishness are not realised by most men till the time has come to feel them; but Mr. Tennyson knew or foreknew them when he was yet in the dawn of manhood. At the very time when he could describe the purest and the most trusting love—the love of a young man—with all a young man's sympathy, he could describe the blighted soul, in this way, also:—

' Deep dread and loathing of her solitude
Fell on her, from which mood was born
Scorn of herself; again, from out that mood
Laughter at her self-scorn.

But in dark corners of her palace stood
Uncertain shapes; and unawares
On white-eyed phantasms weeping tears of blood,
And horrible nightmares,
And hollow shades enclosing hearts of flame,
And, with dim fretted foreheads all,
On corpses three-months-old at noon she came,
That stood against the wall.'

In all this there is an almost ghastly vividness, and of the 'Vision of Sin' we may say the same thing, whilst in the poem of 'Will' the well-known concluding stanza has all the precision of a profound philosophic statement, and all the passionate despair of a soul that has proved the tragic truth of it.

' He seems as one whose footsteps halt,
Toiling in immeasurable sand,
And o'er a weary sultry land,
Far beneath a blazing vault,
Sown in a wrinkle of the monstrous hill,
The city sparkles like a grain of salt.'

Seeing Mr. Tennyson thus a master of the more complex problems of life, and those presumably most remote from his own experience, it is small wonder that he was master of things more near to him. Instances will occur to all, so readily that we need not cite them, of his early command of the universal passions—of maternal, of sexual, and of divine love; of the desire for rest and the desire for action; of hope and of sorrow. Such poems as ‘Locksley Hall,’ ‘The May Queen,’ and ‘The Lotos-Eaters’ have, for this reason, become household words. As he has lived on, the same power has become matured, and we can pronounce him, as we know him now, one of the greatest masters of pathos to be found in any age. His command, in short, is over all those emotions and situations which impart their own interest to the persons concerned with them, and do not derive it from them. Within such limits he is unrivalled.

These qualifications, however, would have been but of small avail, had it not been for one other. We have spoken already of his matter. What we speak of now is his form. It may be doubted if any poet since the days of Horace and Virgil has been so great a master of the mere art of expression; and there is more in this than there may at first sight seem to be. It may be thought that expression is a mere affair of words; but it is not so. We include in expression not only the words which convey the meaning directly, but the scenic surroundings, the remote allusions, and the side touches that accompany it, and by which the mind and the imagination are prepared and tuned for its reception. Such art is one of the last refinements, one of the last luxuries of poetry; and it is not characteristic of the poets of the greatest ages. It is proper to poets who have had to sing under difficulties, and who, to collect listeners, are obliged first to fascinate them. The interest in Homer lies mainly in what he says; in Horace, in Virgil, and in Mr. Tennyson, it lies equally in how they say it. The relation of the thought to the expression charms us, as well as the relation of the thought to ourselves: it is possible, indeed, that the latter may be quite trivial, and yet the former give us great pleasure. Mr. Tennyson’s earlier verses will afford us many examples of this. Here, for instance, are some stanzas, which, though sufficiently slight in meaning, have two phrases in them as felicitous as any of Horace:—

Go fetch a pint of port :
But let it not be such as that
You set before chance-comers,
But such whose father-grape grew fat
On Lusitanian summers.

And in the same poem the poet speaks of a vintage which

Stow'd, when classic Canning died,
In musty bins and chambers,
Had cast upon its crusted side
The gloom of ten Decembers.

The 'Lyrical Monologue,' from which these lines are quoted, is nothing but a plaything, and not, as a whole, a pretty one. But the nature and the perfection of skill is sometimes best illustrated by the waste of it. Here is another example of the poet's manner, on which we shall dwell somewhat more at length.

'Come down, O maid, from yonder mountain height :
What pleasure lives in height (the shepherd sang),
In height and cold, the splendour of the hills ?
But cease to move so near the heavens, and cease
To glide a sunbeam by the blasted pine,
To sit a star upon the sparkling spire ;
And come, for Love is of the valley, come,
For Love is of the valley, come thou down
And find him ; by the happy threshold, he,
Or hand in hand with Plenty in the maize,
Or red with spirted purple of the vats,
Or foxlike in the vine ; nor cares to walk
With Death and Morning on the silver horns,
Nor wilt thou snare him in the white ravine,
Nor find him dropt upon the firths of ice,
That huddling slant in furrow-cloven falls
To roll the torrent out of dusky doors :
But follow. Let the torrent dance thee down
To find him in the valley ; let the wild
Lean-headed eagles yelp alone, and leave
The monstrous ledges there to slope and spill
Their thousand wreaths of dangling water-smoke,
That like a broken purpose waste in air.
So waste not thou ; but come ; for all the vales
Await thee ; azure pillars of the hearth
Arise to thee ; the children call, and I
Thy shepherd pipe, and sweet is every sound,
Sweeter thy voice, but every sound is sweet ;
Myriads of rivulets hurrying through the lawn,
The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
And murmuring of innumerable bees.'

We have quoted this passage because in its short compass there are illustrations of all Mr. Tennyson's chief technical excellences. The actual meaning, the actual thought, is simple. There is nothing in it very striking or passionate ; but as an example of expression it is wonderful. The thought

is buoyed up, is prolonged and amplified, as a single clause of a prayer is by an elaborate piece of music. Other thoughts, and remote images, are summoned from all quarters to throw light upon it, and to make our own feelings resonant as it touches them. Phrases and epithets are used with an astonishing precision. Flying ideas and pictures are snared by them, as though by a hunter's lasso.

‘Let the wild
Lean-headed eagles yelp alone, and leave
The monstrous ledges there to slope and spill
Their thousand wreaths of dangling water-smoke.’

In these lines we have a landscape like one of Turner's. Every word in it is a study. Here, again, the verse has a different quality.

‘Nor cares to walk
With Death and Morning on the silver horns.’

This single touch reminds one of Milton by the magical stimulus that it gives to the imagination. It produces a feeling in us as though our thoughts were being caught away by a wind. And all these powers are here employed by the poet to convey a thought or a sentiment which is in itself a commonplace. Love is a domestic, not a transcendental passion: that is the long and short of the whole of it. As related to ourselves, this may not have much interest; but as related to the way in which Mr. Tennyson has chosen to tell it us, it must enchant and startle every lover of poetry.

The workmanship in the above passages is notably more precious than the material; and we have purposely chosen them, for that reason, as examples of Mr. Tennyson's manner. But that is not because we think that such is the case with him generally. On the contrary, we hold that, in the work that is most distinctive of him, the thought is as profound as the manner is fine and perfect. What we have wished to illustrate has been this. Let thought with Mr. Tennyson be either profound or shallow, he has always, in expressing it, two aims present. One is to express the thought; the other is to connect with the expression some added literary pleasure. He is perpetually offering his audience a precious bribe to listen to him. It is to his astonishing skill in this way that much of his success is due. Sometimes, indeed, the skill overreaches its own object. He refines his verbal workmanship to the verge of weakness, and his allusion and imagery sometimes produce obscurity. But take him for all in all, he ranks the first of English poets in making the act of expression a luxury and a perfect ornament.

To sum up, then, what we have thus far observed about him, his chief characteristics amount to these. In the first place, he is a man of wide intellectual grasp. He has understood his age, and its various complex tendencies, like a divine, a philosopher, a politician, and a physicist. He understands, in the second place, the common human character, and is a complete master of its more universal manifestations. He has studied this character with special reference to the conditions now surrounding it. And he has finally an unrivalled gift for expressing his own meaning, and for compelling others to attend to it. Thus, in studying his works, let us be clear what we can look to find in them. We are not to look there for complex dramatic action, nor even for the unfolding of any great and sustained story. Small stories he tells well and skilfully; but to these his power is limited. The Arthurian Idylls, as a whole, it is true, suggest a story, but they suggest it only, they do not tell it. They are stars in a constellation, and the astronomer fills the figure in. They but approach an epic near enough to make us feel how far they are from it. Nor are we to expect from him, on the other hand, any birdlike lyrical outbursts. The true lyrist presents us with one special man—himself. The true dramatist presents us with many men. Mr. Tennyson does neither. He presents us with the common self—common to him and all of us; he presents us with such of its workings and vicissitudes as we might conceivably all experience; and he presents us with it in special connexion with the conditions of the present century.

And now let us examine a little more closely from what standpoint he does this. His position, we think, at least to a late period, can be defined with sufficient clearness. He may be said to represent and to have helped largely to formulate the scientific optimism of the early Victorian epoch. That optimism then was not what it is now. In the world of thought events have been moving rapidly. The last few decades have done the work of centuries, and it needs an effort to realise how matters stood but forty, thirty, or even twenty years ago. This, however, we must try to do, if we would understand Mr. Tennyson's history. The facts of the case are simple, and can be stated briefly. Mr. Tennyson's development has coincided with two great events—the growth in England of the modern democratic principle, and the general diffusion of modern religious scepticism—and with both of these events his career is closely associated. The earliest poems of his which he has thought worth preserving appeared a few months after the passing of the first Reform Bill, and must have

been composed during the times of popular agitation that preceded it. A year later, at a cost of twenty millions, slavery was abolished in all the British colonies, and for the first time it could be said that our rule was over none but freemen. Two years later was seen the birth of a national education system, and the passing of a new Poor Law. The people at large were finding their voice on all sides, and in many quarters began to use it with violence. Demands were made presently for further parliamentary reforms, and the political privileges of property were attacked openly, and not without success. At the same time there was formed an Anti-Corn-Law League, and the gospel of free trade was preached with a religious enthusiasm. In seven years' time the preaching bore its fruit. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846, and the Free-trade policy under Lord John Russell was carried at once into every branch of commerce. Six years afterwards came the great industrial exhibition, which contained contributions from nearly every nation. This was a huge material symbol of a new form of optimism, and at the same time a stimulus to it. Popular sympathy and imagination began to take a wider flight, and visions filled the air of a universal human brotherhood. Wars were to cease; there was to be a millennium of trade and of benevolence. Events, however, soon convinced the most sanguine that such a consummation was to be, at any rate, not immediate. But a year or two passed, and England was at war with Russia, and the spirit of militant patriotism dealt somewhat roughly with the mild enthusiasm of humanity.

The events we have thus briefly glanced at cover a period of some twenty-five years, and it is of that period in especial that Mr. Tennyson is the interpreter. Its ideas have been the ideas of his heart, and its hopes have been the hopes of his heart. We have touched as yet on its political aspect only. Its religious aspect is no less remarkable. During that quarter of a century science and scientific scepticism, for the first time in England, began to be widely popular and to leaven thought at large. For the first time the general lay mind began to examine critically the great teachings of Revelation, to confront them with those of science, and to be startled at the two as they were placed together. Men who lament the fact, and men who rejoice over it, are to be heard now on all sides proclaiming the spread of infidelity; but at the time we speak of, though so little removed from ours, the national faith was strong. Men were not then prepared for even such moderate exhibitions of free-thought as 'Eccc Homo' or

the volume of 'Essays and Reviews.' They still felt secure in their old traditional position, and conceived that the modern view of the Cosmos could be harmonised easily with their own. In the religious world for a time this produced a strange activity, tinged with the same facile optimism that was to be discerned in politics, and very closely connected with it. Not only were all peoples to be united, but all creeds were to be united also. Some looked forward to a union of all the sacerdotal churches, others to the advent of some simpler form of Christianity. But various as such hopes may have been in detail, they had all one common quality—they were all Christian, and they all pointed to progress.

Such was the picture on its sunny side, but it had its dark side as well. In the world of thought, though as yet they worked in secret, the spirits of denial and of materialism were already active. Deism was dead and done with. What the Christian had now to meet was Atheism. And in social life as well this creed had its counterpart. It was all very good that the world should 'fill with commerce,' and magic argosies be laden 'with costly bales;' but the cultus of trade and industry, as it was then practically adopted, looked under certain aspects like the most sordid and heathen Mammon-worship. The august and inspiring spectacle of universal progress was in danger of changing itself into that of a struggle for base luxury. None of these facts were lost upon Mr. Tennyson. He knew his generation both in its good and evil; but he believed the good principle to be the stronger of the two, and he tried to show his generation where its own strength lay.

To this end he has dwelt throughout all his works on certain modes of life and on certain moral qualities. He has tried to exhibit by every means in his power their beauty and their sanctity; he has contrasted them with their opposites, and he has done all he could to harmonise them with their present environment. These modes of life and these qualities are not many in number. They amount, we think, to these—love, friendship, domesticity, patriotism, cosmopolitanism, and undogmatic Christianity. He has presented them to us under every conceivable form, and connected with every conceivable circumstance, and he has used all his matchless skill to bring home to his audience their beauty or their intellectual fitness. He tries so to show them to us that we may believe from seeing them.

Such is his constant method when he deals with love. The passion of the lover for him is but the sunrise of the affections of the husband, and he has consistently striven to connect it

as such with every thought of mental and emotional satisfaction, and every image of spiritual and physical beauty. He has linked and interfused it with all the fairest aspects of nature—with sunset and with sunrise, with flowers, with meadows, and a thousand homely scenes, and he has done this generally with an art that conceals itself. The picture and the passion he puts side by side, and the two coalesce spontaneously. ‘Maud,’ which some persons regard as one of the finest love-poems in our language, is full of this quality. There are also exquisite instances of it in his earlier idylls. The following passage is from one of these last. ‘Should my shadow,’ says the lover to his beloved—he is parted for ever from her, not by faults, but by misfortune—‘should my shadow cross thy dreams—

‘Oh might it come like one that looks content,
With quiet eyes unfaithful to the truth,
And point thee forward to a distant light,
Or seem to lift a burden from thy heart
And leave thee freer, till thou wake refreshed
Then when the first low matin-chirp hath grown
Full quire, and morning driven her plow of pearl
Far furrowing into light the mounded rack,
Beyond the fair green field and eastern sea.’

In the same way, whenever he treats this passion, he is constantly mixing it with some sight or sound of beauty. And these sights and sounds are no vague abstractions. They are things that we are all of us familiar with; they are the common things of our own English life. Mr. Tennyson’s love has nothing transcendental about it. Its home is the earth, and not the air; and here lies the secret of its power. It purifies earth because it does not disclaim to inhabit it.

‘Am I not the nobler through thy love?
Oh three times less unworthy! likewise thou
Art more through love.’

Mr. Tennyson’s whole philosophy of the subject is comprised in these lines. In a certain sense the philosophy is not peculiar to him, but in a certain sense it is. Though the passion of love is as old as human nature itself, yet in different ages it has assumed special aspects, and taken special places in man’s moral view of life. This is markedly true of the present century, and true still more of those years of it which at present we have in view. The progressive and hopeful school of religious thinkers, all, during that period, took one direction. The more rigid forms of orthodoxy, they began to see, were untenable. These, all of them, were associated with the ascetic view of

life ; and our highest duty with regard to human affection was with them little more than curbing it. Their treatment of human belief was positive ; their treatment of human feeling was negative. What the progressive school aimed at was to reverse this condition of things. In proportion as they thought it hopeless to formulate what was divine, they sought to deify what was human. They preached a new gospel : we were not to check our nature, but to develop it. The delights of affection which had all along been permitted man were no longer presented as concessions to our weakness, but as the chief elements of our strength. The allowed indulgence became the enjoined duty. We were no longer to prevent love running away with us ; we were to make it run away with us till it brought us to the gates of heaven.

It is this view of the matter that Mr. Tennyson has assimilated, and of which he is the most perfect and the most influential spokesman. Here at least, he teaches us, we have one thing stable, one thing beyond the reach of scepticism, and a nucleus and a rallying-point for all that is valuable in life. Sensuous beauty adorns and is hallowed by it ; material refinements are chastened and spiritualised by it ; and the true meaning of Christianity is unlocked by it. Mr. Tennyson is the prophet, *par excellence*, of affection thus regarded ; and his two longest and most important works are a deliberate exposition of its nature and its varied influence. The two works we allude to are 'In Memoriam' and 'The Arthurian Idylls.' The subject of both is the same ; only it is treated under different aspects. 'In Memoriam' deals with love as connected with faith ; the 'Idylls' deal with it as connected with practice.

The former of these is in many ways unique. In no other poem that we know of is there so complete a fusion of profound thought and passion. We have an intense feeling presented to us as related to its proximate cause, and also as adjusting itself to the deepest claims of philosophy. At one and the same time it is both expressed and vindicated. Every theory of physical and social evolution, every latest speculation as to the nature of life and its immortality, mixes in the mind of the poet over the grave of his dead friend ; and he disarms of its terrors every seemingly hostile doctrine, or else discovers in it food for faith and comfort. The mastery which he displays over both branches of his subject is no less astonishing than the way in which he unites the two. Not only does his science penetrate his passion, and his passion breathe a living soul into his science, but the latter is as comprehensive

and accurate as the former is deep and tender. Every one of his illustrations, as it were, is a picture by a great master, and every picture is a scientific diagram. In the following two stanzas there is a geological treatise epitomised; but the events dealt with are not so much chronicled as exhibited.

‘There rolls the deep, where grew the tree.
O earth, what changes hast thou seen!
There where the long street roars hath been
The stillness of the central sea.

‘The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form, and nothing stands;
They melt like mist, the solid lands,
Like clouds they shape themselves and go.’

And then in another instant the poet proceeds thus:—

‘But in my spirit will I dwell,
And dream my dream, and hold it true;
For tho’ my lips may breathe adieu,
I cannot think the thing farewell.

‘If e’er when faith had fall’n asleep,
I heard a voice “believe no more”
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep;

‘A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason’s colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer’d “I have felt.”

‘And what I am beheld again
What is, and no man understands;
And out of darkness came the hands
That reach through nature, moulding men.’

Such is the soul’s attitude, with regard to physical science on the one hand and to religion on the other, which Mr. Tennyson in ‘In Memoriam’ reveals to his generation. The lines just quoted form a key to the whole poem. The poem in many ways is full of change and variety; but the poet through all this does but alternate between two subjects—love as a passion that is experienced, and love as a mystery that is to be expounded. ‘In Memoriam’ stands alone for the way in which these are dealt with. It is in form but the personal expression of one man’s regret for another. In reality it is a revelation to an age of its own struggle after some new spiritual stand-point.

So, too, with the Idylls, the real hero through all of them

is not this knight or that knight; the hero is pure human affection: only affection here is presented not as the germ of faith, but as the source of beneficent conduct. As in 'In Memoriam' it is treated as purifying and giving vision to the soul, so in the Idylls it is exhibited as inspiring and ennobling life, and as being not only the germ of faith, but the motive power in all social progress. Of all Mr. Tennyson's works, the Idylls, or at least the four earlier ones, have been the most widely popular; but we doubt if they will be the most enduring. The period and the life they deal with are not only too remote from our own, but they are poorly fitted to represent, even symbolically, the duties and the aspirations of to-day. To fight the heathen, and to put down brigandage, is but a meagre symbol of complex modern activity. A tournament hardly seems to us a test of a man's most valuable or most interesting qualities; and a serious reader can hardly fail to be wearied by the perpetual recurrence of single combats, the unhorsing of horsemen, the splintering of lances, and the cleaving of helmets. Had Mr. Tennyson's power been more dramatic, this would have mattered less. Through the sameness of such incidents we should have discerned various personalities, with their special hopes and aims; and these might have given the incidents their own variety and significance. But Mr. Tennyson is not dramatic. If we compare his poetry with the prose romances it is founded on, we shall realise this more clearly than ever. In the prose romances nearly every character is a complete man or woman, with a complete human individuality. This individuality Mr. Tennyson has not only in no way developed, he has not even retained it in its distinctness. On the contrary, he would seem to have done his utmost not to develop but to obliterate it. And thus the result is that on which we have already commented. We have qualities and situations; we have not men and women. Such being the case, we again repeat our judgment that though certain qualities of human nature are developed with extreme power in the Idylls, the situations, as a rule, are for the most part insufficient, and are often not far from puerile. The environment of the organism, if we may so speak, does not represent adequately the environment of modern man. And yet this is evidently what the case requires it should do. Mr. Tennyson, in his study of human nature, is essentially not an antiquarian. If it is not modern man that he studies, he studies nothing. His Idylls are no contributions to the spiritual history of the past; they are meant to be pictures of the spiritual condition of the present. Every thought and every sentiment of his

knights and ladies is essentially of our own century; it is in that fact that their interest lies: and it is for this reason we regret the limits of the stage on which he has chosen to exhibit them.

In spite, however, of this fundamental want, the Idylls doubtless fulfil much of their writer's intention, and exhibit many of his very finest qualities. Taken together as one connected poem, it is true they lack unity. They form but the hints of a great design which the artist has not had strength to execute. They are merely so many stepping-stones for our own constructive imagination. But, taken separately, they are true works of art. The story in each is unfolded with consummate grace and skill, and that power of expression on which we have dwelt already is conspicuous everywhere. It is not, however, on these points that we are here concerned to dwell. What we wish to note is, that, in spite of much that is wanting, the Arthurian Idylls are, within certain limits, a representation of a modern fact. They represent the modern religious spirit springing from the human heart, and fusing itself with historical Christianity; and they represent it, imperfectly it is true, but still distinctly, as taking science by the hand, and with its aid setting to reform the world.

In this connexion we must notice another poem, 'Aylmer's Field.' Human affection is again the central theme. The characters in the story are treated according to the usual method. Their situations make them, not they the situations. It is enough for the poet's purpose that they are human beings. All he desires to show is the passions and the influences that act through them, and what he deals with in this case is the dark and not the bright side of progress. He deals with love as thwarted by the demands of an artificial civilisation, and as crying out from its grave against the forces that have destroyed it.

Of these three works we have been dwelling on, 'In Memoriam,' the Arthurian Idylls, and the short tale just mentioned, the first was published in 1850, the four finest of the second in 1859, and the third in 1864. The first only belongs, so far as time goes, to that quarter of a century which we conceive in especial to be Mr. Tennyson's own: but the others, though not given to the world within its limits, are yet equally its spiritual children, and are the result of its temper and its philosophies. In the same set of works are of course included also the two early volumes, 'The Princess' and 'Maud'; and these, taken together, comprise the fullest results of Mr.

Tennyson's genius. We must now repeat what we said at starting. The above results are the fullest, not because Mr. Tennyson's genius has since declined, but because the materials his age has supplied him with have since changed in quality. That special period which we have called his own was one of the most exciting periods to be anywhere found in history. It saw the blossoming, if not the bud, of half the wonders of the century, and, to an English eye especially, it was full of splendid promise. Distress and poverty, it is true, were not wanting; but year by year their voice was heard, and year by year some abuse was remedied. Freedom in England seemed growing visibly, and, contrasted with Continental troubles, peace seemed growing also. It was this period that was ushered in not only with the first Reform Bill, but with the first railroads; and commerce developed itself even more rapidly than freedom. Science, as we have already said, had freed religion from her trammels without depriving her of her supports. All human life was then in eager movement. A new world had been discovered in the very midst of the old. Progress, and rapid progress, towards some ever-bettering state seemed a matter at that time not of faith only, but of sight.

‘ Bliss was it in that dawn
To live, but to be young was very heaven.’

That was said of the times of the first French Revolution. It may be said with equal truth of the earlier times of Queen Victoria. For the earnest and the courageous that was the age of confident optimism, and of this Mr. Tennyson, in poetry, has been the great national exponent. It is this that he has made his own; it was on this that he staked his hopes; it was by the spirit of this optimism that his poetic character was fashioned. But the years of promise went by, and they were not succeeded by any years of performance—or, at least, there was no performance adequate to the hopes of the sanguine. We say this with a reservation. To the sanguine of a certain class there was indeed performance, but those were not men with the faiths of Mr. Tennyson. They were the extreme apostles of atheism and revolution, whereas Mr. Tennyson was conservative even in his liberalism, and was, above all, profoundly religious. It is hard to believe, therefore, that the world, as for the last twenty years he has looked on it, has not in many ways been growing a darker sight to him. His faith in progress may be still firm, but the fact of it has not been visible to him. It is true that in his own creed he has provided against such a trial. It is part of the teaching of his Idylls, taken collectively,

that apparent failure is not final failure, and that advance is not to be doubted of because of tragic relapses. And it may well be that, even during these latter years, he can catch, as clearly as ever—

‘A deeper voice across the storm,
Proclaiming social truth shall spread,
And justice, even though thrice again
The red fool-fury of the Seine
Should pile her barricades with dead.’

But though his intellectual faith may assure him of the truth of this, it can hardly be doubted that sight, so far as the present goes, has told him a different tale. Social truth and justice have not spread as rapidly as he once dreamed they would, and there is another side of progress which must have disappointed him still more. We mean the progress, or, at least, the change in the relationship between religion and science. We see signs, to us very plain, in Mr. Tennyson's later poems, that the course of thought upon these subjects has profoundly affected him, and that, though it has not weakened his faith, it has given a sombre tone to it. His first literary expression of this is to be found, we think, in ‘*Lucretius*,’ which was published in 1868. That poem seems significant of two facts—the hostile fascination for him of the doctrines of scientific materialism, and the desolate deductions that, if true, it suggested to him. Despite the historical accuracy with which he treats his subject, there is something of the modern world that he breathes through the life of the Roman—the modern world, as he was beginning to re-conceive it.

‘I often grew
Tired of so much within our little life,
Or of so little in our little life—
Poor little life that toddles half an hour
Crowned with a flower or two, and there an end.’

That Mr. Tennyson would avow these as his own sentiments, we do not for a moment say. But we do say that they are the sentiments the age was suggesting to him, and that his artistic mirror now reflected gloom, where, fifteen years before, it had been reflecting brightness.

There are further facts which support us in this opinion. After the publication of ‘*Lucretius*’ Mr. Tennyson's next feat was the completion of the *Arthurian Idylls*; and this done, he betook himself to a new form of poetry—the historic drama. In 1875 he published ‘*Queen Mary*,’ and, two years

later, 'Harold.' Now these dramas display many masterly qualities. Being the work of Mr. Tennyson, it would be strange if they did not. But there is one thing wanting in them, and that is inspiration. We feel all through that the poet is amusing himself; he is not expressing himself. He is delighted in the exercise of his own skill, but his heart is not in the subjects on which his skill is being exercised. Shakespeare's histories spoke at once to the sympathies of his audience; the events and sentiments presented to them were to them living things. They could 'piece out with their 'thoughts' all artistic imperfections, and their imagination would throng the stage with

'Those very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt.'

But Mr. Tennyson's dramas make no such appeal as this to the present London public. 'Harold' is as simply antiquarian as Mr. Freeman's 'History of the Norman Conquest,' nor is anti-Catholic feeling at this day strong enough to give even the interest of hate to a picture of 'bloody Queen Mary.' Mr. Tennyson, in composing these dramas, seems to us to have gone into a spiritual retirement, rather than to have kept the spiritual field; and the same may be said also with regard to 'The Cup' and to 'The Falcon.' The two last have never yet been published. They owe their attractiveness, in part at least, to the admirable manner in which they have been put upon the stage, and to the incomparable acting of Miss Ellen Terry. It would be difficult, therefore, in any case to attempt to criticise them closely; but literary criticism is not what we are chiefly aiming at. If it were so, we might dwell longer at least on 'Harold' and 'Queen Mary.' There is much in each of them to excite literary admiration. But our aim at present lies in another direction. It is not to appraise the value of Mr. Tennyson's separate works in themselves, but to point out the relation of those works to their author, and the relation of their author to his age.

On these points, as we have said before, his last small volume throws an important light; and it is this volume that it now remains for us to consider. Much of its contents we may quietly put aside, not because there is little to praise in them, but because the praise may be taken for granted. We purpose to note only those poems that throw light on Mr. Tennyson's history, and these we take to be the following—'The First Quarrel,' 'The Northern Cobbler,' 'The Village Wife,' and, above all, 'Rizpah' and 'De Profundis.' The

first four form a group together, the last stands by itself. We will treat each division separately. The first four poems are all sufficiently remarkable, and convince us of one fact. Mr. Tennyson's command over our common human nature is still as great as ever, and his sympathy with it still as keen and fresh. The 'First Quarrel,' the 'Northern Cobbler,' and the 'Village Wife,' are all in his best manner; whilst of 'Rizpah' we must say far more than this.

This poem is the story of a poor dying woman, whom an intense shock and sorrow had reduced to madness, and she is represented as telling it to a lady who had come to visit her. Her son, a young man of fine spirit and promise, had fallen among bad companions, and through their influence his manliest characteristic had ruined him.

'He lived with a lot of wild mates, and they would not let him be good;
They swore that he dare not rob the mail, and he swore that he would;
And he took no life, but he took one purse, and when all was done
He slung it among his fellows—"I'll none of it," said my son.
I came into court to the judge and the lawyers—I told them my tale,
God's own truth—but they kill'd him, they kill'd him for robbing the
mail.

'Then, since I couldn't but hear that cry of my boy that was dead,
They seized me and shut me up; they fastened me down on my bed.
"Mother, O mother!"—he called in the dark to me year after year—
They beat me for that, they beat me—you know that I couldn't but
hear;

And then at the last they found I had grown so stupid and still,
They let me abroad again; but the creatures had worked their will.'

What followed was this: Her boy had been hanged in chains, and by the time she was set free again he was nothing but a dangling skeleton, that was falling bone by bone to the ground. When there was no moon, and when the nights were dark, she stole unobserved to the gallows, and night by night collecting what had fallen, she at last laid all of her son that was left her in holy ground.

'Do you think I was scared by the bones? I kissed 'em, I buried 'em
all—

I can't dig deep, I am old—in the night by the churchyard wall.'

Such is the outline of the story; such is the motive of the poem. We feel almost bound to apologise for quoting from it. A work of this order can never be done justice to by quotations. But we have used the above lines with no further end than to indicate baldly the outline of the poet's subject. For his sublime treatment of it, for the tenderness and the

terror of his pathos, we must refer the reader to the poem itself in its entirety. Nothing in 'Maud,' nothing in 'Guinevere,' can approach in power to 'Rizpah.'

This fact can, we conceive, be accounted for by the special nature of the subject. Of all the affections of human nature that least subject to change, either in the way of contraction or development, is the passion of mother for child. It asks least aid either from faith or reason. And something similar may be said of the other three poems that we have associated with 'Rizpah.' These three deal all of them with the life of the common people, and touch on feelings and principles in their rudest and simplest form. They take us below the reach of either conscious faith or philosophy; and they elude, they do not meet, the problems of human destiny. Thus Mr. Tennyson's genius has escaped, in these cases, from the external circumstances that had been depressing it; and once supplied with a fitting theme to handle, it has shown itself as strong, if not stronger than ever.

But when we come to the poem called 'De Profundis,' we find it exerting itself under quite other conditions. Just as in the foregoing poems the spirit of the age had been eluded by him, so in this last is it met face to face. Mr. Tennyson here set himself in the year 1880 to repeat what he did exactly thirty years before. He resumed the same task which he had undertaken in 'In Memoriam.' When 'De Profundis' appeared in 'The Nineteenth Century,' it was treated by the weekly journals as some obscure vagary of genius, which might be pardoned, but could certainly not be praised. A more foolish judgment than this we cannot well imagine. The poem is short, but it is, despite its shortness, one of the most significant of all the later works of the author; and, taken in connexion with certain parts of 'In Memoriam,' it throws a singular light on his intellectual history. It shows how more and more, as he has lived through the age of science, the multiplying facts of scientific materialism have been pressing themselves on his thought and feelings; and his religious faith, as it now stands confronted by them, is solemn in its steadfastness rather than triumphant. It is thus that, in his latest utterance, he addresses a new-born child:—

‘ O dear Spirit half-lost
In thine own shadow and this fleshly sign
That thou art thou—who wailest being born
And banished into mystery, and the pain
Of this divisible-indivisible world,
Amongst the numerable-innumerable

Sun, sun, and sun, thro' finite-infinite space
 In finite-infinite Time—our mortal veil
 And shattered phantom of that infinite One,
 Who made thee unconceivably Thyself
 Out of His whole World-self and all in all !'

In this it is true that the poet's earlier faith asserts itself; but it does so in a changed tone, which betokens that the conditions of religious thought are different from what they were thirty years ago. It verges upon mysticism. He no longer addresses the

' Strong Son of God, immortal Love,'

to whom he could say in those days, full of devout conviction—

' Our little systems have their day ;
 They have their day and cease to be ;
 They are but broken lights of Thee,
 And Thou, O Lord, art more than they.'

He can no longer use this language, though he still endeavours to re-convey the meaning of it. And it is this constancy of his faith under saddening and new conditions that seems to us to be the key to his present literary position. The age has changed, but he has remained constant; and instead of being the impassioned exponent of contemporary thought, all he can now do is to bow his head and submit to it.

If this view of him be true, it will follow that we must look on him as, properly speaking, the poet of a completed epoch. This may seem, at first sight, a startling judgment of a man whose genius we believe to be still in its full vigour. But our meaning is less startling than it may seem to be. Though ages pass, their effects do not perish, nor is their inspiration obsolete because its sources are now sealed to us. The case is exactly the reverse of this. Mr. Matthew Arnold has said, in one of his most pregnant apophthegms,

' Deeds in hours of insight willed
 May be through hours of gloom fulfilled ;'

and what he says of hours may be also said of epochs. The lessons which sight has taught us may be practised, and may increase in use, when sight is for the time withdrawn. The mind of the world, and the mind of England especially, during the particular period we have been speaking of, was undergoing a momentous experience, the wisdom taught by which will long overlive its circumstances. It is that wisdom, or at least the noblest part of it, that Mr. Tennyson has assimilated, and which he has kept alive for all men in his consummate verse. In the present generation his power has not ceased; it has only

changed its function. Whereas his greatest work, as we have said, was moulded by a past epoch, it may help to mould a coming one, and to revive the beliefs and feelings it was itself inspired by. There are some elements in it, no doubt, that are perishable, but the larger part of it is for all time; and Mr. Tennyson has said much, that when he said it was new to poetry, which once so said will never become old.

We have one more observation to add, which will help perhaps to illustrate our main thesis. We have tried to point out that Mr. Tennyson's special function has been to interpret a special period, and that that period has now gone by. The correctness of these views with regard to his literary office will be realised more clearly if we consider who succeeded him in it. His successor, it seems to us, was none other than George Eliot. What Mr. Tennyson's poetry was to the second quarter of our century, George Eliot's novels have been to the third. The aim of both writers has been the same, though their methods have been so very different. They have both chosen as their one constant theme human nature as related to modern thought; and they have tried to reconcile what was highest in the one to what was most deeply true in the other. But the intellectual condition of the world, as the novelist saw it, was not the condition that inspired and nerved the poet. The novelist was living into her true period, just as the poet was living out of his; and the very influences that have cast a gloom upon the latter have been those that have given her solemn chiaro-oscuro to the former. Mr. Tennyson has ever tried to discern God through the material universe. It is George Eliot's endeavour to show us we can do without Him. Both treat the affections as the chief treasures of life; but Mr. Tennyson makes these the germ of faith, George Eliot makes them the end of it. Mr. Tennyson looks forward to

‘ Some far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.’

Such a vision as this is to George Eliot a fond delusion. For her in the farthest future there is nothing but one blank catastrophe, when

‘ Human time
Shall fold its eyelids, and the human sky
Be gathered like a scroll within the tomb
Unread for ever.’

That all men in the present day, or even many men, share this dark forecast, we do not presume to say. But though it is not the view that masters the present age, it is without doubt the view that distinguishes it. It occupies even those whom it

does not conquer, and, either by defiance or submission, we have each and all to deal with it. It has been Mr. Tennyson's mission to express faith; it has been George Eliot's to combat with despair. Mr. Tennyson's spirit breathes still in his latest lines. It is true that, as we have said, it has now a wistful sadness in it; but for that very reason it will here help us better to a comparison. The following is from his last volume; it is from the poem of 'De Profundis,' a part of which we have already quoted. He is addressing the human soul at the close of its action here. 'Still,' he says—

‘still depart
From death to death, thro' life to life, and find
Nearer and ever nearer Him, who wrought
Not Matter, nor the finite-infinite,
But this main miracle, that thou art thou,
With power on thine own act and on the world.’

Let us now turn to George Eliot, and hear her on the same subject. In her novel of 'Middlemarch' she represents a noble nature, starting in life full of lofty ambitions; and the story is the record of their failures. And what is the conclusion that this suggests to the authoress? There is some comfort in it, but it is comfort of infinite sadness. It is nothing more than this:—That vain as life may be, let us not lose heart utterly, for it is not wholly vain. 'That things,' she says, 'are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who have lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.' Thus speaks the spirit of the epoch that has succeeded Mr. Tennyson's. To some of the popular writers of the present day their best consolation is the thought that 'things are not so ill with us as they might have been;' their one shield against despair is an icy stoicism, and their one bond of brotherhood is less of hope than of suffering. If it be the mission then of the great poet or artist to express and not to struggle with the spirit of his epoch, it will be hardly matter of wonder if the course of events lately has not been such as to stimulate Mr. Tennyson. That his latter works have had less influence than his former ones, we shall see to be inevitable from the very circumstances of their composition; and the fact is not to be attributed to any failure of the poet's genius. On the contrary, we believe that were Mr. Tennyson, in his present maturity, to be moved back to the years with whose spirit he was most in harmony, he would excel his former self wherever that was possible; and that what he would do would be as great an advance upon what he has done, as 'Rizpah' is upon 'The May Queen' or 'The Grandmother.'

ART. VIII.—1. *Lectures on the Recent Progress of the Theory of Vision.* By Professor HELMHOLTZ. Translated by PYE SMITH, M.D., F.R.C.P. ('Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects.') London: 1873.

2. *Eyesight, Good and Bad.* A Treatise on the Exercise and Preservation of Vision. By ROBERT BRUDENELL CARTER, F.R.C.S. London: 1880.

IN his 'Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects,' first presented to English readers about seven years ago, Professor Helmholtz dwelt with some measure of satisfaction upon the circumstance that ophthalmic science had made an advance within a brief period of years which was quite without a parallel in any other department of the healing art. This statement was well borne out by the account which he himself gave in those lectures of 'the Recent Progress of the Theory of Vision,' and it is perhaps even more strikingly confirmed in the little volume which has been since printed by Mr. Brudenell Carter. Both books aim at wide usefulness, and are cast in a popular form, and both are notable and excellent in their way. But each has a purpose and method of its own. In a brief introduction which is prefixed to the lectures of Helmholtz, Professor Tyndall draws attention to the circumstance that those discourses by the Berlin Professor of Physics were primarily addressed to an audience of refined and cultivated literary taste, and that they were in reality delivered with a view of awakening an interest in the researches of science in that favoured section of the social community. It must be admitted that their distinguished author has been singularly fortunate in the accomplishment of this design, for the lectures are models of the way in which such subjects should be presented to educated, but unscientific, people. In Mr. Brudenell Carter's more recent book the important theme which has been so gracefully and eloquently advocated by Professor Helmholtz is followed up into its practical and serviceable applications. The properties of light, and the structure and functions of the eye, are in the first instance explained; and this is done in language so simple and clear that the subject is brought within the easy apprehension of persons of the most ordinary intelligence, with one perhaps not very serious, although noteworthy, drawback, the somewhat too free use of unfamiliar words, which are out of place in a treatise addressed to the audience which Mr. Carter contemplates. It is hardly to be conceived that such terms as emmetropia, hypermetropia,

asthenopia, and presbyopia can be of such frequent occurrence in the 'precepts and injunctions which are repeated' in the author's 'consulting-room day by day,' as they are in the pages of the book which is here consecrated to the task of explaining those maxims, and of making them more readily and easily understood. With this one reservation the very high praise may be awarded to Mr. Carter's little book, that it is a worthy companion and sequence to the popular lectures of the German panegyrist of ophthalmic science. Mr. Carter's volume, although of small compass and unpretentious aspect, is really a most serviceable exposition of the principles which are concerned in the exercise and preservation of the human organs of sight, and of the functions of sound vision, as will be abundantly gleaned from some of the following notices of its contents.

All readers of the 'Edinburgh Review' will be aware that the eye of the most highly organised animals, and of man, is a camera obscura, or dark chamber, analogous in many respects to the instrument with which the photographer accomplishes his very beautiful process of painting a picture by the limning power of light. The analogy between the structure of this instrument and the optical provisions of the eye has been alluded to by authors on popular science again and again, and Professor Helmholtz very skilfully avails himself of this analogy in laying the foundations of his account of the recent discoveries relating to the organ of vision. It is not, however, so generally understood how it is that either the instrument of the photographer, or the eye, remains a dark chamber, notwithstanding the fact that it has a clear and as it were open window exposed to the free impact of light. This, indeed, is not alluded to even by Helmholtz in his introductory explanation, and may therefore prove worthy of a passing remark. The circumstance is in a large measure dependent upon the somewhat curious fact that a shadow is cast behind even a transparent lens of glass when it is exposed to the full sunshine. The glass casts a deep shadow everywhere, excepting in the central spot into which the sunbeams are thrown very much as a circular disc of opaque cardboard in the same situation might do. This is a necessary consequence of the action of the lens, since the bright focal image which it constitutes is formed by the drawing together into that spot of all the rays of light which strike upon the curved front of the glass. As all the rays are concentrated in that spot, there remain none that are available for the simultaneous illumination of the surface around. If the combination of lenses of the

camera obscura, or the open pupil of the eye, are exposed in the same way to direct sunshine, a brightly luminous spot is formed in the centre of the field, and all the surrounding parts of the internal cavity are left in comparative darkness. The lenses of the camera, and the corresponding parts of the eye, in this way shut out all the light from the interior cavity, excepting that which is immediately employed for the painting of the image organically constructed within by the optical media. What is true in this case of the sun is true also of any collection of objects lit up, as in the case of the face of a landscape, by artificial illumination. Each point in the visible landscape is, in such a case, tantamount to a reflecting sun, and the image of that point is constituted within the interior of the camera or of the eye, and the combination of the images of the various points becomes a miniature picture of the external field in all its diversity of luminous intensity and shadow.

It will be unnecessary to enter at any greater length in this place upon the consideration of the optical properties of the lens, and of the means by which it so sifts out the different pencils or sheaves of luminous rays that are incident upon its curved front as to group and arrange them into correlative positions in the inverted miniature image after they have passed through the refracting medium. This is very lucidly and quite exhaustively dealt with in the first chapters of Mr. Brudenell Carter's '*Treatise on the Exercise and Preservation of Vision.*' But it may be safely assumed that as much at least of this is generally understood as will enable the reader to follow with ease whatever allusions may have to be made to such optical matters for the purpose of this article.

The analogy of the camera of the optician to the human eye is, however, not complete in all its particulars. It breaks down in one very important point. The camera is adapted to its picture-forming work by sliding the front part of its rigid frame out or in, according as the objects which are to be depicted are near or far. The reason for this adjustment of the instrument to near or far work is very intelligibly explained by Mr. Carter in the following passage, which is worth quoting as an illustration of the clearness of his style, as well as for the argument which is to be reared upon its statements. In one of the introductory chapters of his treatise on '*Eyesight,*' he says :—

'Amongst the first things which may be observed by the aid of a camera is, that the nearer the object is to the lens, the greater must be the distance between the lens and the screen, in order that a clear and well-defined image may fall upon the latter; and the reason of this is not

far to seek. There is, for every lens, a constant distance at which it will bring to a focus rays which fall upon it in a state of parallelism. Let us suppose, in the case of a given lens, that this distance is ten inches. It is obvious that, if the rays which fall upon it are not parallel, but divergent or spreading out from their point of issue, a certain portion of the power of the lens will be consumed, so to speak, in rendering them parallel, before it can begin to render them divergent; and hence their union in a focal point will be delayed, or will only occur further away from the lens than if they were parallel originally. In like manner, if the rays are already convergent when they reach the lens part of its work will be already done; and the focal union will occur sooner, or nearer to the lens, than if the rays were parallel. In estimating the power of a lens, we always take its focal length for parallel rays as the basis of computation; and this is called its principal focal length, or, more commonly, its focal length only. It is, of course, invariable; while the distances of its foci for convergent or divergent rays will depend, in every case, upon the degree of the deviation of these rays from parallelism. Strictly speaking, all light exists in nature in the form of divergent rays, but those which proceed from a far-distant point to fall upon so limited an area as that of a small lens may, as already said, be considered and treated as parallel. As soon as the luminous point or other object approaches the lens, however, the divergence of the rays becomes very appreciable; and so the camera, when arranged to give a clear image of the horizon, would give only a blurred and confused image of objects on the other side of a room. In order to render the latter image as clear as the former, either the distance between the lens and the screen must be increased, or else the power of the lens itself must be increased, as by the addition of a second one. Unless one or other of these changes were made, the screen would intercept the rays of light before they were brought to union, and an imperfect or indistinct picture would be produced.

In the case of the telescope precisely the same adjustment for varying distance, it will be remembered, has to be performed. The magnifying glass at the eye end of the instrument is moved out and in by the sliding adjustment of that part of the tube. But for the most remote heavenly bodies, namely, the fixed stars, no alteration of adjustment is required for different luminaries, because they are all so very far away. They are all contemplated through the lenses of the telescope as objects at an approximately infinite, or at any rate optically incommensurable, distance.

Now, although the human eye is modelled upon the same general principles as the artificially constructed camera of the optician, the resemblance has not been carried so far as to confer upon it any form of sliding adjustment. Its globular form and its tense membranous walls forbid the adoption of any such plan. It nevertheless does possess some means of

accomplishing an adaptation to distance. Persons endowed with the ordinary powers of sight are aware that they can, at will, look either on trees and hills upon the remote horizon, or on the letters of a book held within arm's length in the hand, and see both with equal facility and clearness. But they are not both visible in this distinct way at once.

The Dutch physiologist, Donders, has devised a very pretty way of demonstrating this. He points out that if a piece of net be held between a printed page and the eye, either the printed words of the page or the fibres of the net can be seen at will; but they can only be seen one after the other as the attention is shifted, in rapid succession it may be, from one to the other. When the letters are looked at, the net only presents itself as an undefined shadowy film, and when the net is the object of attention the letters melt away into a field of grey haze. In order to see first the one and then the other, some change has to be made in the arrangement of the structures of the eye, and if the net is held very near to the eye, and looked fixedly at for any considerable time, the effort is quite palpable, for it is soon accompanied by a very painful sense of fatigue. The way in which this accommodation of the eye to distinct vision at varying distances is brought about remained an impenetrable mystery until a quite recent time. It is now, however, perfectly understood, and its discovery marks one of the great steps in the advance which Professor Helmholtz alludes to in his popular lectures on the Theory of Vision, not only on account of the scientific interest which it involves, but also on account of the revolution which it has wrought in some part of the views and practice of oculists. Before, however, this matter can be adequately grasped, a brief reference must be made to the structural conditions and arrangements upon which it depends.

The outer investment of the eyeball consists of a tough white membrane of considerable strength, which, on account of its seeming *hardness*, has been termed the *sclerotic coat*. It is, however, tense rather than hard. It is kept tight and of a fixed globular form by the liquid with which the greater part of its interior cavity is filled. It is opaque and impervious to light, except for a short space in front, where it is transformed into a kind of bow-window of transparent hornlike substance, which on account of its hornlike nature is called the *cornea*. Through this bulging bow-window the pupil and iris can be seen. The iris is an adjustable curtain of interlaced muscular fibres, arranged immediately behind the cornea in such a way that it can be more or less drawn according to the

need for diminishing or increasing the admission of light. The pupil is the dark interior cavity of the chamber, revealed through the clear central aperture, which is surrounded by the circular curtain. Immediately behind this clear central opening is fixed a double convex lens of transparent crystal, endowed with the power of forming a picture behind its posterior curved surface in precisely the same sense as the lenses of the optician's camera. The picture traced by the crystalline lens may indeed be actually exhibited in the case of the white rabbit, the coats of whose eyes are deficient in the usual opacity of the external coverings of the organ. When such an eye is taken out from the orbit of the recently killed animal, and held up with the pupil and cornea directed towards the flame of a candle, or towards a sunny landscape, an inverted image of either the flame or the landscape immediately presents itself, sketched out in light, upon the back part of the globe. In the living eye the image of light thus formed by the instrumentality of the crystalline lens falls upon a delicately organised screen of nervous texture which is termed the retina, and which, through the agency of its connexion with the brain, is capable of feeling the image in all its diversity of colour and luminous intensity. Such, essentially, in barest outline, are the mechanism and the optical and vital arrangements upon which the functions of vision depend.

The eye is preserved in the convenient form of a sphere or ball by the simple device of having its interior cavity filled with liquid, which prevents the limp and otherwise flexible coats from puckering up into any irregularity of shape. It is like a bladder distended with water, which is firm and tense on account of the contained liquid being so shut in by the membranous wall that it cannot escape anywhere from the tight grasp in which it is held. There are, however, in the interior of the eye, two quite distinct chambers in which this liquid is distributed, one in front of, and one behind, the crystalline lens. The lens hangs, as it were, in the midst of the liquid. The portion which is in front of the lens is little more than a very weak aqueous solution of salt, and is on that account termed the aqueous humour of the eye; the portion which is behind more nearly resembles a solution of white of egg. On account of this somewhat thicker consistency it is termed the vitreous or glass-like humour. Both humours, however, exert very nearly the same influence upon the vibrations of the light, and the optical part of the eye thus comes to be considered as composed simply of two refracting parts—the denser lens and the thinner humours. The iris is loosely suspended in the aqueous

humour in front of the lens, so that it has the water-like liquid bathing both surfaces, and thus enjoys the same ready freedom of movement that it would possess if it were simply immersed in water. The humours of the eye are supplementary aids to the image-forming capacities of the lens. But they are only subordinate aids, as their influence in this particular is comparatively small. For simplicity's sake the crystal lens and the associated humours may be looked upon as together constituting one single lens, and the visual power of the eye in reality depends upon three curved surfaces which are found in the combination of humours and lens—the front surface of the globe, or cornea, upon which light in the first instance strikes as it enters the transparent media of the eye, and the front and the back protuberant surfaces of the crystalline mass itself. The position of the definite image within the eye is determined by the form of these surfaces, taken in connexion with the density of the crystalline substance and its associated humours.

But although the globular form and tense state of the eyeball preclude the idea that there can be any sliding backwards and forwards of the lens to adapt it for sharp vision at varying distances these by no means militate against an alteration of the curvature of the external surfaces of that body—a change of its shape without any variation of its bulk. This indeed is the method which has been devised. The lens is converted into a more powerful instrument of refraction, when near objects are looked at, by a drawing in of its transverse dimensions and a bulging out of its front contour. The structural means by which this piece of delicate adjustment is accomplished within the ball of the eye without putting any injurious strain upon its exquisitely sensitive and frail nerve-textures is as admirable as it is efficient. The lens itself is contained within an outer sheath or shell of a somewhat horny character, and this is set in a circular rim held stretched out in all directions by a series of seventy elastic bands. These bands, which radiate out from the rim of the lens, are about a fifth part of an inch long, and they are connected at one end with the outer coat of the eye, and at the other with the lens. The lens settles itself down, under the outward pull of these elastic stretchers, into a certain definite form, which is therefore its shape of rest—the contour which it assumes when left free from all muscular interference—and this is its adjustment for the far point of sight. The elastic bands are, however, connected also with a series of muscular fibres which act antagonistically to them. When the muscles

contract, the elastic bands act less effectively upon the rim of the lens; and when the rim is less stretched by the elasticity of its suspending bands, the front of the lens is left free to bulge itself out with its own inherency of spring. The exertion of the muscles thus permits the curvature of the lens to be so changed that it becomes like a magnifying glass of higher power, and suited for dealing with the more divergent beams of nearer objects. When the muscles are relaxed after their contraction the lens is again flattened in front by the then preponderant influence of its suspending bands, and so restored to its adjustment for distant vision. The muscles of accommodation, which accomplish the service of altering the form and power of the lens, lie heaped in puckered folds all round the outside of its rim. The optical adjustment of the eye is thus virtually an antagonistic play between mechanically elastic bands on the one hand, and living muscular fibres on the other. The elastic bands flatten the lens to fit it for the vision of distant objects. The muscular fibres bulge the lens out. But, as the contraction of the elastic bands is a merely physical operation, like the return of stretched indiarubber to its original length after the extending force has ceased, while the contraction of the muscular fibres is an active effort of animal life, the eye is destitute of all exertion and strain when it is occupied with the vision of distant things, but is the seat of considerable strain so long as it is employed in the vision of near objects. The amount of the accommodation for near vision is also proportional to the quantity of muscular energy that is called into play. The bulging out of the front of the lens, to qualify it for dealing effectively with near objects, being a directly vital operation, is of course performed at the cost of expenditure of both organised substance and vital energy.

The conclusion that the eye is enabled to accommodate itself to sharp vision at various distances by a change in the shape of its crystalline lens is not one that has been doubtfully or loosely formed. The fact rests upon the evidence of keen observation and very careful experiment. The discovery of the process is indeed one of the most remarkable triumphs of scientific perseverance and skill. That the process is one of exceeding subtlety and delicacy may perhaps be inferred from the circumstance that it so long eluded the notice of the eager observers who were watching on its track. It was at one time supposed that the power of accommodation in some way depended upon change in the form of the front portion of the eye. This, however, was long ago disproved

by an ingenious experiment of Dr. Young's. He demonstrated that the process is quite as efficiently performed when the head is plunged into water, and when the refracting power of the cornea is necessarily destroyed, in consequence of having under such circumstances an aqueous medium of nearly the same density in close contiguity both before and behind. The first material step towards the solution of the problem was made by the French surgeon Sanson. He was fortunate enough to have his attention caught by the fact that the two surfaces of the crystalline lens throw off a faint gleam of reflected light when very oblique beams of illumination are admitted into the eye from a lamp. Max Langenbeck, another very careful observer, next noticed that these faint gleams change the direction of their glance as the accommodation of the eye is altered from near to far vision. The glancing play of the curved surfaces of the lens was still further investigated by Cramer of Utrecht and Professor Helmholtz of Berlin, and, in the end, an instrument was contrived by Helmholtz which now enables the oculist not only to discern the changes in the shape of the lens, but also even to measure their amount, and to determine the precise curvature of the surfaces concerned, and the distances of those curved surfaces from each other, in any given eye. Professor Donders, the distinguished physiologist of Utrecht, has also shown how this instrument may be turned to practical account in producing optical compensations for defective sight.

There is one particular in which it appears at a first glance that the living eye possesses a marked advantage over the camera of artificial construction. Its dark cavity is of globular form instead of being square. The image which is projected upon the nerve-screen of the eye is therefore distinct over a wider range than any that can be formed upon the flat ground-glass screen of the optician's instrument. All persons who are familiar with the manipulations of photographic art are aware that it is one of the imperfections of the instrument, which opticians are perseveringly endeavouring to remedy, that, whereas the luminous picture can easily be made very sharp upon the middle of the field, it invariably shades away into confusion and blurring towards the edge. When the glass screen is so placed that the divergent bundles of light from the immediate front of the lens are brought to a sharp focus in the picture, the divergent rays from the sides do not meet in sharp focal points in other parts of the same pictorial plane. This difficulty is to some extent overcome in the work of the optician in two ways. A combination of lenses is

employed, in which the contour of each constituent of the associated group is so varied as to give it a tendency to correct the imperfections of the rest. But, in addition to this, opaque screens with small circular openings, known technically as diaphragms, are so introduced between the separate lenses of the group as to intercept and cut off the most oblique rays, and in that way prevent them from blurring the outworks of the picture. In the language of the photographer, it is said that small apertures and diaphragms are needed for the formation of a picture of large angular area upon a flat field; and the nearer the objects are which are being dealt with, the more rigidly this precaution has to be observed.

In the living eye this source of imperfect definition in the picture upon the screen is materially lessened by the curvature of the globe. The nerve-screen is brought round towards the spot where the lateral rays can fall as sharply in focus as the central ones. With the photographic camera it is considered a very excellent combination of lenses which furnishes upon a flat field a picture subtending an angle of 44° . In the human eye, on the other hand, a fairly useful field of 160° in width is secured. But, in the eye, the vision is not absolutely sharp throughout the entire extent of this very wide field. A second and supplementary expedient is therefore brought into play to ensure that exquisite perfection of result which is ultimately attained in the case of the eye.

The optic nerve, which is the great channel of visual impressions, and which issues for that reason from the brain, enters the back part of the globe of the eye, about a tenth of an inch on the inner side of its centre, as a thick white cord nearly a sixth part of an inch in diameter. This cord is almost entirely composed of exquisitely fine nerve-threads, distinct from each other, but packed closely side by side. There are at least two hundred and fifty thousand of these delicate threads in each nerve. When the thick white cord has passed through the outer coats of the eye, these threads are loosened out from each other, and arranged into the form of a tangled web, which is distributed along the interior surface of the globe, so that it lies in immediate contact with the transparent vitreous humour with which the posterior portion of the cavity is filled. It is this nerve-lining of the eye which is termed the *network* or retina. Each of its delicate threads originates backwards in the actual substance of the brain. It is a prolongation outwards of the brain-pulp. The retinal threads are spread exactly where the luminous pictures are

traced within the eyeball by the lens. They play the part of the receiving screen. The threads themselves are the communicating lines by means of which the shocks of the luminous vibrations, concentrated into focal points by the agency of the lens, are passed onwards to the brain. The nerve-threads, where they are spread out on the inner lining of the eye, are associated with a considerable number of minute vesicles of pulp, and with some granules, fibrous material and blood-vessels, which are all woven up together, so as to convert the retinal network into a kind of membrane, or tunic, in that form regarded as the inner coat of the eye. This coat, however, is everywhere so delicate as to be quite permeable to light. The nerve-threads terminate in this lining web by being turned sharply back, so that their ends are thrust against the dense outer coat of the eye. Where this occurs each thread is either swollen somewhat out into a conical form, or it is moulded into the shape of a cylindrical rod: that is to say, some of the nerve-threads terminate in conical bulbs, which are technically distinguished as the *cones* of the retina; and some end as *rods* which are in no way swollen out, and which are therefore of smaller size than the cones. When the structure of this part of the eye is examined in plan by the help of a microscope, the cones are seen to be packed together side by side like the constituent chequers of a mosaic pavement, but in most parts with a cluster of dots, which are the transverse sections of the rods, set round and between the chequers of the mosaic. The appearance then is that of a field of conspicuous spots bordered by smaller dots. There is a pavement of rod-bordered cones. Sometimes there is only a single row of rods to each chequer of the cones; sometimes there are two or more rows; and sometimes the individual cones are fitted close together without any borders at all. But this close-set pavement of cones, unbordered by rods, is found only in one particular part of the web. It is entirely confined to the central tract of the back of the eye—the part which is immediately opposite to the centre of the pupil. The retinal membrane is there thinned away, so that a shallow depression or pit is formed. In this central pit all the coarser parts of the structure, the non-nervous fibres, the granules, the blood-vessels, and even the rods disappear, and there remains only the closely set mosaic of cones, with an investment of filmy nerve-vesicles of the most delicate organisation in front. This hollowed or *dug-out* part, which is, in reality, the most sensitive spot in the nerve-structure of the eye, is technically distinguished as the *fovea centralis*, or central pit, of the retina. Helmholtz states

that the cones, which constitute the mosaic in this central extra-sensitive spot of the eye, are smaller than those which are elsewhere associated with the bordering of rods. They have been estimated as being so exquisitely minute that not less than ten thousand of them could be ranged, side by side, within the measure of an inch. That, it must be remembered, implies that a square inch could accommodate one hundred millions of them. But, as a matter of fact, this extra-sensitive spot is of very limited extent. It is quite covered by the image of the finger-nail, held up at arm's length from the eye. It can receive not more than a word of ten letters of a page of the 'Edinburgh Review' at the ordinary distance for reading. The surrounding parts of the nerve-tunic of the eye are of very inferior sensibility in comparison with this central spot. Their acuteness of visual perception is reduced by the circumstance that their retinal cones are separated from each other by the intrusion between them of the clustering rods, and the larger the amount of rods that are thrust in between the cones, the less keen is the sense. The effective consequence of this arrangement is that such portions of the visual picture formed within the eye as fall upon the central spot are very sharply and distinctly seen, while the other parts of the image are comparatively faint and obscure. If the attention is steadily fixed upon some definite object within the range of sight, this may be experimentally proved. It will be noticed, when the glance is in this way arrested upon a printed page, that one word is sharp and clear, but that the rest of the words are more or less blurred and confused until the eye is allowed to run along the line, and so to change the field of its operation. When this is done, the different parts of the line are brought in succession to bear upon the narrow limits of the central spot. Precisely in the same way, only those portions of a distant landscape are distinctly seen upon which the eye is centred at the instant. All other parts are obscure and blurred. It is for this reason that it is so difficult a task to see a balloon high up in the sky until the speck has been once caught by the eye. It can only be seen when the eye is so placed that its image falls upon the central sensitive spot. But this can only occur when the eye is directed immediately towards the balloon, and when the crystalline lens is duly adjusted for the task of distant vision. So long as the eye is roaming about in search of the as yet undetected position of the minute speck, its image falls upon parts of the visual screen which are too dull for its apprehension. Colour, again, is very imperfectly distinguished by the less sensitive outside portion of the re-

tinal surface.* It is, therefore, with the living eye very much as it is with the camera obscura of artificial construction. A sharply defined picture is formed only at the part of the recipient screen which is centrically opposite to the image-forming lens. The eye, nevertheless, commands, as has been already remarked, an exceedingly wide field. How, then, is this turned to practical account? Any one may answer this question experimentally, and find the proper solution of this enigmatical piece of optical science, by noticing what occurs in the ordinary process of reading. The eye is rapidly and almost unconsciously run along the words line after line. This is done in order that the image of each succeeding word may be transferred in turn to the sensitive tract of the visual membrane. The eye, when it is in use, never rests still for more than a passing instant. By means of a series of muscular cords which are attached to the outside of the ball it is rapidly rolled about in all directions, and clear images of different parts of the field of view are thus formed in such rapid succession that all are in the end seen as if sharply defined at the same instant. The attention, however, is so habitually given to the small part of the visual field which for the moment is most distinct, that the simultaneous confusion and indistinctness of other parts are overlooked. The eye is superior to the artificial camera as an instrument of wide definition on account of the rapidity and facility of its vital movements. The camera *fixes its glance* upon the field in front, and forms a picture on its screen that has a clear and bright centre, and obscure and blurred outskirts. The eye *sweeps its glance* over the same range, and forms clear pictures of all its parts, one after the other, and it does this with such ease and quickness that the successive steps of the process are not consciously marked. The less sharp perception of the outer portions of the shifting scene is, however, not without a value of its own. Mr. Brudenell Carter somewhat happily points to this circumstance in the following passage:—

‘In technical language, the whole lateral extent of vision is called the *field* of vision, and we are said to see directly with the central part of the retina, and indirectly with the lateral parts. Indirect

* It is perhaps worthy of note as a curious circumstance that the central spot of the nerve-membrane of the eye is not as responsive to *faint* luminous impressions as the surrounding duller parts. It is on this account that very faint stars are often most readily seen when the eye is not looking directly towards them. The central part needs a certain measure of intensity of light for the support of its higher powers of clear definition.

vision is of great value for many purposes, and especially for giving us information as to the directions in which it is desirable for direct vision to be exerted. On this account the indirect is sometimes called the defensive part of the field, since it gives warning of the approach of large objects, and saves people from being exposed to many dangers. There are certain diseases of the eye in which the outer part of the field of vision is lost, so that the sight is circumscribed as if by looking through a tube; and in these cases, although central vision may be good, and the patient able to read small print, there is yet great difficulty in guiding the footsteps and in avoiding obstacles, especially moving obstacles as in the street. There are many persons with contracted visual field who in one sense can see tolerably, and yet who would not be safe in a crowded thoroughfare. The loss of lateral or indirect vision renders them unable to ascertain correctly the relative positions of objects, and entirely conceals from them many which they would require to see in order to guide their steps with safety. An exceedingly curious example of the effect of contraction of the field of vision was lately related to me by an old gentleman, who had suffered from a malady which produces this effect, but whose remaining central vision I had been able to preserve by an operation. With the aid of spectacles he could read such type as that of this book perfectly, but he was somewhat short-sighted, and without spectacles even his central vision was a little doubtful. Standing one day at the entrance to the garden in front of his house, he was much puzzled by the odd movements of two things on the ground—things which he thought were two black birds of unknown species, hopping about and behaving very strangely. They turned out to be the feet of a market woman who had brought something for sale, and whose body was invisible to him so long as her feet were in view.

But as there is one spot of supreme sensibility in the eye, there is also another part of the retina which is absolutely insensible to light. This is known technically as the ‘blind spot.’ Although rarely noticed, it is easily discovered when the attention is appropriately drawn to its existence. If a ship lying at anchor in a roadstead be looked at from the shore with one eye closed, whilst a second vessel with bright white sails passes close to it, and then moves gradually away, it will be found that the one which is in motion suddenly disappears, or is blotted out, from the visual picture, and then comes into sight again. If the ship be sailing from left to right, the *right* eye must be used in the experiment, and the left eye be closed. The moving ship disappears because at that instant its image falls upon the blind spot of the eye. If a cross be made upon a sheet of paper, and the capital letter S be traced three inches, and a little lower, away to the right, thus

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and if, whilst the left eye is closed and the attention of the right eye steadily fixed upon the cross, the paper is gradually withdrawn to about 10 or 12 inches distance from the eye, precisely the same effect will be observed. The letter will suddenly be blotted out, and then come into sight again as the distance of the paper is further increased. The letter disappears just when its image is thrown upon the insensible part of the retina. The explanation of this insensible spot is that it occurs where the optic nerve enters the ball of the eye, and where, therefore, there are no terminations of nerve-threads spread out for the reception of the visual impression. The reason why this blind spot is not always perceived as a blot in the visual field is that it is placed outside the part where distinct images are formed, and also that two eyes are employed in the work of vision. The portion of the field that is blotted out in one eye is at the same instant visible in its companion. This latter expedient for the effacement of the blot is so effectual and complete that, notwithstanding the many millions of human eyes that had previously been affected by its presence, nothing was known of its existence until the reign of Charles II., when it was detected for the first time by the French priest Mariotte. This blind tract of the retina is nevertheless of such ample dimensions that it is capable of swallowing up the image of eleven full moons placed side by side in the sky. It is just covered by the image of a human face looked at seven feet away. Mariotte was in the habit of amusing Charles II. and his courtiers by showing them one-eyed apparitions of themselves with their heads cut off.

The power of the eye to distinguish very minute objects depends upon the size of the cones in the central sensitive spot of the retina. Any image that can be completely sketched upon one of these cones can be seen as a visible point. The cones, or, in other words, the chequers of the retinal mosaic, are the sensational units. When the images of two contiguous and really distinct objects fall upon one cone of the retina, the double impact is fused into a single impression. The power of the microscope depends upon its spreading the image of the object that is looked at so widely out within the eye that more sensational units, or more chequers of the retinal mosaic, are engaged in the task of examining the details of the picture. Two stars that lie less than one minute of the spherical vault of the sky apart are seen as a single star, because the image of both is then impressed upon a single cone of the retina. But when they are looked at by a telescope two shining points are seen, because then each has its own image impressed upon

a different cone. Most eyes fail to be able to distinguish parallel white threads that are 73 seconds apart, but Helmholtz gives an instance of one keen-sighted observer who could distinguish separately objects that were within 50 seconds of each other. A black speck on a white ground can be seen by good eyes when it is the four-hundredth part of an inch across. But specks of shining gold can be seen when not more than the eleven-hundredth of an inch in diameter. Black and white chequers, the twenty-fourth part of an inch across, can be distinguished when held up at such a distance from the eye that the image of each chequer occupies something like half the breadth of a cone of the retina.

The accommodation of the eye to sharp vision is accomplished without any conscious effort. When the glance is directed from a remote to a near object, the eye at once adapts itself to the new task which it is called upon to perform. The muscular bands set round the rim of the crystalline lens are thrown into action, and the front curve bulges itself out to the requisite extent. But, simultaneously with this, the pupil is contracted to a smaller size to cut off the most oblique rays of the luminous bundles then issuing from the near object, because these would confuse and blur the image if they were allowed to fall upon the retina. At the same time the two eyes are so rolled in their orbits as to be convergently directed to one common point. This convergence of the two eyes is so essentially and absolutely an unconscious act that persons with ordinary powers of sight cannot move one eye without its companion automatically adjusting itself to look directly at the same object or spot. One eye can only be turned more towards the right or left by moving both. So, again, if the stimulus of a strong flash of light is thrown suddenly into the pupil of one eye, so as to cause it to contract for the exclusion of the superfluous flood of illumination, the pupil of the other eye contracts also in intimate and apparently unconscious sympathy with its companion. The proper accommodation of the eye in all these correlative particulars is at once effectively brought about by merely directing the glance to the object which is under notice. The marvellous organ then does all else that is requisite of its own accord. The eyes do not even partake in the motion of the head if this is turned when their glance is fixed on a still object. Without conscious effort they accomplish the really surprising task of keeping themselves fixed upon the right point of attention, even whilst the platform upon which they are mounted is twisted about. These correlated and automatic movements of the eyes are so

important and complicated an affair that a special part of the brain has been organised to take charge of their regulation and control, quite irrespective of any exertion of the will.

The crystalline lens of the eye, which plays the chief part in forming the beautiful image that is traced upon the nerve-coat of the organ, is itself constructed out of a series of flattened fibres of albuminous substance grouped in symmetrical loops round six separate axes, and connected together at their edges by interlocking teeth. The transparent mass built up in this way is comparatively soft at the beginning of life; but it gets harder and denser with the progress of time. One natural consequence of this method of construction and gradual hardening, however, is that the movements of accommodation, which involve a change in the shape of the lens, are less easily performed with advancing years. The adaptation for distant sight which requires no muscular effort remains unimpaired. But the bulging out of the lens for dealing with near objects and more divergent rays cannot be properly performed. The lens gets to be too rigid to suffer any material alteration of shape. This is the cause of the failing sight of age. In early life the lens can be so curved as to deal effectively with objects that are not more than four inches and a half from the eye. At the age of forty years the lens generally cannot be curved enough to form a sharp image of any object that is less than nine inches away. At fifty years the point of nearest sight is removed to thirteen inches; at sixty years to twenty-six inches; and at seventy years all power of accommodation is, for the most part, lost—that is to say, the lens has become too rigid to be able to alter its form at all, and therefore remains permanently fixed in the contour that suits it for distant vision. But the increase of the curvature of the lens, for the accomplishment of near vision, is virtually the same thing as if an additional convex lens were introduced into the eye. The remedy for the failing accommodation and imperfect sight of age is therefore to add such a second lens in front of the eye. In other words, spectacles with convex lenses must be employed when the sight is used for near objects. The increased refracting power which cannot be furnished by the living movements of the eye is thus artificially supplied by the addition of an outside lens, and the divergent rays from near objects with its aid can be brought into sharp focal points within the otherwise too shallow depth of the ball. Such objects as the page of a printed book are held far from the eye in order that the pencils of rays which enter the pupil may be so lengthened out as to enable them to be focussed within the

available span of the weakened and unadjustable lens. But then, with this expedient, the sharp image is brought within the depth of the eye at the cost of being materially diminished in size, and when it is so reduced it is, of course, less advantageously dealt with by the fewer nerves which receive the impression. A magnifying glass then increases the size of the image within the eye because it enables sharp focussing to be accomplished when the object is nearer to the organ, and when, therefore, the image is spread out upon a larger extent of the retinal membrane.

For a considerable time after the use of spectacles was introduced there was no recognised system of expressing their optical power. Every maker adopted some arbitrary plan of his own. But about the year 1860 a scheme was proposed for remedying this irregularity. The power of the lens was then marked by figures that expressed in inches the distance at which parallel rays were brought to a focus. Thus No. 16 implied that the lens would form its sharp image for parallel rays 16 inches away. An alternative and still more satisfactory scheme was devised by Professor Donders of Utrecht, and is now coming into general use. In this system the French *mètre*, which corresponds to 39.337 inches, is adopted as the unit of the nomenclature. No. 1 lens thus means a lens which forms a focal image for parallel rays one *mètre*'s length from the glass. Each succeeding number in simple arithmetical progression then implies the halving of the focal length and the doubling of the power. No. 2 forms its focus half a *mètre*, and No. 3 a quarter of a *mètre*, away: No. 2 also is double the power of No. 1, and No. 3 double the power of No. 2. The unit of this system, which has the great advantage that it promises before long to be universally adopted by different nationalities, is technically designated 'a dioptric.'

One of the prominent objects of Mr. Brudenell Carter's book is the teaching of the doctrine that the compensation of spectacles shall be immediately applied as soon as failing sight begins to manifest itself with advancing years. No more mischievous mistake can well be made than the one which is involved in the prevalent idea that the use of spectacles should be put off as long as possible. This becomes evident at a glance as soon as it is understood that the case is one of incapacity of the lens of the eye to adapt itself to near vision in consequence of loss of accommodative power. The continued effort of the delicate mechanism of the eye to accomplish a task which is beyond the measure of its capacity must necessarily be attended with an injurious, as well as a painful,

strain. Squinting is one of the evil consequences which are apt to ensue if such fruitless efforts are long persevered in. Mr. Carter remarks upon this point in the following monitory strain:—

‘We have seen that the effect of accommodation is precisely that of adding a convex lens to the passive eye; and so, when accommodation fails, we can supply its place by adding the required lens by art. To do this is the ordinary function of the spectacles which are required by all people, if their eyes were originally natural, as time rolls on; the principles on which such spectacles should be selected is that they should be strong enough to be effectual; and they should be used as soon as they are required. Opticians often supply glasses which are too weak to accomplish what is needed, and which leave the eyes still struggling with an infirmity from which they ought to be entirely relieved; while the public frequently endeavour to postpone what they look upon as an evil day, and do not obtain the help of glasses until they have striven hard and fruitlessly to do without them. These are important practical errors. It cannot be too generally understood that spectacles, instead of being a nuisance, or an encumbrance, or an evidence of bad sight, are to the far-sighted a luxury beyond description, clearing outlines which were beginning to be shadowy, brightening colours which were beginning to fade, intensifying the light reflected from objects by permitting them to be brought closer to the eyes, and instantly restoring near vision to a point from which, for ten or a dozen years previously, it had been slowly and imperceptibly, but steadily, declining. This return to juvenility of sight is one of the most agreeable experiences of middle age; and the proper principle, therefore, is to recognise loss of near sight early, and to give optical help liberally, usually commencing with lenses of $+1.25$ or $+1.50$, so as to render the muscles of accommodation not only able to perform their tasks, but able to perform them easily. When, as will happen after a while, in consequence of the steady decline of accommodation, yet more power is required, the glasses may be strengthened by from half a dioptric to a dioptric at a time, and the stronger glasses should at first be taken into use only by artificial light; the original pair, as long as they are found sufficient for this purpose, being still worn in the day-time.’

In his chapter on the management of aged sight, Mr. Carter alludes to a somewhat elaborate article which appeared in the ‘Quarterly Review’ some years ago as having ‘given new life to a variety of erroneous and mischievous beliefs which were founded upon misconception of facts.’ The article to which he refers should, perhaps, have been rather adduced to illustrate the changes of view that occur as a natural incident in the progress of advancing knowledge. It was written before anything was known of the mechanism of accommodation which has been here described. In one passage its author avowedly

states that it was still an unfathomable mystery how adjustment to vision at various distances was brought about in the eye, and in another the imperfection of aged sight was ascribed to 'the flattening of the ball of the eye.'* The doctrine of the reviewer to which Mr. Carter takes exception is to the purport that the effect of spectacles diminishes with their use, and that such use should therefore be deferred as long as possible—conclusions which are enforced in one passage by the plausible and misapplied aphorism that 'tools become weapons 'in careless hands.' The common prejudice against using spectacles as soon as the impairment of the sight begins to be observed with advancing age appears to have unfortunately arisen from the fact that there is a serious disorder of the eye, known as glaucoma, which is attended with obscure vision, resembling that of old sight, but which is nevertheless altogether different in its essential condition. The mischief in glaucoma usually proceeds with an accelerated pace. Stronger and stronger glasses are used on account of the assistance which each fresh accession of strength at first gives. But the sufferer in the end becomes hopelessly blind, and the result is then erroneously attributed to the influence of the glasses which have been employed, although as a matter of fact this has had nothing whatever to do with the issue of the case. The injury to the sight in such instances is really due to an over-tense state of the eyeball having been set up, and to the destruction, in consequence of abnormal pressure, of the delicate nerve-structures within.

Mr. Carter unhesitatingly affirms that the habitual use of strong magnifying glasses is not injurious to ordinary eyes, and he supports his opinion in this particular by referring to the circumstance that watchmakers, who commonly employ magnifying glasses in their work, in reality enjoy a very enviable immunity from diseases of the eye. It appears that it is quite an unusual thing to find a working watchmaker amongst the patients of an ophthalmic hospital. Mr. Carter holds that the habitual exercise of the eye upon fine work, such as these men are engaged in, tends to the development and preservation of the powers of vision, rather than to their injury.

Artificial illumination is somewhat more trying to the eye than daylight. Its injurious influence is chiefly due to the deficiency in its beams of the violet rays which are most espe-

* The article, which was on 'Spectacles,' appeared in the issue of the 'Quarterly' for June, 1850.

cially serviceable in the processes of vision. The red and yellow tints in such light are in excess. This is in some measure put right when the red or yellow glare is passed through blue glass screens. But this expedient unfortunately so much reduces the absolute amount of illumination that the remedy is almost as bad as the disease. Deficiency of light is always injurious to eyes that are engaged in exacting work. On this account the ordinary plan of lighting a room where fine work of any kind has to be carried on by central gas-burners hung from the ceiling, is objectionable in the last degree. In this plan of artificial illumination, the light is given in excess where it is not required, and it is deficient where it is wanted. Oil lamps, with well-arranged argand burners, accompanied by reflectors and screens, are, on the other hand, amongst the best kinds of illumination that can be adopted. Mr. Carter alludes to the form of oil lamp commonly known as the Queen's Reading Lamp, which was in the first instance introduced by Stobwasser of Berlin, in terms of unqualified and well-deserved praise. But the moderator lamp is quite equal to it in all serviceable qualities, if furnished with a similar shade of dark-green glass lined with the white surface within. The most trustworthy and pleasant of all lights for evening use is certainly that which is supplied by a moderator lamp so arranged that the eye is protected from the glare of the flame, at the same time that the light is evenly and softly thrown upon the work. It is an additional drawback to artificial light that it contains more heat than is present in diffused daylight, and that if long and injudiciously used it is apt, on that account, to be injurious to delicately sensitive eyes. This objection particularly applies to such lamps as that of Mr. Silber, in which the heating effect is increased in nearly the same proportion as the brilliancy of the light in consequence of the perfect combustion of the oil. Mr. Carter advises that, when lamps of this class are employed, a flat half-inch cell of plate-glass, filled with a saturated solution of alum, should be placed between the lamp and the eye. This effectually intercepts the heat, and yet does not materially diminish the light. When candles are adopted instead of a lamp, it is advisable that whatever number are in use should be grouped as near as possible together, so that the light may be shed evenly from one common centre. Cross-lights are always distressing to the eye. Mr. Carter particularly recommends that the least exacting kinds of work should be reserved for evening and night. Thus men engaged in literary pursuits should read most by day, and write most by night. It is worthy of note

that reading causes more strain to the eye than writing, and that copying work in writing makes a greater demand upon the organ of vision than off-hand composition. Twilight, and a mixture of twilight and artificial illumination, should be avoided for any kind of work. The pale cobalt-blue tint is the best that can be employed when protection for the eye from intense glare is sought, as in the case of travelling upon snow-fields in bright sunshine. The green glass that is often adopted for this purpose is not by any means so worthy of confidence. Reading in railway travelling is objectionable in the highest degree for a very obvious reason. The oscillation of the carriage continually alters the distance of the page from the eye, and so calls for unceasing strain in the effort to keep the organ in due accommodation for the ever-varying distance of the dancing image.

The exact fitting of the framework of spectacles to the face and eyes is of more importance than is generally conceived. If the centres of the lenses of the spectacles do not accurately coincide with the centres of the pupils of the eyes, the consequence is that the images in the separate eyes are a little displaced from the positions which they ought to hold, and that a somewhat painful and injurious effort has to be made by the eye to bring those images back into due correspondence for accurate vision. An incipient squint is apt to be in this way produced. Mr. Carter recommends that people should look to the centring of their spectacles for themselves. This may be easily done by standing before a looking-glass with the spectacles in their place. If the fit is a good one, the centre of the pupil should then appear in the centre of the rim. Fully formed spectacles are always to be preferred to folding frames, because they permit of more satisfactory adjustment in this particular, and because they are more easily kept in the right position with regard to the eyes. The only advantage which the pebble enjoys over glass for the construction of spectacles is the immunity which it possesses against scratching and fracture on account of its greater hardness.

The defect known as short sight is due to exactly the opposite cause to the one which is operative in the failing sight of age. The passive eye, when no accommodation-effort is made, is in such conditions incapable of bringing the rays from remote objects into focus upon the retinal membrane of the organ. The globe of the eye is too deep for the powers of its optical, or image-forming, parts. The sharp image is traced within the vitreous humour of the eye where there is no nerve-membrane spread for the reception and recognition of the luminous

picture. . With such eyes the natural range of sharp vision is limited to something like five or six inches of distance from the front of the organ. All objects beyond that are obscure or invisible. The accommodation-power, however, is effectively applied to nearer distances than in ordinary eyes. Very near objects can be sharply seen. The near point of short-sighted vision is generally within three inches of the eye. In such a case the retinal image upon the nerve-membrane of the eye is one-third larger than the one which would be formed with ordinary sight, and it is at the same time twice as bright. Short-sighted persons, on this account, can see smaller objects than long-sighted persons can, and also can see with much fainter light. The artificial remedy in the case of the short-sighted eye is the employment of spectacles with concave lenses; as by the use of such lenses the pencils of light that enter the eye are made more divergent than they would otherwise be, the sharply defined image is thrown further back in the eye, and thus brought upon the too distant retinal membrane. The familiar and common idea that short sight improves with advancing age is not in accordance with fact. The slight improvement in vision that occurs with the progress of time is simply due to the narrowing of the pupil, and to the consequent exclusion from the eye of very oblique rays. Short-sighted people in old age very commonly need the help of convex glasses for near objects at the same time that they require concave glasses for distant vision.

Mr. Carter most clearly proves that short-sighted persons should begin to use concave glasses at once when the defect in their vision is observed. The fault is primarily due to the circumstance that the ball of the eye is too deep for the converging power of its lens. The retina is set too far back. But it unfortunately happens, when this is the case, that the continued effort to see objects beyond the natural range of the eye exerts a strong tendency to still further increase the backward elongation of the organ, and in that way to increase the original defect. This may in extreme cases be carried so far as entirely to destroy all power of sight. It can hardly be too clearly or too generally understood that the short-sighted eye must at all times be looked upon as a weak organ rather than a strong one, and as open to dangers which do not affect more ordinary eyes to the same degree. The defect too commonly originates, indeed, in a feeble and preternaturally unresisting state of the outer coat of the organ, upon the elastic resiliency of which the preservation of the proper proportions and shape in some measure depends. If delicate children, in who

such a condition is most apt to be found, are allowed continually to bring their work up nearer and nearer to the eye, and to sit straining at close application for long periods, short sight is almost certain to be engendered. In such cases concave spectacles are required, not so much to make the sight better, as to compel the keeping of the work further away from the eye, and so to remove the strain which is augmenting the mischief. Mr. Carter is earnest in his condemnation of the reprehensible practice of teaching delicate children to read and write at too tender years. Some careful investigations, made by Dr. Cohn at Breslau, prove that something like one child in ten at ordinary schools is affected with short sight, and that the short-sighted children are almost invariably found in badly lighted schools, and where the desks and seats are so planned as to cause stooping whilst at work. Dr. Erisman in Russia, and Drs. Agnew and Loring in America, strikingly confirm these observations of Dr. Cohn, and there seems to be but too good ground for the suspicion entertained by Mr. Carter that badly lighted and injudiciously furnished schools must be regarded as nurseries for the development of short sight. The well-ascertained fact that short sight is most prevalent in England amongst dwellers in towns and amongst the children of the educated classes, certainly tends to support this view.

There is another form of irregularity of vision, dependent upon faulty construction of the optical mechanism of the eye, which is not unfrequently met with, and which is due to the curvature of the front portion of the globe of the eye not being exactly the same in all directions. The curve is for the most part flatter in a transverse direction than it is in a vertical one. Nearly all eyes are affected with this irregularity in a slight degree; but it then does not produce any sensible defect in the sight. When, however, it is present in a more marked degree, vertical and horizontal lines cannot be simultaneously brought into sharp vision upon the retina. When the letters in a printed book, which are principally composed of upright strokes, are fairly seen, other characters, which are chiefly formed of transverse strokes, are so confused that they cannot be distinguished from each other with certainty. This defect is technically known as astigmatism, a word which implies that all the divergent pencils concerned in the formation of the visual image are not brought to sharp focal points. The defect is discovered by looking attentively at a figure composed of black lines crossing each other transversely and obliquely after the manner of the rays of a star. When some lines in this figure are sharply defined, others are blurred and confused.

An American physician, Dr. Pray, has devised a very excellent test for the detection of this visual imperfection. He employs bold capital letters, some of which are formed of lines ranged horizontally, and others of lines drawn transversely or obliquely. When these letters are looked at by an astigmatic eye at a distance of 6 or 8 feet, the stripes are visible in some letters and not in the rest. This defect is capable of being remedied to a considerable extent by the use of spectacles whose lenses are of a cylindrical instead of spherical contour.

There is one very serious structural defect of the eye too frequently met with, which has an interest of its own on account of the remarkable success with which the principles of optical science are applied for its relief. It occasionally happens that, as the crystalline lens of the eye condenses and hardens with advancing years, it thickens at the same time and loses its permeability to the passage of light. The pupil then assumes the translucent aspect of a mass of falling water, and the disease has on that account received the name of cataract. The sight is in the first instance impaired during the production of this opacity of the lens, and ultimately lost. The remedy for the defect is the removal of the obscured lens out of the way, and the employment in its stead of an artificial lens of glass placed in the front of the eye. The crystalline lens is extracted from the interior of the eyeball through an opening cut into the outer coat of the organ for the purpose. After the removal of the lens no image, of course, is formed upon the nerve-membrane of the eye until a lens of glass is placed in front of the pupil. A most striking proof is then afforded of the circumstance which has here been insisted upon, that the accommodation of the eye for vision at various distances is accomplished by the crystalline lens. After this lens has been removed by the surgeon, all power of accommodation is lost. Spectacles of different powers have to be employed for near and for distant objects, and no objects can be distinctly seen but those which happen to be at the distances for which the spectacles are immediately fitted.

The eye does not deal achromatically with the coloured constituents of light. But the chromatic dispersion which it causes is not so great as that which is produced by glass, on account of the fluid or moist nature of its refracting media. When the flame of a distant street lamp is looked at through a piece of blue glass, a red image is seen surrounded by a broad violet-coloured halo. The green and yellow rays issuing from the flame are in such circumstances intercepted and quenched in passing through the glass, while the red and blue rays tra-

verse it. The red and the blue rays, however, do not then travel exactly along the same path after they have entered the ball of the eye. They are separated from each other by the dispersive power of its refracting media, the lens and humours, and so seen in the form of a red centre fringed with blue.

The vitreous humour which intervenes between the crystalline lens of the eye and the retina is not absolutely homogeneous and pellucid in its structure. It contains traces of fine fibres, and minute vesicles, scattered about, and floating more or less in the more liquid portion. These floating motes, although possessed of a considerable measure of transparency, are not as thoroughly permeable to the vibrations of light as the investing liquid. They cast faint shadows upon the retina, which are apt to be noticed, when the attention is fixed upon them, as flying specks. They scarcely ever appear immediately in front of any object that is under close scrutiny, but present themselves floating about somewhere around. They exist naturally in all eyes, and can always be discerned when a white cloud is looked at through a pinhole pierced in a card. They are occasionally increased in number or conspicuousness from some incidental derangement in the composition of the humour, and are then apt to become annoying or troublesome, although not really indicating any serious mischief in the organ. It is under such circumstances that the floating motes are spoken of as '*muscæ volitantes*.'

Helmholtz, in the face of the various considerations which have here been rapidly passed in review, adopts the somewhat startling doctrine that the perfection of the eye depends not upon the excellence of its construction as an optical instrument, but upon the manner in which it is used. As a mere optical instrument the organ is, he says, singularly imperfect. It has, in some degree, every defect that is liable to occur in crude and clumsy human work, and it has special faults in addition that are not incident to artificially made instruments. The chromatic aberration of its humours, the astigmatism of its irregular contours, the blind gaps of its nerve-screen, the imperfect transparency of its refractive media, the interposition of blood-vessels in front of the retinal membrane, the narrow limitation of the area of sharp definition, and the prevalent blurring of the lateral parts of the field, are all conditions which must be classed as optical imperfections. Yet every one of these imperfections is so counteracted and neutralised in the use of the organ under the plan of the employment of two eyes, and under the expedient of the rapid transference of the attention to different parts of the image, that it is actually unrecognised as a defect,

and undiscovered until the most refined powers of scientific investigation have been brought to bear for its detection. Helmholtz aptly remarks in regard to these structural shortcomings: 'The perfection of the eye is practical, not absolute. It consists not in the avoidance of every error, but in the fact that its numerous defects do not prevent it from rendering the most important and varied services.' Its crowning glory is, not that it is a piece of elaborately perfect mechanism, but that it is a living organ unceasingly adapting itself to an endless diversity of varying conditions, with never-failing success, and with never-swerving exactness. It is in this sense that the eye deserves the eulogy which is, in the end, pronounced upon it by Helmholtz himself, and which is to the effect that of all the triumphs of living organisation it is 'the choicest gift of Nature—the most marvellous production of her plastic force.'

But although the optical projection of a sharply-defined picture upon the nerve-membrane spread within the eye is the indispensable base of the act recognised as vision, this is by no means the ultimate completion of the process. When the vibratory impulse of the luminous beams has been stamped upon the inmost layers of the retina—the outspread pavement of cones—it there initiates a new order of commotion, a new system of action. The tremor of the luminous impact is there transformed into molecular tumult within the substance of the nerves, which is then transmitted back along the delicate fibres of pulp until it finally reaches the brain. It is this transmutation in the character of the agency which goes far to explain the curious circumstance that the ends of the nerve-threads in the retina—the recipient membrane for the impact of light—are *set backwards*, or away from the incidence of the luminous vibrations. The cones of the retina are, as it were, thrust blindly against the substance of the investing coat of the eye, and not projected forward towards the light by which they are to be influenced. The luminous vibrations do not enter the cones, and then pass onwards through them into the nerve-threads, but lodge themselves in the cones as the final goal of their vibratory progress, and are there absorbed or destroyed. Each cone is a laboratory for the conversion of a mere physical impression into a vital change. The impact of the luminous ray stirs up and starts in the interior of the cone an entirely new kind of force and new order of progression. The nerve-influence, which passes from the eye to the brain, travels at the sluggish rate of 200 feet in the second, whereas the ethereal vibrations of light pass in the same brief interval through

nearly 200,000 miles. The German physiologist, Holmgren, and Professors Dewar and M'Kendrick have shown that this new influence, generated in the nerve by the agency of light, is accompanied by electrical development. Currents of electricity are produced whenever flashes of light are thrown upon the retinae of recently killed frogs. But the nerve-influence is not merely a current of electricity, because this again travels with a speed which is measured by thousands of miles in a second, and not by hundreds of feet.

That the cerebral perception of a visual image is altogether a different affair from the mere stamping of a luminous impression upon a sensitive screen is further proved by a series of considerations that can be in no way explained by merely physical agency. Thus there are two eyes employed in the optical part of the process of vision, and two pictures are assuredly made upon the nerve-structures of those organs. But only one image is seen, unless when the consentaneous action of the two eyes has been abnormally deranged. There is an absolute and quite inseparable fusion of the two visual pictures into one mental impression or perception. This result, however, requires that each of the two images shall fall upon a duly correlated or corresponding part of the associated eyes. With squinting eyes this sympathetic correlation is deranged, and two images are seen. Then again, the images which are stamped upon the eyes are inverted, or upside down, as is manifest upon looking at them as they are formed within the eyes of a dead rabbit; yet the single image seen in the ordinary operation of sight is upright. The projections of solid objects traced in the pair of eyes are not absolutely the same. But, in the single picture which is seen, there is no confusion or incongruity; the two unlike projections are blended into the perception of an object standing out in solid relief. The explanation of all this intrinsically is, that the optical images impressed upon the eyes are simply signs, and that these signs are interpreted by an ulterior operation in the brain.

The eye is supereminently, amongst the organs of sense, the one which ministers to the intellectual operations. It deals almost exclusively with matters of experience and comparison. The distance of objects that are looked at is inferred from the muscular effort which is made in augmenting the curvature of the crystalline lens of the eye, and in converging the two eyes upon the point of concentrated attention. The idea of actual magnitude is derived from the comparison of these efforts of accommodation and convergence with the size of the

impression upon the retina. The conception of a solid projection results from the consideration of the differences of aspect incident to varying points of view. These facts, and numerous other arguments of a like character, which exigency of space alone excludes from notice, all combine to demonstrate that vision is the work of prolonged and complicated experience and experiment which begins in the cradle, and only ends upon the margin of the grave. Helmholtz alludes very tellingly in his 'Popular Lectures' to the circumstance that vision and speech are alike in the peculiarity that they both deal with arbitrary signs which have to be learned before they can be understood. He says:—

'Learning how to speak is obviously a much more difficult task than acquiring a foreign language in after life. First, the child has to guess that the sounds it hears are intended to be signs at all; next, the meaning of each separate sound must be found out by the same kind of induction as the meaning of the sensations of sight or touch; and yet we see children by the end of their first year already understanding certain words and phrases, even if they are not yet able to repeat them. We may sometimes observe the same in dogs.'

'Now this connexion between names and objects, which demonstrably must be *learnt*, becomes just as firm and indestructible as that between sensations and the objects which produce them. We cannot help thinking of the usual signification of a word, even when it is used exceptionably in some other sense; we cannot help feeling the mental emotions which a fictitious narrative calls forth, even when we know that it is not true; just in the same way as we cannot get rid of the normal signification of the sensations produced by any illusion of the senses, even when we know that they are not real.'

'There is one other point of comparison which is worth notice. The elementary signs of language are only twenty-six letters, and yet what wonderfully varied meanings can we express and communicate by their combination! Consider, in comparison with this, the enormous number of elementary signs with which the machinery of sight is provided. We may take the number of fibres in the optic nerves as two hundred and fifty thousand. Each of these is capable of innumerable different degrees of sensation of one, two, or three primary colours. It follows that it is possible to construct an immeasurably greater number of combinations here than with the few letters which build up our words. Nor must we forget the extremely rapid changes of which the images of sight are capable. No wonder, then, if our senses speak to us in language which can express far more delicate distinctions and richer varieties than can be conveyed in words.'

The most recent, if not the most important, of the discoveries which science has made in reference to the structural arrangements of the eye is one which is not alluded to either by Professor Helmholtz or by Mr. Brudenell Carter, and

which, in the first instance, seemed to indicate that the organ is, in reality, a photographic, as well as an optical, dark chamber. It has been long known that a peculiar colouring matter is deposited between the external protecting coat and the inner nerve-membrane of the eye. The intermediate layer with which this colouring matter is structurally associated contains also the delicate blood-vessels which are provided for the nourishment of the highly vital nerve-substance, and it has on this account been raised into the dignity of a special coat, called the choroid, or chorion-like,* tunic. The blood-vessels are distributed in this as minute radiating tufts which are intermeshed with each other, and between the interlacing vessels is laid down a flat pavement of hexagonal cells which are all densely packed inside with small opaque granules of a dark colour. This lining of dark pavement-like cells appears to answer the very important purpose of preventing the reflection and backward dispersion of light, after it has struck upon the nerve-coat of the eye. It is analogous to the black stain of the inside of the photographer's camera. The rod-like terminations of the retinal nerves, which have been already alluded to, abut immediately upon these pigment-cells, and are almost certainly connected with them by some intimate, although as yet not perfectly ascertained, relation. The German observer Boll, a few months since, observed that a very beautiful and quite distinctive purple colour is produced in the eyes of frogs in the immediate vicinity of these dark pigment-cells, and he further noticed that this purple colour was invariably bleached and destroyed on exposure to strong light, and that it was also capable of being reproduced out of the pigment-cells when the organ containing it was left for some time in darkness. The observations of Boll have since been amply confirmed by other experimenters, and the colour thus produced out of the pigment-granules in darkness has received by general consent the designation of 'visual purple.' The renewal of this delicate and evanescent tint can hardly be looked upon as a really vital act, because it occurs quite independently of any circulation of the blood. It can be destroyed and reproduced in the eye of a recently killed frog a considerable number of times by simply exposing the eye alternately to light and darkness. Another German experimenter, Kühne, has, however, ingeniously succeeded in fixing the image stamped luminously

* The chorion is a well-known vascular membrane which bears a strong resemblance to the choroid coat of the eye.

upon the retina of a dead eye by washing the membrane, after exposure to light, with a solution of alum-potash. The idea not unnaturally occurred, after the discovery of this curious effect, that the production and destruction of this visual purple, and the reduction of its colouring principle by the influence of light, might have to do with the conversion of the optical impression into a conscious sensation—in other words, that vision may possibly be a photographic process. That such, however, is not the case, is manifest from another significant fact which further investigation has brought to light. Both the pigment-cells and the visual purple are absent altogether from the central pit, which is assuredly the seat of the most acute visual sensibility, and Kühne's photographic pictures accordingly cannot be produced there. The retinal cones, which are essentially the instruments whereby optical impressions are converted into visual sensation, are utterly destitute of all trace of colour. Kühne, indeed, seems to have already satisfied himself that frogs can see perfectly after all the visual purple in their eyes has been destroyed by long exposure to the action of light. It must therefore, for the present, be held that nothing conclusive is yet known as to the purpose for which this visual purple is formed, or as to the part it plays in the marvellous processes with which it is associated. The discoveries of Boll and Kühne are very curious, and well deserving of the further investigations which they will assuredly receive; but there is nothing in regard to them, so far as they have yet gone, which at all favours the assumption that a photographic 'theory of vision' is the goal to which the progress of science tends.

ART. IX.—*Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874–79.* From Original Letters and Documents. Edited by GEORGE BIRBECK HILL, D.C.L. London: 1881.

ALL the world has heard of Chinese Gordon, the young Major of Engineers, who having as a mere lad distinguished himself in the Crimea, and later on served gallantly in the war which ended with the capture of Peking, in 1863 and 1864 led the 'ever victorious' army of the Chinese Emperor against the Taiping rebels and utterly routed them. Having accomplished this great feat he resigned his command and disbanded his army. For this signal service the Chinese Emperor made him a mandarin of 'a very high order,' giving him besides the rank of Ti-Tu, the highest in their

army, together with the four suits of uniform proper to his position, which no doubt were most acceptable after the wear and tear of the Taiping war. The English Government, with whose approval Gordon's services had been rendered, was, says Mr. Hill, 'more moderate in its rewards.' By it he was made a Lieutenant-Colonel and a Companion of the Bath, and with these and the reputation of a distinguished general and leader of men—renowned, as a young German prince who served under him said, as 'a bright example of a Christian soldier'—he left China. On his return to England in February 1865, Colonel Gordon was appointed Commanding Officer of Engineers at Gravesend, and employed for the next six years on the erection of fortifications to defend the mouth of the Thames. At the end of 1871 he returned to the East, where his military career had begun, as English Commissioner on the European Commission of the Danube.

This great capacity and energetic will were not, however, destined to be ingloriously wasted in dredging the muddy mouth of the Danube and in levying dues on the shipping which passes through it. In September 1872, fate, as we feel sure Colonel Gordon would call it, threw him in the way of Nubar Pasha, whom Mr. Hill calls 'the famous Egyptian Minister,' then at the height of his power, and who now, after many reverses, appears likely to be still more powerful in the present Egyptian crisis. Be that as it may, Colonel Gordon and Nubar met at Constantinople. The Egyptian Pasha was seeking for a man to succeed Sir Samuel Baker, whose fighting government of the Upper Nile basin was about to expire. To make a long story short, the reversion to Baker was offered to Gordon, and ultimately accepted by him, again with the approval of the British Government. In an interview with the then Khedive at the end of 1873, Gordon was told to fix his own terms as to salary. He took the modest sum of 2,000*l.* a year, and was graciously furnished with final instructions from the Egyptian ruler, of which all we shall say here is that they read remarkably well on paper, the main points being that the Khedive declared his utter abhorrence of the slave-trade, which he was determined to put down in Equatorial Africa by forming the Upper Nile province into a separate government under Gordon, and by claiming as a monopoly of the State the whole of the trade with the outside world. The reader will see even from this brief description of Gordon's instructions that the ex-Khedive, excellent in his intentions no doubt, had yet a shrewd eye to the main chance. It is instructive to note how Egypt has gradually invaded Central Africa. In

1853 the last Egyptian settlement on the Nile was 120 miles south of Khartoum. At the present day her furthest fortified posts are found between the Lakes Albert and Victoria Nyanza, little more than two degrees north of the Equator. Nor has she advanced solely along the course of the Nile. By the conquest of Darfour the Egyptian border now comes within less than fifteen days' march of Lake Tchad, while on the east lands have been annexed which are washed by the lower part of the Red Sea and by the Gulf of Aden. These vast tracts form a very large mouthful to have been swallowed up in less than thirty years by a little country like Egypt. For the greater part of this period the main chance of the rulers of Egypt on the Upper Nile has been the slave-trade. That has been the lubricating fluid which has rendered such an absorption of territory possible. From the day when Petherick started, in 1853, on the first trading voyage on the Nile, slaves have been the great staple of traffic. Sometimes it was called grain, but it was grain exchanged for slaves. Sometimes it was ivory, but ivory bartered for slaves, and, worse still, it came at last to be slaves pure and simple, bought for cloth and beads and trinkets at stations established and maintained by Europeans who carried on the nefarious traffic by Arab agents. 'About the year 1860,' writes Gordon, 'the scandal became so great that the Europeans had to get rid of their stations. They therefore sold them to those Arab agents, who paid a rental for them to the Egyptian Government.' So that in less than ten years from 1853 the slave-trade in these provinces may be regarded as a Government monopoly. If the reader asks why the Khedive, when he sent out Baker and Gordon into those dark regions, professed his abhorrence of the slave-trade and slave-dealers, he will find the answer in two facts—the first that the ex-Khedive wished to assume an appearance of respectability and civilisation in the eyes of the European Governments and of European public opinion. Exeter Hall then existed, and had power to make even a Khedive tremble. The second was the most powerful—by the connivance of the Government the slave-dealers with their organised bands of slave-hunters had become too powerful; they defied the Government, and when their old system of bribing the Governors of the Soudan failed they went down to Cairo; one of them with 100,000*l.* in his baggage, to be spent in bribing the great officials at the seat of government. 'If you were here' (at Shaka, in Darfour), writes Gordon in 1878, 'you would see how anxious, how terribly anxious, the Khedive is to put down the slave-trade which threatens his supremacy.'

We now see why it was that Baker first and then Gordon were sent to the Upper Nile. The slave-dealers, not the slave-trade, were too much for the supremacy of the Khediye, and the country must be made too hot for them. And both Baker and Gordon did their best, each after his own way; and though Baker's was much the hottest, we hope it will be found that Gordon's was the most effective. Baker's rule was very like a prolonged Balacava charge. It was magnificent, but it could scarcely be called government. When he laid down his command the dark wave of slavery closed behind him on his track, and his great foe, Kaba Rega, still ruled in Unyo when Gordon reached Baker's furthest. This was the powerful king who all but cut off Baker with his whole force at Masindi, and on whom Sir Samuel had revenged himself by a proclamation in which he deposed him and appointed Rionga, his rival and cousin, king in his stead. 'But,' as Mr. Hill well says, 'a proclamation does not upset a throne on the shores of the Albert Nyanza,' and Gordon found Kaba Rega flourishing when he reached those parts. If we seek an example of the transitory nature of these expeditions, we may find it on the Upper Nile itself. On its waters is periodically formed a grass barrier, which stops all access to the upper waters of the river. By a great effort it is occasionally cleared away, but the *sudd*, as it is called, speedily forms again and bars all progress. So it is with equatorial civilisation. A Baker or a Gordon may rule roughly or more gently in those regions, but no sooner are their backs turned than the old disorders and atrocities begin again: so that even all Gordon's energy and hopefulness had to confess that he 'returned with the sad conviction that no good could be done in those parts, and that it would have been better had no expedition ever been sent.'

But as the expedition was sent, it will be interesting to see how Gordon carried it out; and we think it will be evident that he was not at all hopeful when he started, and at any rate he went into it with his eyes open. On February 14, 1874, he writes, 'I think I can see the true motive now of the expedition, and believe it to be a sham to catch the attention of the English people, as Baker said.' . . . 'I think the Khediye is quite innocent, but Nubar thought he had a rash fellow to do with, who could be persuaded to cut a dash, and found he had one of the Gordon race; this latter thought the thing real and found it a sham, and felt like a Gordon who has been humbugged.' As he went on his eyes got more and more open, so that at last we wonder how he could ever have shut them again. He reached Khartoum on March 14, where the

Governor, General Ismael Ayoub Pasha, met him in full uniform and with all the honours. We are sorry to say that Gordon and this Pasha did not pull well together, as the latter was hand and glove with the slave-dealers; nor does it increase our confidence in Egyptian statesmanship to read, as we write these lines, that this Ismael Ayoub Pasha is looked on at Cairo as the only capable member of the Administration which has just been formed after the late military *coup d'état* in Egypt. Perhaps the Pasha was displeased that Gordon had persisted in bringing Abou Saoud with him as a sort of factotum. This personage is well known to the readers of Baker's book, and all we need say of him at present is that Gordon had to depose him before long. All this time, except for Abou Saoud and two Egyptian officers, Gordon was quite without a staff. That was following him while he went on to Gondokoro alone. 'The caravan comes after me,' he writes, 'and will be here in two months. I am quite well, and have quiet times in spite of all the work. . . . Self is the best officer to do anything for you.' Then he adds, writing to his sister, 'Your brother's title is His Excellency General Colonel Gordon, the Governor-General of the Equator. . . . I have issued a stinging proclamation declaring the Government monopoly of the ivory trade and prohibiting the import of arms and powder, the levying of armed bands by private persons, and the entry of any one without passports—in fact, I have put the whole district under martial law.' The best news that he heard at Khartoum was that the great enemy of Nile navigation, the *sudd*, or grass barrier, of which we spoke, had been removed by the labours of the soldiers, so that Gondokoro was only three weeks off. Starting in February 1870, Baker, in spite of all his efforts, did not reach that place till April in the following year. So that Gordon was in luck, or, as he would express it, it was ordained by God that the barrier should be removed for him, and accordingly it was removed.

On March 23 he started for Gondokoro, on the very day that the rest of his party were to leave Suez. He had seven steamers under him, and meant to keep up a monthly communication with Khartoum. It is characteristic of him that he was glad to be alone, and not to have many Englishmen with him: 'they would be more trouble than enough to look after.' In fact on this part of his expedition pelicans and storks, which laughed at him in a very rude way, 'highly amused that anyone should think of going up to Gondokoro with the hope of doing anything,' together with hippopotamuses and crocodiles, seem to have been his only com-

panions by the way. We forget, however, that he passed occasionally Shillooks and Dinkas, native tribes, the first of whom 'wore no headdress, or other dress at all,' while the second were attired in 'full dress—a necklace.' Their chief, too, on being presented, 'licked the back of his hands and 'held his face and pretended to spit into it,' which shows that the natives have scarcely altered their customs or improved their manners since Petherick's time, for a chief not only spat into the palm of his hand but into his face; which put that worthy trader into some perplexity till he bethought him that the best way of acknowledging the compliment was to return it into the chief's face with interest. 'He must be a great chief,' said the native as he retired overjoyed with his companions. Gordon was now in the infamous Bahr Gazelle, where so many ill-fated travellers have had to linger, and so many have died. Gordon's only complaint is against the mosquitoes, 'worse than those of China, Batoum, or the 'Danube,' though he found others worse higher up the river. On April 16 he reached Gondokoro, the headquarters of the slave interest, where his arrival was as unexpected as it was unwelcome. A less decided man would not have felt comfortable at the prospect before him.

'The only possessions Egypt has in my provinces,' he writes, 'are two Forts, one at Gondokoro, and the other at Fatiko. There are 310 men in one, and 200 in the other. As for paying taxes, or any government existing outside the forts, it is all nonsense. You cannot go out in any safety half a mile—all because they have been fighting the poor natives, and taking their cattle. I apprehend not the least difficulty in the work; the greatest will be to gain the people's confidence again. They have been hardly treated.'

Then he adds, 'Keep your eyes on the cloud by day and the 'pillar by night, and never mind your steps. The direction 'is the main point.'

Next he rushed back down to Khartoum, which he reached on May 4, finding the Governor in a fearful state of inactivity, and thence down the Nile all the way to Berber, where we find him on the 17th, to meet his staff and hurry them on. On May 30 he was back at Khartoum, which he left, having had 'some sharp skirmishing with Ismael Ayoub, the Governor.' 'Your brother,' he writes to his sister, 'wrote to him 'and told him he told *stories*. It was undiplomatic of me, 'but it did the Governor-General good.' Then he adds, 'I 'have had trouble enough, and the utter helplessness of those 'about me is lamentable.' On June 26 Gordon was at the entrance of the Saurbat river, among the Shillooks. Here it

is amusing to find that he was forced to become a slave-owner himself, as one of the natives brought over two of his children, aged twelve and nine respectively, and 'sold them to me for a small handful of grain, because he could not keep them.' 'As far as I can see,' he adds, 'the Negro has little or no love for his offspring.' At Saurbat he lingered some time, waiting partly for his staff and partly to catch a convoy of slaves, and Nassar, a noted slave-dealer, to whom they belonged. In the end both Nassar and his slaves and cows were seized, the slaves freed, the cows confiscated to the State, and as for Nassar—well, instead of being hanged, as he richly deserved, he was forgiven by Gordon, and taken into the service on the old principle of setting a thief to catch a thief. This was part of Gordon's policy; and we believe he was right, for if he had waited in those regions till he had found an honest man, he might have returned to Cairo without meeting with the object of his search.

But all this time, what had become of the staff which were creeping up the river after their energetic leader? They arrived, as far as we can make out, about September 1, 1874, and when they came they were in a sad state. One, Willy Anson, had already died on July 27. Poor fellow, he was full of energy, and had given up a good appointment to come out. 'Had he lived,' says Gordon, 'he would have been a great assistance to me.' He was too young, as were most of the rest. 'No man under forty years of age should be here,' says Gordon as each dropped off, 'and then only those who are accustomed to these climates.' Talking of the climate, there can be little doubt, with all Gordon's cheeriness, that it was detestable.

'The Arabs hate these posts,' Gordon writes. 'Their constitutions, unlike ours, cannot stand the wet and damp and dulness of their life. I prefer it, however, infinitely to going out to dinner in England. For young men it is deadening, but if you have passed the meridian of life, and can estimate life at its proper value, viz. as a probation . . . I declare I think there is more happiness among these miserable blacks, who have not a meal from day to day, than among our middle classes. The blacks live in the greatest discomfort, and have not a strip to cover them; but you do not see them grunting and groaning all day long as you see scores and scores in England, with their wretched dinner parties and attempts at gaiety, where all is hollow and miserable. . . . Everything that happens to-day, good or evil, is settled and fixed, and it is no use fretting over it.'

In this frame of mind Gordon reached Gondokoro on September 4, where he held a review of his staff. He himself was in good health, but as for the staff he writes:—

‘Such an amount of work with my sick, the place is a complete hospital. Now I will tell how we started, and what has become of them. Your brother [himself] well, but a shadow. Kemp, engineer, well. Gessi well, has had a severe fever. His Greck servant, ill, more or less; result, no work. Berndorff, German army servant, ill. Mengies, German servant, sent back ill. Russell, ill, cannot be moved, invalided. Anson, dead. De Witt, amateur like Anson, dead. Campbell, ill. Linant, very ill, cannot be moved. Long with King Mtesa. I have not heard of him for six months.’

Rather a weak staff to lean on in addition to his other troubles; but Gordon faced them all. He sent the invalided ones down by steamers to Egypt, and buried Linant when he died soon after. Next he found out that his paragon Abou Saoud had been cheating him and taking elephants’ tusks, falling a victim to the common temptation, ivory, and for that matter, perhaps, to a still greater trial in those parts, ‘black ivory,’ or slaves. Added to this he was presumptuous, and thought himself indispensable, and tried to get up an *émeute* among the Government soldiers recruited from the cannibal Niam-Niams, of whom Schweinfurth wrote so pleasantly; but it was all no use. When it came to the pinch, the cannibal infantry sided with Gordon, and Abou Saoud was dismissed to Gondokoro, which Gordon had now left. But it was not for long: having given him a lesson, Gordon soon afterwards took him back into his service, and we hope he was of great use to him in hunting up the slave-dealers and in confiscating their goods.

Besides re-establishing the Khedive’s rule in Equatoria and curbing the slave-dealers, one great object of Gordon’s mission was to hoist the Khedive’s flag on the Albert Nyanza, and for this purpose a small steamer had been brought up in parts with which Kemp, the engineer, who seems never to have been sick or sorry, was now sent on to a place on the Nile, called Duffli, above which it was feared there might be some rapids. But besides the rapids above Duffli there were some very dangerous tribes below it on one side of the river, and with those, as Gordon would say, it was fated that he should come into collision. It was all in the natural order of things; the soldiers first robbed the negroes, and the negroes shot arrows at them. That was the beginning of the strife, and this was the bad news which Kemp brought from Duffli, 134 miles above Rageef, where Gordon had established himself. He had few troops with him, but in a little while Long, an American colonel, who had left for Mtesa’s country in April, returned on October 20, having had a tussle with Kaba Rega’s

men by the way. He left for Khartoum on the 22nd, to bring up more troops, and shortly afterwards Lieutenants Watson and Chippendale joined him, and were to go on the Albert Lake to survey it. It was high time, for the whole original staff, except Kemp, eight in all, had been invalided and left him. This brings us to the end of 1874. January 1875 brought a letter from Chippendale and Watson to say that they were both ill, and the lake expedition had to be given up, the two officers going home invalided like the rest, after having completed some excellent surveys. At the same time news came to Lardo, a place a little above Gondokoro, that Kaba Rega was plotting treachery against the garrison of Fowiera, the furthest fort in the Khedive's so-called dominions. There was a chief, too, called Bedden, with whom the readers of Baker's book are familiar, who gave Gordon some trouble, but the indefatigable governor fell on him suddenly, spoiled him of his cattle, hunted out some slave-dealers who were with him, and established a post at his *seriba* or cattle crawl. It was at Bedden, on May 14, that Gordon wrote to his sister in this ironical strain:—

‘How refreshing it is to hear of the missionary efforts made in these countries! — wrote me word three mission parties leave shortly for the East coast. One, under Mr. —, takes a steam launch for Lake Nyassa and down. — says he will run the first slave-nuggar he meets on the lake, of course it not signifying one jot who is on board. This reminds one so forcibly of the mission labours of St. Paul and of the spirit of St. John.’

In these parts Gordon remained for some months waiting for the Nile to fall, it being exceptionally high, that he might get his steamers up from Khartoum and try if there was any way of passing the Fola falls, those rapids at Duffli. But before he reached that spot he was fated to have more trouble with the Baris, a tribe which lived on the opposite side of the river. The worst was, that while these natives were brave his Arab soldiers were the riff-raff of the not very brave Egyptian army who had been sent up the Nile in a sort of penal servitude. Added to this, they acted on the principle of the old French master at the Royal Military Academy who, according to Gordon, used to say, ‘Von vife at Paris, von vife in London, dat is de ‘vay to enjoy life.’ It appeared that these Soudan soldiers had a ‘vife’ at every station, and expected them with their babes to go up the country with them to make them comfortable. So that, besides being worthless as soldiers, they hampered all movement by their domestic impedimenta. On July 31, 1875, the expedition started to drag some nuggars, or native boats, up the river, and all went well till one of the

nuggars struck on a rock and stopped the passage for a whole day. Gordon was very despondent.

‘I foresee,’ he writes, ‘that I shall not get the steamer up this year. There are four things to contend with: first, the natural difficulties of the river; second, the march through shy and unknown tribes, who have never seen a foreigner; third, a useless untrustworthy set of soldiers and officers, encumbered with women—there are 128 women and children to 108 soldiery; fourthly, want of good ropes to haul the nuggars’—

which last, we think, would have been reason enough. Just at this time another Linant, a relative of the one that had died, came in from Mtesa and told Gordon there was good hope of getting up. As for natives, according to his own account, says Gordon, he had routed thousands of them on his way down. But boasting, like pride, goes before a fall. As the natives on the other bank were still troublesome, Linant proposed to Gordon to go over a day or two after his arrival and burn their houses. Gordon was afraid lest the natives should attack the steamer, so he consented, and sent with him forty men well armed with abundant ammunition. Some shots were heard, and Linant was seen conspicuous on the hill in a red shirt, a fatal gift which Gordon had bestowed on him, and which wrought the Baris up to fury pitch in their desire to possess it; but that was the last that was seen of him or of most of his soldiers, who were cut off all but three, while their arms fell into the hands of the natives. This disaster naturally delayed further operations up the river, but Gordon was not the man to abandon his purpose. He saw the arms of his soldiers, Sniders and Remingtons, were too good for them, and sent for two hundred men armed with muzzle-loaders, loaded with slugs, and by occasionally making long practice himself at presumptuous natives, he kept them at bay. It was a comfort too to him to be able to write, ‘I am quite independent of the Khedive for money, and have heaps of stores of all sorts; ammunition also. In fact I am semi-independent for a year. We have had 48,000*l.* from the province, and I have spent say 20,000*l.* at the outside, and have 60,000*l.* worth of ivory besides.’

When Gordon had got his new troops he began what he calls ‘taxing’ the natives on his own bank of the river. This was very like what the French call *razzias* in Algeria, and consisted in burning their huts and carrying off their flocks and herds: 200 cows and 1,500 sheep were the result of the first attempt. Meantime the natives on the opposite bank devoted themselves, like Balaam and Balak, to incantations and cursing

the Khedive and his armies. 'I can quite enter on these poor people's misery,' says Gordon, who all through sympathises with them as men after his own heart. 'Rain was their only care before. Now civilisation is to begin with them. They are to be brought into the family of nations.' 'We want our own lands,' they say, 'and you to go away.' Truth to say, Gordon was now getting disgusted with his task. The Egyptians were quite unfit to acquire fresh territory. However, he was consoled by thinking that if he did open the route to the lake and establish a chain of posts up the river to it, the Egyptians would be too timid to harm the natives. 'Some pasha will come, he will be a grand man, will neglect the stations, lose them perhaps, and the whole affair will die out unless they send another foreigner, which they may do. I hope he will have more patience than your brother.' On October 4 he writes:—

'I shall never be fit for anything again, and shall try to retire, if I live till the end of the work.' Then he playfully adds, 'Bananas in the upper country may make me feel better, but I doubt it. I am not fastidious! but cockroach nests in your sugar, rice, &c., do not tempt one to eat! . . . Remember these letters are my journal. They are never wanted to be seen again.'

At last he reached Duffli, and on October 17 writes: '*It is all over.* The falls were quite impracticable, and lasted for two miles. Of course the idea is all over of taking up the screw steamer, or the nuggars, or anything. I bore it well, and for all you could see it might have been a picnic party to the Fola Falls; but it is rather sad, and will give me a mint of trouble and delay.'

To add to his troubles he had shortly after an attack of ague, followed by a complaining letter from the Khedive: how he had done this, and not done that. 'Altogether a very cool letter.' Gordon was furious, and wrote a telegram to the Khedive to send up his successor; as he would be in Cairo in April. Before he sent it, however, he found another letter: 'very fulsome; he would not let me go; grand career, &c. That he had sent three men-of-war to Juba, with 600 men to occupy it, and for me to march on it.' This at once stayed Gordon's anger, for it appealed to his generous feelings. 'Look here,' he writes; 'the man had gone to all this expense under the impression I would stick to him. I could not, therefore, leave him, and I stay, so the telegram was destroyed.' There was one thing, however, on which the Khedive and the Geographical Society and the world in general had set their hearts, which Gordon would not do. He was

to go on the Lake Albert Nyanza and explore it. ‘I told the Khedive in 1874,’ he writes, ‘that I would not go on the lake. I have put everything in the way for any other person to do so, and let him have the honour of history.’ Then he adds, ‘I am not, after nine months of worry, in a fit state to explore anything’—an expression of opinion coupled with some other remarks as to the Geographical Society and other learned and lionising bodies which are enough to make dear old Sir Roderick turn in his grave. But though he could not or would not explore, he could chastise, and he now stretched out his hand to reach Kaba Rega, that obstinate rebel, and depose him from his kingship and his magic stool, and to put Anfina, a pretender to the kingship, on the stool. This and surveying the rest of the Nile up to the lake, and perhaps a visit to Mtesa at his capital Dubaga, were to be his programme for the rest of his stay; but only the surveying, done by himself in excellent style, was ordained to be executed. As for Kaba Rega, he fled from Masindi with his magic stool, and for all we know is now sitting on it defying all the Khedives in the universe. For very good reasons, political as well as material, the visit to Mtesa was abandoned. Gordon has no opinion of that potentate, from whom he received a letter in most extraordinary English, interceding for Kaba Rega, whom he regarded as his vassal, and courteously showing no desire for further acquaintance. Gordon had already sent a force to Dubaga, and now determined to withdraw it, and not to go thither himself, for fear of complications. In truth, Gordon was now longing for home, and had informed the Khedive of his desire to be relieved. He had now been two years and a half in the Nile regions, and was determined to go home. On August 23, 1876, he wrote:—

‘My decision to go home will bring me to Khartoum about the middle of October, to Cairo in January, and home about February 5th, having been absent a few days over three years. My present idea is then to lie in bed till eleven o’clock every day; in the afternoon to walk no further than to the docks, and not to undertake those terrible railway journeys, or to get exposed to the questions of people, and those inevitable dinners—in fact, to get into a dormant state, and stay there till I am obliged to work. I want oysters for lunch.’

He begs that his fur coat may be sent to him at Cairo about December 25, for by that date it will be cold. It is amusing to find, in spite of all Gordon’s protestations about the lake, that in the course of his operations against Kaba Rega and his survey he did embark on it, and still more amusing to read that having telegraphed by anticipation to the Khedive

that he had occupied Mtesa's capital, when in fact he had to withdraw his men, His Highness in return telegraphed his congratulations, and conferred on him the Medjidieh of the first or second class. 'This is dreadful,' he writes, 'for it is obtained on false pretences.' Gordon having finished his surveys, and forced Kaba Rega to fly, started for Khartoum, and reached Cairo on December 5, in twenty days from the former place. He was well received by the authorities, who did not at all like his determination to serve the Khedive no longer.

So Gordon returned to England in December 1876, and soon, we suppose, got so sick of lying in bed till eleven and of eating oysters for lunch, that his determination to serve the Khedive no longer was much shaken. Added to this, the Khedive seems to have known Gordon's worth too well to part with him so soon. To secure his services he made him splendid offers, and turned Ismael Ayoub out of the governor-generalship of the Soudan to put Gordon in. At the same time he made him a field-marshal, 'so I and the Duke of Cambridge are equals;' and in addition to the Soudan gave him the whole coast of the Red Sea, even to Berberch, opposite Aden. He might well call it 'an immense command.' But he was to do work for it. In return for the Red Sea as far as Aden he was to reconcile the Khedive with those troublesome Abyssinians, who, in the most shameful way, had got into the habit of thrashing the Khedive's 'never victorious' armies; and, in recompense for the Soudan, Gordon was to hunt out the far worse slave-dealers of Darfour, who had come to be merely nominal subjects of his Highness. We pass lightly over the Abyssinian difficulty, which Gordon thought overrated, the power of King Johannes being far less than was supposed; but in Darfour he had real work to do, and he set about it like a man. His first act was to disband 6,000 Bashi-Bazouks who guarded the frontier, and, as a matter of course, let the slave caravans pass. 'Let me ask,' he writes, 'who could do that who had not the Almighty with him? . . . I will do it, for I value my life as naught, and should only leave much weariness for perfect peace. . . . I expect to ride 5,000 miles this year, if I am spared.' When we add that all this riding was to be done at full speed on the back of a camel, every reader who knows what camel-riding is will quite appreciate the feat, and any one who does not know what it is may solve the question 'equitando' by mounting the camel at the Zoological Gardens and trotting about on it for an hour or so.

Gordon soon found that it was easier to deal even with the Bashi-Bazouks and their patrons the slave-dealers than with the institution of slavery itself. It was all very well to talk of abolishing it, and to compare it with the emancipation of the slaves of the British colonies. The latter was a local question, and owners could be compensated, but how abolish slavery and compensate owners in a country where the whole fabric of society was based on it, and where everyone was interested in maintaining it? There is the less need, however, to follow Gordon further in the solution of this problem, for we believe that slavery still exists in the Soudan and Darfour, just as much as it did before his rule. But though he could not deal at once with slavery, he could cut off the supply of slaves, and hunt out the slave-traders. To do this he had to devote his attention to Darfour, that was the great haunt of the dealers and their armed bands, especially since the Upper Nile had been made too hot for them. But just at that moment Darfour was in revolt, and the Khedive's troops were hemmed in in three places. On June 7, 1877, Gordon was at Fogia, on the frontier of Darfour, bent on relieving, 'by God's help,' the first beleaguered town, Fasher, with 200 men. When we say 200 men, a governor-general is usually attended by such an escort, but Gordon was mounted on such a 'splendid camel' that he came 'flying' into each station in full marshal's uniform long before the rest of his company. The Arab chief who followed him closest, as a guide, said 'it was the telegraph.' 'It is fearful to see the governor-general, arrayed in gold clothes, flying along like a madman!' No wonder that he had to wait for his troops. But at last they came, and by their help, and by gentle treatment of the rebels, the garrisons were relieved, and Gordon had time to turn to the slave-dealers and to their stronghold, Shaka. This establishment had been founded by one Sebehr, a man who had other establishments along the Nile, who called himself a pasha, and had gone down to Cairo with 100,000*l.* to bribe the authorities. Unhappily for himself, he was detained in the capital against his will, but his interests in Darfour were looked after by his relations and by his son, young Sebehr, who, from what we hear of him, promised to be as great a ruffian as his father. When Gordon came into Darfour, the slave interest at Shaka was deliberating whether they would not fight the Government troops and cut Gordon off. Unfortunately for them, the slavers were not very popular with their neighbours, and as soon as it was known that the new governor, instead of favouring the slavers like

the old one, was against them, one of the most powerful of the tribes, who had been pillaged by Sebehr, fled to Gordon 600 strong, and besought protection. We know that Gordon was not the man to let the grass grow under his feet, so hearing that young Sebehr had left Shaka and advanced to Dara with a view of fighting, Gordon rode thither with a slender escort, met the lad, twenty-two years of age, whom he found a perfect cub, rode through the robber bands, 3,000 strong, completely cowed them, and finally sent the cub back to Shaka with a flea in his ear, to wait the governor's arrival.

On September 7 Gordon started for Shaka with only four companies, 'running,' as he says, 'great risk in going into the 'slaver's nest' with so small a force. He calculated there were 6,000 more slave-dealers in the interior who would all obey him when they heard that Sebehr, the arch-slaver, had given in. On September 14 Gordon reached Shaka, and 'put up,' as we should call it, at Shaka's house, who was as gentle, to all appearance, as a lamb, though it turned out afterwards that he and his friends were still plotting. Gordon gave his orders at once. Young Sebehr was packed off in safe custody to Bahr Gazelle, on the Upper Nile, and the other chiefs to different places. As for the slaves, of which Shaka was full, amounting to several thousands, Gordon carried down a caravan with him when he left the place, but then the question what to do with them baffled him, and, having their chains struck off, he left them with the slave merchant who claimed them. 'He had done no harm in buying them, for 'it is permissible in Egypt. The only remedy is to stop 'slave raids on the frontier.' The rest, we suppose, were disposed of in like manner.

After the foray on the slavers Gordon returned to Khartoum, which he reached on October 16, worn to a shadow, as he well might be, since he had ridden 3,800 miles on camels. There he had to hang 'a noted murderer,' which he hoped would keep the town quiet for some months, and then started for the Abyssinian frontier on that reconciliation business; but finding nothing but delays in King Johannes, he retraced his steps to the capital of his province early in 1878. Though his finances in the Upper Nile had been prosperous, it was not so in the Soudan, all owing to Darfour and the slave-dealers. A deficit in the Soudan means distrust at Cairo, and in some cases disgrace, but Gordon held his appointment in Darfour, and, aided by his able lieutenant, Gessi, in the Nile region, completely routed the slave-dealers headed by old Sebehr. For this purpose he again visited Shaka, and

cleared it completely. We have no space to follow him minutely in those expeditions, but just when they ended a blow fell on the Khedive, who had to feel that the same fate was in store for him which he had so often dealt out to his servants. On July 1, 1879, Gordon writes: 'I found here [Fogia, in Darfour] a telegram from Cherif Pasha, telling me that the Sultan had named Tewfik Pasha Khedive, and that I was to proclaim it in the Soudan with salutes.' We need not say that Gordon obeyed the order, though he was at first loth to serve under Tewfik. At last he relented, and was despatched on a fresh Abyssinian mission, where he and his followers were made captive, but soon released, owing to Gordon's firmness. The work he had done in his incessant journeys had exhausted even his iron frame. On his return to Alexandria the physicians imperatively ordered rest and freedom from excitement. This advice it was easier to receive than to follow. Gordon went home. But he was not made to lie in bed till eleven, to have oysters for lunch, and, least of all, to dine out. After hastily accepting the appointment of private secretary to Lord Ripon, which, happily for himself, he dropped like a hot coal, he received a call for China, and flew to render service to a nation which he appears to prefer to all others. 'His stay in China was not long,' says Mr. Hill. It was, however, long enough to render the world a priceless work, and he left with the knowledge that peace was maintained between the great empires China and Russia. When his work was ended he returned home, much touched by the kindness shown to him throughout by the military authorities in England.

Here we take our leave of Gordon and Central Africa. There can be no doubt that England possesses in him an extraordinary man, and that his true place is not in courts and crowded cities, but in the waste places of the earth, and in leading masses of half-civilized men to enter and subdue them. For such men there is still room in all quarters of the globe, and we have little doubt that we shall still hear of Chinese Gordon as foremost in some one of them. He is a man, in short, of a rare nature: he believes both in God and himself, and in that belief this book shows that he has been able to accomplish deeds which few other men would even have thought of attempting. Finally, we must say one word for Mr. Hill, who has successfully completed a very difficult task in editing those letters, all, without exception, written to Gordon's sister. With their publication Colonel Gordon would have nothing to do. He would not see or correspond with

the editor, still less would he read Mr. Hill's manuscript or correct the proofs. It was enough for him to have written the letters. He expressly says that he never cared to see them again, and, so far as the book is concerned, he would give it no more help than if he had been dead. Mr. Hill has, however, brought Gordon to life again by publishing these letters so carefully; and as it is not often that a 'dead man' has the opportunity of thanking his literary executor, we think that Colonel Gordon should lose no time in discharging that duty. He can scarcely object to do this, for, according to his own view, this book also must have been preordained to be published.

ART. X.—*Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years, from 1866 to 1880.* Twenty-eighth Number. Presented to both Houses of Parliament: 1881.

THE results of the General Election of last year are gradually developing themselves. At first, so unexpected was the blow and so great the discomfiture, that the Tory party lost all power of clear political vision, and, being for months in a mist and a darkness, went about like a well-known character in Church history, seeking for some to lead them by the hand. Many guides presented themselves, more or less skilled in their art, and the puzzled sufferer, trusting sometimes one, sometimes another, made but little way in that pilgrimage which the Outs have always to perform in their efforts to return to the Promised Land. Something, it was clear, must be done. The Ministry must be discredited, and that terrible majority in some way or other be broken up. Several schemes were tried. There was the Bradlaugh question, annoying and distasteful in the extreme to many members of the Liberal party, and perhaps more than to any other to their chief. There was the Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill, which certainly achieved the result of reducing the majority, on that question alone, by more than fifty. There were the military mishaps of Asia and of Africa. There was the extreme difficulty of managing the irreconcilables in the House of Commons. Still, the Government held its own. It had an enormous superiority of debating power; it had the most loyal support perhaps which any government ever received from a following composed of so many independent thinkers and hard-headed practical men as those who sit on the right of the Speaker. Something must

be done, some question must be raised, to break down the Liberal strength in the boroughs, for at that time at all events it did not appear as if the counties would be hopeful subjects of an experiment. Yet, if something could be devised which might sap the faith of the boroughs and tempt the private interests of the counties, how good and how pleasant it would be for the Tory party! Might not advantage be taken of the depression in trade before it passed away, and old doctrines of Protection be revived, sounding just as sweet when called by the name of Reciprocity or the name of Fair Trade, and serving to unite in opposition to the Ministry a discordant throng, bent on helping themselves by securing special advantages, each for their own trade, at the expense of the general advantage of the Commonwealth?

An eminent member of the Anti-Corn Law League, many years ago, being remonstrated with for some breach in his own conduct of the economic laws he was so fond of preaching to others, replied in broad Lancastrian speech, 'Lord love ye, Sir, we are all for ourselves in this world.' A splendid principle, worthy of adoption by a great party, and particularly by the political legatees of the late Lord Beaconsfield. But how was this inverted altruism to be put in practice? It was a somewhat ticklish business, particularly as the leader of the party in the House of Commons was supposed to have a conscience, and known to have opinions diametrically at variance with the new propaganda. So the matter smouldered for months, but at last an opportunity offered of which the New School were prompt to avail themselves. A vacancy occurred in the Parliamentary borough of Preston. Mr. Hermon died suddenly. He was a most respectable and worthy Tory member, who had taken some part in preaching the new doctrines while he was alive, and whose personal property, accumulated under Free Trade, has since his death been sworn under 588,600*l*. The party to which he belonged brought forward a certain Mr. Ecroyd, and carried their candidate by a majority of 1,600. He advocated import duties, craftily adjusting his theories to the supposed interests of the cotton and linen trade of Preston. Soon after, a crowded meeting was held at Bradford, in which ideas of retaliation were broached and eagerly supported. Leeds too spoke out, and Glasgow was not altogether voiceless on the subject of hostile tariffs and 'one-sided Free Trade,' while Bristol and the Tower Hamlets were particularly moved on the question of the sugar bounties, which, they alleged, had destroyed the sugar-refining industry of England and thrown many thousands of

workmen out of employment. In the country too the apostles of retrogression had not been idle. When farmers are in distress and land is undergoing a process which is known by the name of *going out of cultivation*, but which is really nothing more than a controversy between landlords and tenants as to the amount of rent which the state of the markets enables the farmer to pay,—it is not difficult to persuade an agricultural audience that it will be well to put a duty on foreign wheat; and although the dullest cultivator of the soil must see that rent is one of his principal burdens, there is so much of identity of feeling between landlords and tenants in England—the tenants not unfrequently owning the land, and the landlords sometimes occupying the land of others—that popular feeling among the two classes rather points to such remedies as protective duties than to the simpler and more straightforward experiment of lowering the rent of land. So the farmer wants a tax on American wheat, and the cotton spinner wants to shut out French calico, and the iron-master complains of the admission of German castings, and the Bradford operative grumbles at the increase of imported woollen goods, and the Coventry man at the introduction of foreign ribbons, and close at the ear of each is a cunning spirit suggesting Protection or Reciprocity or some such nostrum, to be applied in aid of that particular industry with which it may happen to be connected. The results of two or three recent elections show that these suggestions have had some effect, and we may see by the Sheffield speech of Sir Stafford Northcote that he, pledged to the hilt as he is to Free Trade opinions, is, as the ‘Pall Mall Gazette’ wittily expressed it, ‘taking his seat on the fence,’ ready to jump down when he sees a little more clearly whether the Protectionist side or the Free Trade side is the safer for his purpose. He is a Free Trader; but he wishes all trade to be fair, and he wishes also to retain his position as leader of the Opposition.

Shortly to speak, it is alleged that Free Trade and its advantages have been frustrated by foreign tariffs, and that the only way to get back prosperity is by imitating the procedure of our foreign rivals. The truth is that the doctrines of Free Trade, even when they are as clear and demonstrative as the problems of Euclid, require to be preached afresh to each generation, and the men who sat at the feet of Bastiat and Cobden, Mill and McCulloch, having most of them passed from the scene, their successors will not take it amiss if we endeavour, in few and simple words, to state afresh some truths

which have been so long taken for granted that the proofs of them are well-nigh forgotten.

Sir Stafford Northcote, in a book published in 1862,* sums up what he had to say in a remarkable sentence, which we may quote as not less applicable to our present circumstances than it was when originally written, a sentence which we commend to the perusal of his mutinous supporters in the House of Commons, and which perhaps might not be productive of ill effects, if it were studied by the policy-seeking leader of the party in the other branch of the Legislature.

‘The great fiscal and commercial measures of the last twenty years have wrought a wonderful change in the circumstances of the country. A complete revolution has taken place in many parts of our moral, social, and political system, which may be directly traced, either wholly or in great part, to those measures. Our material wealth, too, has enormously increased; our trade has developed, and our manufactures have been carried to great perfection. There have been seasons of temporary, local, and partial suffering, and the changes which have proved beneficial to the public have sometimes pressed hardly upon particular interests; but, upon the whole, it can hardly be questioned that the condition of every portion of the community has been greatly improved by the new policy.’

This sentence was published in 1862. Is it still true in 1881? Is it not still more true now than it was when it was written?

* A straightforward answer to this question is much to be desired, not but that we have examples before us of a very different course. A Quarterly contemporary has inserted in the most conspicuous place an article, evidently intended at once to feel for and to fan some popular sentiment. Crammed with pessimist suggestions, it nowhere enunciates a policy; but though it shrinks from the assertion that our trade has diminished as a whole, it paints such a picture of local depression as would lead the careless or uninformed reader to believe that the country was on the verge of ruin. We have not attempted to verify all the statistical statements of this writer, but if they are not more accurate than those which we analyse in the note below, we must be permitted to say that they are utterly misleading and worthless.†

* *Twenty Years of Financial Policy*, p. 361.

† Statement of the ‘*Quarterly Review*,’ July 1881, p. 293:—

Imports in 1880	.	.	.	.	.	£ 409,990,056
Exports	„	.	.	.	.	222,810,526
Excess of Imports	.	.	.	.	.	<u>187,179,530</u>

It is not, however, so much on matters of statistics that we join issue with our contemporary as on the principles on which

We subjoin the real figures :—

Imports in 1880	.	.	.	.	.	.	£ 411,229,565
Ditto bullion	.	.	.	.	.	.	16,253,883
							<hr/> 427,483,448

Exports, British produce	.	.	.	.	.	£ 223,060,446
Ditto, foreign and colonial produce	63,354,020
Ditto, bullion	18,889,503
						<hr/> 305,303,969

Excess of Imports	122,179,479
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Only 65 millions wrong !

The figures for 1879 are equally inaccurate : the imports exceeded the exports, not by 170,595,983*l.*, but by 109,779,117*l.*, so that here our Quarterly contemporary is wrong by 60,816,836*l.* (Statistical Abstract for United Kingdom, No. 28, pp. 49, 77, 79, 90, 93.) In another part of this veracious composition we are told that ‘influential journals’ have been called upon to record ‘a continuous decline in our ‘export trade with Germany during the past twelve years amounting ‘to 33½ per cent.; with Holland to 36 per cent.; with the United ‘States to 28 per cent.’ In illustration of this statement we extract a few figures from the same Statistical Abstract, pp. 30, 31, *seq.*

Value of total Exports to :—

1. Germany—					£
1868	.	.	.	.	32,309,929
1880	.	.	.	.	29,055,844
					<hr/> 3,254,081

or about 10 per cent. instead of 33½ per cent. decrease.

2. Holland—					£
1868	.	.	.	.	16,698,827
1880	.	.	.	.	15,654,364
					<hr/> 1,044,463

or about 6 per cent. instead of 36 per cent. decrease.

3. United States—					£
1868	.	.	.	.	23,801,851
1880	.	.	.	.	37,954,192
					<hr/> 14,152,341

or about 60 per cent. increase instead of 28 per cent. decrease.

We can hardly believe our eyes at these portentous blunders; but so the matter stands, as a reference to the Statistical Abstract just published will show.

he founds his argument, if argument it can be called. He goes through a long list of statements, which may or may not be accurate, as to a local and partial decline of trade in England; he says, what anybody may well believe, that in certain important manufacturing centres there is great dissatisfaction, discontent, and even privation, co-existing with diminished employment. He points to the fact that in some counties of England there are considerable acreages unoccupied, or held at very much diminished rents; but, when he suggests a cause, he takes very good care not to refer to the general imbroglio of continental politics which the late Government and their precious Imperialism did so much to create and extend, nor to the feeling of distrust which that imbroglio awakened; still less does he ascribe our commercial dulness to a cause which is patent on the very surface—the deficient harvests of the last three years. Our contemporary is far too cautious to take this simple and straightforward course, but he hints at hostile tariffs and suggests retaliatory duties, and in the most generous spirit proffers the Conservative party to a neglectful nation as those on whom the duty may devolve of pointing out the remedy for commercial distress. Had the Conservative party any patriotism, they might have pointed out the remedy long ago, if they knew it. But it is worth while to remark that one of Lord Beaconsfield's last speeches in the House of Lords was an emphatic condemnation of the retaliatory system of import duties.

There is a charming passage in the ‘*Sophismes Economiques*’ of Bastiat, which applies with such curious appropriateness to the course adopted by our contemporary that we do not apologise for transcribing it into these columns, though we must remind our readers that it was written in January 1848:—

‘POST HOC ERGO PROPTER HOC.

‘This is the greatest and most common fallacy in reasoning.

‘Real sufferings, for example, have manifested themselves in England.

‘These sufferings come in the train of two other phenomena:

‘1. The reformed tariff.

‘2. Two bad harvests in succession.

‘To which of these two last circumstances are we to attribute the first?

‘The Protectionists exclaim:

‘It is this accursed Free Trade which does all the harm. It promised us wonderful things; we accepted it, and here are our manufactures at a stand-still, and the people suffering. *Cum hoc ergo propter hoc.*

‘Free Trade distributes in the most uniform and equitable manner the fruits which Providence accords to human labour. If we are deprived of part of these fruits by natural causes, such as a succession of bad seasons, Free Trade does not fail to distribute in the same manner what remains. Men are, no doubt, not so well provided with what they want; but are we to impute this to Free Trade or to bad harvests? . . .

‘In 1842, 1843, and 1844 the reduction of taxes began in England. At the same time the harvests were very abundant; and we are led to conclude that these two circumstances concurred in producing the unparalleled prosperity which England enjoyed during that period.

‘In 1845 the harvest was bad; and in 1846 worse still.

‘Provisions rose in price, and the people were forced to expend their resources on first necessities, and to limit their consumption of other commodities. Clothing was less in demand, manufactories had less work, and wages tended to fall.

‘Fortunately, in that same year, the barriers of restriction were still more effectually removed, and an enormous quantity of provisions reached the English market. Had this not been so, it is nearly certain that a formidable revolution would have taken place.

‘And yet Free Trade is blamed for disasters which it tended to prevent, and in part to repair.

‘A poor leper lived in solitude. Whatever he happened to touch, no one else would touch. Obligated to pine in solitude, he led a miserable existence. An eminent physician cured him, and now our poor hermit was admitted to all the benefits of *Free Trade*, and had full *liberty* to effect *exchanges*. What brilliant prospects were opened to him! He delighted in calculating the advantages which, through his restored intercourse with his fellow men, he was able to derive from his own vigorous exertions. He happened to break both his arms, and was landed in poverty and misery. The journalists who were witnesses of that misery said, “See to what this liberty of making exchanges has reduced him! Verily he was less to be pitied when he lived alone.” “What!” said the physician, “do you make no allowance for his broken arms? Has that accident nothing to do with his present unhappy state? His misfortune arises from his having lost the use of his hands, and not from his having been cured of his leprosy. He would have been a fitter subject for your compassion had he been lame, and leprous into the bargain!”

. ‘*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* Beware of that sophism.’

Our contemporary has not been aware of this sophism; or, rather, being well aware of it, has used it for his own purpose—the purpose, if possible, of stirring up discontent in the minds of the working classes, and of suggesting to those who have lost the use of their hands for a time, that it would be better to suffer from a permanent than from a temporary malady.

His suggestions, however, are not confined to depreciation

of the working of Free Trade in England, but he proceeds to press upon his readers the real or supposed prosperity of other countries where Protectionist practices prevail. Notably, the prosperity of the United States. Let us remark, *in limine*, that although the United States have for certain reasons—as we think bad ones—imposed import duties on the produce of other countries, yet that, as between the States themselves, perfect freedom of commercial intercourse prevails. And the community which finds free commercial intercourse, imposed as it is by their Constitution, a state of things entirely unobjectionable, consists of fifty millions of persons, and extends over a territory larger than Europe. But what does the American farmer say as to the effect of Protection on his interests? We extract from the ‘Chicago Times’ of April 16, which contains a letter entitled ‘The Tariff that ‘Robs,’ written by one of the farming class. He asks the question, ‘How does Protection affect the Iowa farmer?’—the state of Iowa containing about sixty per cent. of agriculturists.

‘In the first place, it denies him the comforts of life. If he buys a pound of sugar that costs the English farmer seven cents, he pays twelve cents. . . . He wears coarse clothing because the suit that he could buy in Canada for 15 dollars he is asked at least 25 dollars for in Iowa, and often 30 dollars. . . . His wife goes to church in a dress of her own making, the material for which cost her 10 dollars—six for the goods and four for Protection. . . . Her calico wrapper costs a dollar, and ought to cost 70 cents at the outside. Her flannel skirt costs her two dollars instead of one. And so it is all the year round. Every rag of clothing for the family, every towel, table-cloth, and napkin, every dish, knife, spoon, pot, stove, and even much of the furniture, cost from 35 to 125 per cent. more than it should do, because of Protection. From the clout and the cradle to the coffin and the tombstone, it is a constant dead expense. The girls cannot have a doll without paying 35 per cent. more than it is worth. If the boys have any lingering respect for a Government that treats their sisters in this way, they may celebrate its reputed birthday with crackers taxed one dollar a box—122 per cent. Taking it for an average, I am fully satisfied that the farmer gets, of the ordinary comforts of life, what ought to cost him 100 dollars for not less than 150 dollars. . . . But it is not only in their living expenses that they are despoiled. The duty on agricultural machinery is 35 per cent. Every plough and hoe costs more because of Protection. An Oswego steel fork, *such as are shipped to England and retailed to the farmers there at 85 cents*, is sold here at one dollar. . . . The duty on steel wire is 2½ cents per pound, and the effect of the duty is to add at least 3 cents to the price. Counting a pound to the rod, it would cost to fence Iowa into forty-acre lots, with a line on every section line, 5,000,000 dollars for the

Protection on each wire in the fence. For the ordinary three-wire fence the spoliation would be 15,000,000 dollars. . . .

‘I now turn to the effect of Protection on the Iowa farmer’s crops after he has harvested them. . . . The duty on steel rails is 28 dollars per ton. This increases the cost of one laying by 2,500 to 3,500 dollars a mile . . . and allowing for renewal, adds 5,000 to 7,000 dollars a mile to the cost of railroads. The dividend on this has to be paid by those who use the roads. So with equipment and all similar expenses. This being a corn-growing state, and corn being a bulky crop, Iowa is especially injured by this class of duties.’

The writer goes on to quote an address by Governor Gear, in which occur the following words:—

‘To a state whose products are in the main agricultural, anything which enhances the cost of railways . . . is a question of great interest. In view of their greater strength and durability . . . all the Great Trunk Railway lines are adopting Bessemer steel rails. The manufacture of this class of rails in the United States is controlled by a combination of, not exceeding, I think, ten firms in number.* . . . It may well be considered whether it is a wise legislation, by a tariff exceptional in its character, to put immense profits into the pockets of a monopoly composed of but few persons, at the expense indirectly not only of Iowa farmers, but of the whole West.’

He then goes on:—

‘General Gear probably knows that the American ring began to manufacture at 28 dollars advance on the English price, and that they continue to do so—inasmuch that many western roads are now buying English rails and paying the duty on them.’

We may observe that in 1880 the value of the iron and steel exported from this country to the United States was upwards of ten millions of money, being very nearly double the value exported in 1879.†

‘Iowa farmers are beginning to learn that as a result of Protection they have to pay foreigners instead of Americans to transport their crops across the ocean. . . . Practically the Iowa farmer has to pay the expenses of the trip to Liverpool with his grain, and of the trip back in ballast, because he is not allowed to buy in England what the ship would bring this way. . . . Our prices are fixed in Liverpool, and what we get here, whether our wheat stops in Pennsylvania or goes to Europe, is the Liverpool price, less an artificially increased cost of freight hence. . . .

‘Is anything lacking to show that for Iowa, at least, Protection is a

* Number of completed Bessemer steel works, March 1, 1880, eleven.

† Twenty-fifth Report on Customs, p. 27.

humbug? . . . I am afraid I have already said too much. . But proximity on this theme will be pardoned in one who was born on an Iowa farm, in a log house *on that*, and who knows by lifelong observation what a humbug Protection is to Iowa. Humbug, did I say? Deliberately as it was planned, it is an infamous, diabolical crime.'

We have quoted^a at length from this remarkable letter, as it seems to show that whatever the 'rings' of the Eastern States may think of Protection, it is not too popular in the West. Moreover, it must be remembered that, before many years are over, the object which the framers of the tariff of 1867 had in view will have been effected. The United States before the war had literally no debt, and although they succeeded in gratifying the national vanity by creating a debt during the war equalling at least the debt of the mother country, as soon as the war was ended they set themselves resolutely to work to clear it off. This they have done partly by improved credit, lowering the annual charge, but more especially by this system of import duties of which our new school are so enamoured. Before many years are over the debt will have disappeared—it is going at the rate of 20,000,000*l.* a year—and then, unless, as has been suggested, the United States Government offered a yearly dole to their subjects, it would be hard to know what to do with the produce of this tariff. At that time, whenever it comes—and it will not be long—these duties will disappear; they are already felt to be most burdensome to a large and constantly increasing part of the population, and, year by year, every immigrant who travels west will swell the cry for their repeal.

We do not wish to waste words in reply to our contemporary's vague assertions as to American prosperity. If the States were not prosperous it would be indeed a marvel. But is their prosperity owing to, or in spite of, Protection? We have seen what the Western farmer says as to the influence of protective duties on agriculture. Let us take one more instance—the carrying trade. There was a tonnage of 1,269,057 tons entered at seaports of the United States *from foreign countries* during the year ending June 30, 1856; the *home* tonnage during the same period being 3,194,275 tons, or as nearly as possible in the proportion of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. During the year ending June 30, 1880, the foreign tonnage entered was 12,112,160 tons, while the home tonnage stood at 3,128,374 tons, or as nearly as possible in the proportion of 1 to $2\frac{3}{4}$. So that, while the home tonnage slightly decreased, the foreign tonnage had increased more than nine and a half times; and

of this foreign tonnage about two-thirds is British.* Will our contemporary attempt to deny that this remarkable change in the proportions between the commercial navy of the United States and the commercial navy of the other countries enumerated, and notably of Great Britain, arises from the fact that the American tariff renders it impossible for their ship-builders to compete with ours? They have more coal, more iron, as good workmen, and yet the commercial marine of the States is, to use the words of Mr. Beck, uttered in the Senate of the United States, January 17, 1881, 'utterly prostrate.'

There is a curious amount of ignorance in the article to which we have been referring, which makes the reader wonder whence it can have been contributed. Men of any moderate amount of culture are generally aware that knowledge has, not without reason, but with a view to general convenience, been divided into departments, and those again arranged under smaller divisions. For example, the science of politics contains within it certain subdivisions, one of which is political economy. There is no doubt that facts have been collected

* Extract from Reports of Secretaries of Legation, No. 20 (1881), pp. 285-6.

Nationality of Tonnage	Year ended June 30		Increase
	1856	1880	
	Tons	Tons	Tons
British . . .	935,180	7,903,059	6,967,879
German . . .	166,837	1,089,740	922,903
Norwegian and Swedish . . .	20,622	1,231,720	1,214,098
Italian . . .	15,677	612,584	596,907
French . . .	23,935	232,317	208,412
Spanish . . .	62,813	222,196	161,683
Austrian . . .	1,477	206,349	204,872
Belgian . . .	200	226,477	226,277
Russian . . .	40	104,049	104,009
Dutch . . .	16,892	27,151	10,279
Danish . . .	5,838	69,350	63,512
Portuguese . .	4,722	24,449	19,722
All other foreign .	14,819	154,389	139,570
Total foreign .	1,269,057	12,112,160	10,843,103
Total American .	3,194,275	3,128,374	(decrease) 65,901
Aggregate .	4,463,332	15,240,534	10,777,202

on the subject of national wealth and national exchanges, and there is no doubt either that deductions have been made from these facts constituting axioms in that department of knowledge which is known under a certain name, the name of political economy. To sneer at these deduction as 'theories,' and to say that such and such people 'have but a poor opinion of political economy,' does not alter the facts, any more than sneering at the Newtonian system of astronomy alters the positions of the planets. Something must be true in political economy; it only remains to determine what that something is. Our contemporary, whose 'untutored mind' sees national prosperity in a surplus of exports, is, no doubt, in error; but he is none the less a political economist turned the wrong way uppermost. He thinks that to raise the price of manufactures by Protection, as the Yankees do, increases the demand for those manufactures, raises wages, and adds to the prosperity of the country. Be it so; but in exercising his faculties even to so little purpose as to draw these absurd conclusions, he is a political economist, although, like the dying Goethe, he wants 'more light.'

Let us look for a moment at this assertion about wages. 'If Protection causes artisans to pay more' (in America) 'for clothing and other articles than they did at home, they got more work and higher wages.' Is this the case, or is it not? Is work easier to get, and are wages higher owing to Protection—that is, owing to the exclusion of foreign competition? And, first of all, what are wages? They have been defined to be the co-operation of past and present labour. In other words, the payment of wages is the means by which capital, which is the result of past labour, endeavours to make itself profitable by the employment of present labour. There could be no wages paid or labour employed where there is no capital. The demand for labour depends then on the amount of capital which is disposable in a country. But the exclusion of any class of products by what is called Protection, in no way increases or diminishes that amount of capital. All it can do is to tempt capital out of non-protected trades into protected trades, varying the employment, but not by one farthing increasing the amount of that capital. Does such exclusion then increase the rate of wages? In the protected trades it may, but only at the expense of the non-protected trades, for the simple reason that the amount of capital spendable in wages is not altered by the exclusion of certain classes of foreign manufactures. On what then does the rate of wages depend? Simply on the proportion which the supply of labour

bears to the demand for it. And this is in no respect affected by Protection. It follows, then, that Protection cannot and does not raise wages, as it in no way affects any of the elements on which the rate of wages depends.

Perhaps our contemporary will be able to follow the argument better if we put a case, a case which will only be the fulfilment of his own aspirations. Suppose a General Election. The working man, beguiled by the eloquence of the member for Preston and the member for Birkenhead, rushes to the polls all over the three kingdoms, and returns a triumphant majority of Protectionist candidates. The policy of the last forty years is to be promptly reversed. Sir Stafford Northcote, like a respectable and conscientious man as, in spite of his Sheffield speech, we believe him to be, refuses the task. Mr. MacIver is posted at the Exchequer, and Mr. Ercroft at the Board of Trade. A ten per cent. duty is placed on all articles of foreign produce. It had been intended to exempt Canadian wheat from the tax, but it is found that 'our depressed and 'harassed agriculturists' will not be satisfied with an arrangement by which all the wheat of the States will come in at a side door, and wheat accordingly shares the impost with other produce. Bradford and Preston illuminate, and Mr. Gladstone is burnt in effigy in all the principal manufacturing and agricultural towns. A year passes over and there springs up a general belief of an imminent millennium. Somehow or other, however, incomes do not appear to go so far as they did. The butcher's bill is larger. The grocer's bill is larger. The draper's bill is larger. Those who drink wine have more to pay for it, and there is a corresponding 'appreciation' in the price of spirits. And, worst of all, the labourers who only got just enough to make ends meet when bread was cheap, are forced to subsist on short rations, or to take refuge in the Union now bread is dear. It is, to be sure, a source of great satisfaction to the working man that the income tax (which he did *not* pay) has been found to be no longer required; but, after all, wages don't rise. The cause is evident. Less can be bought of all consumable articles for the same money, and the result is that the demand for those articles diminishes; and the need of that labour by which they are produced falls off. First luxuries, then conveniences, and last of all even necessaries, are in less demand. 100% a year goes only as far as 90% used to go; servants are dismissed, railway journeys are minimised, carriages are laid down, economies are practised on every hand, and the two masters looking for one man are changed into the two men looking for one master. This is no fancy picture. It

must be so until the happy day when two and two make five, or until politicians discover for a second time that universal dearness is inconsistent with national prosperity.

Our Quarterly contemporary, though he seems to have put a duty nearly prohibitory on all importations of common sense into his own 'inner consciousness,' has no monopoly of ignorance. There is a paper in the 'Nineteenth Century' for August, which perhaps bears away the palm for ingenious mistakes. Fancy a political economist putting as a probable case the following!

'Will foreign nations buy more of *our* goods because we put a duty on *their* goods?' (Who ever thought they would?) 'Certainly not.' (Wonderful discovery, immediately succeeded by a portentous blunder.) 'They will continue to buy from us just what they do now, neither more nor less; . . . but on the other hand we should buy 40,000,000*l.* or 50,000,000*l.* less of their goods' (why these exact sums we are not told), 'and consume 40,000,000*l.* or 50,000,000*l.* more of our own goods.' How then are we to be paid for these exports, which are to be neither more nor less than they were before? Not in goods, which is the universal way in which nations pay each other, for we have determined not to take their goods; then in bullion, with the result of raising enormously the price of every description of consumable article in this country, and, as a natural and inevitable consequence, diminishing the money value of wages, and the spending power of the consumer.* We should like to be told how long this state of things could continue, and for how many years foreign nations would find 40,000,000*l.* or 50,000,000*l.* of bullion to pay for our manufactures. It is clear that neither the writer of this article nor our Quarterly contemporary have put before themselves the nature of international trade. They evidently look upon exportation and importation as two entirely distinct operations, in the first of which the nation *sells* an article, and is paid for it; and in the second *buys* an article and pays for it: forgetting that the two operations are inseparably connected. Feeling that the more any tradesman sells at a profit, and the less he buys for his own consumption, the faster he will grow rich, Sir Edward Sullivan, and writers of his class, are misled by the false analogy between the two cases, and hence look upon a surplus of imports as a national misfortune. Our Quarterly contemporary, for example, asks the question in

* The whole coinage of the country is supposed to amount to not more than 120 millions sterling.

good faith and puts it as an *argumentum ad absurdum*. 'Why bother ourselves with any exports at all? Why not do away with them altogether and confine ourselves to the import trade?' Why, indeed? Simply because that in some way or other we must pay for the imports, which in other words are the things that we want, and that one principal way of paying for imports is by manufacturing and sending out exports.

Take the case of an ordinary tradesman, remembering that there is no difference, except in amount, between the transactions of a village shop and of a great country. A tradesman starts with a certain stock of goods, worth, we will say, 1,000*l*. Within some certain time or other he sells the whole of this stock, which he replaces with other stock, if he wishes to continue his business, or for which he receives a price in money if he wishes to wind it up. It is evident that the larger the price he gets for this stock, or the greater the amount of stock by which he replaces the original stock, the better and more profitable his business is. If he gets in exchange for his original stock a fresh stock worth more than 1,000*l*., or if he gets more than 1,000*l*. in money as the price of his original stock when sold, he will have made a profit. But the selling of the original stock in the case of a tradesman exactly corresponds to the act of exporting in the case of a nation, and the receiving a price in cash or the renewing of the stock in the case of a tradesman exactly corresponds to the act of importing in a nation. It follows, therefore, that unless the imports exceed the exports, trade cannot be profitable.

It is almost incredible that men of ordinary understanding should blunder so hopelessly as to this question of exports and imports; but so it is, and we believe that it arises partly in the way we have mentioned. Another Protectionist craze, however, has no doubt something to do with it. It is the habit of this school, if school it can be called, to look upon wages as the one thing needful. Forgetting that wages are useless unless paid for profitable labour, they assume that anything which tends to increase employment in a country must necessarily be good for the prosperity of that country. At first sight it might be supposed that to increase exports and to discourage imports would contribute to increase the amount of employment and so add to national wealth. But the fact is, that by discouraging imports, and by encouraging 'native industry,' the consumer has to pay more than he otherwise would do for what he wants; native industry is made less productive than it would be if freely exercised; labour is wasted, and the result of a greater number of hours of work becomes no greater than that of a smaller number of hours because applied to articles

in the manufacture of which an English workman is inferior to a foreigner.

Sir Edward Sullivan is, however, not content with suggesting a return to import duties on manufactures. He asks the question whether a five-shilling duty on corn—by which we presume he means wheat—would benefit the working classes; and he says if it merely raised bread a halfpenny a quartern it would not. This is surely rather a mild way of talking of what would be a great national misfortune. But he goes on to say that a five-shilling duty (on wheat) means a food tax of (only) 6*d.* per week on every large family, and treats this as a trifle. A correspondent of the 'Economist' points out* that there is many a large family the income of which is not above 15*s.* a week, say 40*l.* a year, and that a tax of 6*d.* a week—26*s.* a year—would be a tax on that family equal to about ten and a half days' wages, or 3¼ per cent. on the income, and nearly as bad as an eightpenny income tax. Sir E. Sullivan calculates the produce of the tax at six millions and a quarter, and says, without the slightest attempt at proof, which indeed would be impossible, that more than half would have gone into the Treasury. The whole tax would go into the Treasury, being a customs duty; and the correspondent of the 'Economist' is in error in saying that half would go into the pockets of the landlords. What would go into the pockets of the landlords would be not this, but a still larger sum arising from the enhancement of the price of every quarter of wheat grown in the United Kingdom, to say nothing of all other produce; for Sir Edward Sullivan, though talking merely of wheat in the sentence to which we refer (p. 180), contemplates a general reimposition of import duties, bringing with it a general rise in the price of articles of consumption. And what does that mean?

We may take the population of the British Isles at 35,000,000. It has been calculated that the consumption per head per annum of the following articles amounts in quantity and price as under:

	£	s.	d.
Manufactures	14	0	0
Wheat, 10 bushels at 48 <i>s.</i>	3	0	0
Meat, 1 cwt. at 64 <i>s.</i>	3	4	0
Butter, 12 lbs. at 1 <i>s.</i>	0	12	0
Cheese, 15 lbs. at 8 <i>d.</i>	0	10	0
Sugar, 63 lbs. at 3 <i>d.</i>	0	15	9
Tea, 4½ lbs. at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	0	11	3
Sundries, say	1	7	0
	24	0	0

* Economist, August 27, 1881.

Multiply by number of population, or by 35,000,000, and we get a sum of 840,000,000*l.* to represent the consumption of the country. Sir Edward Sullivan's trifle of ten per cent. increase in the price of these articles will produce this effect, that it will take 84,000,000*l.* sterling more in each year to feed and clothe this country—in other words, the country, at the end of the first year of Protection, will have spent 84,000,000*l.* more than the year before, to produce the same results in clothing and feeding themselves; a sum just equal to the whole taxation for all purposes; and have 84,000,000*l.* less to add to the fund of savings. But, these lucid reasoners will reply, if you raise the price of all these things you will raise the price of the wages of those who produce them. First of all, this cannot be true of those articles which are produced abroad—the flour, the tea, the sugar—to say nothing of the raw material of manufacture, as to the taxing of which, by the bye, we hear nothing. But as to articles of home produce, is it not perfectly evident that as the price of them rises the demand for them will fall? or at all events the power of buying them will diminish? We have divided these articles into three classes, luxuries, conveniences, necessities. As to luxuries, there will always be people with so great a superfluity of income that they will continue to buy, whatever the price; but there will be others to whom the price will be an object, and who, though while the price was low they indulged in them, when the price becomes higher would abstain. So as to conveniences, which are in fact minor luxuries, those who abstained from luxuries because of the price might, many of them, still indulge in conveniences, though many others would have to content themselves with doing without. So far, high prices might only be a Spartan discipline not without its benefits. But what shall we say of the vast class dependent for subsistence on weekly wages? They have just enough, in homely phrase, 'for back and belly,' and any rise in the price of food must result in their being underfed or underclothed. First, rags will succeed decent clothing; and then semi-starvation or public support will succeed a state of things where there was enough for a family to eat, but no surplus even for clothes. How then, when it is only the class who have a superfluous income who do not feel a rise in prices, when in fact the demand for commodities diminishes in every class except one, and that the least numerous one, how is it possible that wages will rise? Is it not, on the other hand, judging by past experience in the opposite direction, perfectly certain that they must fall? seeing that since 1849, when Free Trade was

just beginning to be established, wages in the cotton trade have risen about eighty per cent., in the woollen trade about forty per cent., in agriculture about seventy-five per cent., and in the building trades about fifty per cent.? * What comes then of the hackneyed phrase, ‘What is the use of cheap food when ‘there is no money to buy it?’ It is a fallacy by suggestion contradicted by all experience of facts. We extract the following table from that most valuable and influential organ of public opinion the ‘Economist:’ †—

Consumption per head of Population of the following Articles.

Articles	Consumption per Head		
	1880	1874	1869
Cocoa lbs.	0·31	0·27	0·19
Coffee „	0·92	0·96	0·94
Sugar „	63·68	56·37	42·56
Tea „	4·59	4·23	3·63
Tobacco „	1·43	1·44	1·35
Spirits, imported . . gals.	0·25	0·33	0·27
„ British „	0·84	0·94	0·71

This does not look like ‘no money to buy it,’ even supposing the sugar used in brewing (five pounds per head in 1880 against two pounds in 1874) to be included in this calculation.

Again :—

	1879. £	1871. £	1869. £
Property and profits assessed under Schedule D. . . .	257,000,000	249,000,000	173,000,000

Again (from the ‘Economist’) :—

Number of paupers in receipt of relief in England and Scotland	1880. 901,737	1874. 935,176	1869. 1,167,888
Deposits in Savings Banks	£ 77,721,000	£ 64,624,000	£ 51,078,000
Convictions in Great Britain and Ireland	1869-74. 101,706	1875-80. 97,988	

And, as an illustration of our Quarterly contemporary’s assertion about the emigration of operatives, who, he says, are leaving their country in thousands rather than go to the workhouse :—

* See Leone Levi’s ‘History of British Commerce,’ *passim*.
† Economist, August 6, 1881.

	Six years 1875-80.	Six years 1869-74.	Decrease.	Decrease. per cent.
Number of Emigrants of British origin from United Kingdom .	850,000	1,218,000	368,000	30.0

Compare with this the figures of German emigration.

‘It is not rash to estimate that in the course of the present year one quarter of a million of Germans will have preferred expatriation to the blessings of the present economic system,’*—a system of Protection.

Then, as to savings:—

‘According to the “Magdeburg Zeitung,” during the month of June last, the savings banks in Saxony paid out over 1,000,000 marks (about 50,000*l.*) more than they received, and during the half-year ending June the receipts had diminished 3,386,000 marks (about 169,000*l.*), and the payments had increased 5,639,000 marks (about 282,000*l.*) as compared with the corresponding six months of 1880.†

In an earlier passage of this article (pp. 571-2) we have referred to the decline of the carrying trade of the United States under the influence of Protection. At the risk of being thought tedious we venture to add a few statements as to the increase of British merchant shipping which we have extracted from a return printed during this year. We do this in illustration of the working of Free Trade, for it is to be remembered that the vast shipbuilding and carrying industry which exists amongst us has developed itself almost entirely since the repeal of our own navigation laws, and in spite of the opposition and competition of foreign nations. Compared with 1858, the first year noticed in the return in question, the tonnage of vessels built in the United Kingdom in 1880 for home and the colonies has doubled, in spite of the fact that during those twenty-three years nearly 8,000,000 tons have been added to our merchant navy, while we have built another 1,000,000 tons for foreigners. This is remarkable enough; but still more remarkable is the increase of our carrying trade. In 1858 we had rather more than half a million tons employed in the direct trade with the United States. Last year we had nearly 7,000,000 tons engaged in the same trade, while the United States, having had 1,800,000 tons so employed in 1858, last year had only a little more than one third of that number. In 1860, the tonnage of the British ships entered and cleared in the United Kingdom was under 14,000,000 tons. In

* Economist, August 6, 1881.

† Times’ City Article, Tuesday, August 9, 1881.

1880 it was 41,000,000. In 1860 the proportion of tonnage of such British ships to foreign was fifty-six to forty-three. In 1880, seventy to thirty. In 1860, 12,000,000 tons of United States shipping entered and cleared in the United Kingdom; in 1879 (the last year given), under 7,000,000. In 1860 the proportion of tonnage of such United States ships to foreign was seventy to thirty; in 1879 (the last year given), twenty-one to seventy-nine. Well might Mr. W. T. Lincoln (a speaker at the Boston Convention of October 6, 1880, and President of the New England Shipowners' Association) say:—

‘Something must be done, unless we (the United States) are prepared to abandon for ever the carrying trade of this country and of the world to foreigners, and pay them whatever they demand for their work. The American sailor must disappear, and our power even to defend our coasts and seaboard cities be given up, unless we re-establish in some form or other our mercantile marine.’

There is an old fable, which we have all read in Latin, French, or English, which illustrates in a quaint and telling way the schemes of the Neo-Protection school. Three families inhabited one tree—an eagle and her eaglets in the uppermost boughs, a cat and her kittens half-way down, and a wild sow and her pigs at the foot. The cat, for her private ends, employed herself in poisoning the minds of her two neighbours with respect to each other. So the eagle spent all her time in watching the movements of the wild sow, who, as their feline neighbour suggested, was bent on rooting up the tree which was their common habitation, and the wild sow never stirred from home lest the eagle should swoop down and carry off one of her pigs. The result was that both with their families died of starvation, and the cat had the tree to herself. Just so do our Protectionist neighbours strive to stir up strife between trade and trade, between town and country, between us and foreigners. They urge the Bradford workman to insist on an import duty on foreign woollen fabrics, and the Manchester hand to clamour for protection to cotton, on the one side; and then they propose to the farmer a customs duty on foreign wheat at so much per quarter, and on live stock at so much per head; the inevitable result being that working men will have to pay more for all they eat and all they wear, and will be, as La Fontaine so neatly says of the subjects of his own fable—

‘Sottes de ne pas voir que le plus grand des soins
Ce doit être celui d’éviter la famine;’

while the Protectionist missionary, be he landowner or manu-

facturer, if he gains at all, will gain at the expense of his poorer neighbours, who may say of him, as they find it in the fable,

‘Grand renfort pour messieurs les chats.’

The combined wisdom of Messrs. Ecroyd, Powell, Ashmead-Bartlett, and MacIver may not be illimitable; but there are some crafty wire-pullers behind who make these marionettes dance to any tune they please.

They warn us against cheap sugar, lest, if we buy it, the wily foreigner, having succeeded in diverting British capital from sugar refining, may suddenly turn round and say we shall have no sugar to our tea. They warn us against cheap cottons, woollens, linens, and silk, lest the Frenchman (whose exports, by the bye, of these manufactures have decreased 11 per cent. in the last twenty years, while our exports have increased 32 per cent. in the same period)* should beat us out of the markets of the world. They warn us against cheap beef and cheap flour, lest the Yankee, having induced us to employ our limited area of land for other products, should suddenly put an embargo on all exports to England, and under the pressure of starvation exact any terms his wicked will might require.

But they know very well that these anticipations are absurd. So long as the Austrian taxes his own subjects to supply us with cheap sugar, let us eat and be thankful. When, like France, he has discovered his error, we will refine for ourselves.† So long as France sends us such woollens or silks as please our taste, let us buy and wear them, remembering that if her exports to us are larger than ours to her, it only shows that there is some other nation to whom we send goods through whom we pay in a roundabout, but not less effectual way for the surplus France sends us, and that we get what we want at the cheapest, that is, the natural rate. So long as the United States are able to meet our wants in food-stuffs, let us not ascribe to them deep-laid designs of aggrandisement founded on our necessities, but buy and eat, remembering that international trade has for its object not politics but profits, and that so long as we want to buy the Western farmer will be only too glad to sell.

* Mr. J. K. Cross's Return.

† If the statements of a writer in the ‘Times’ are to be relied on, Austrian sugar bounties are being effectually neutralised by the skill of our Demerara planters, who have devised a system by which they supply the English market with a raw sugar fit to go into English consumption without further refining, in fact a loaf sugar. This is a striking instance of the value of Free Trade in stimulating invention.

Mr. J. K. Cross, in the capital speech he made on Mr. Ritchie's motion (August 13), told a story which exhibits in a striking manner how private interest lies at the bottom of most of these Reciprocitarian and Protectionist suggestions :—

'Some six sugar refiners, I think, from Liverpool, called to see an hon. member, and met him in the lobby; they told him their dismal story, to which he listened with patience. When they had finished, he said, "Well, gentlemen, if you can find me a sugar refiner who lives in a house of less than 200*l.* a year rent, I will support Mr. Ritchie's motion." They sighed, but they went away sorrowful, for they had great possessions. Next day he met two of them in the Royal Academy, and asked if they had bought any pictures. "No," they said, "there is nothing worth buying;" but one of the gentlemen found something worth buying before he left town, for he is reported to have bought a pleasant little house for the modest sum of 27,000*l.* Of course there may be poor sugar refiners, but in such cases as these I do not think much sympathy is needed.'

And he clenched the tale by assuring his hearers that 150,000*l.* is just going to be spent in new sugar refineries on the Thames, capable of refining 70,000 tons of sugar per annum. So much for sugar refining. Then as to exports of textile fabrics. We are urged to threaten the French with a return to import duties on their fabrics if they still continue to insist on taxing ours. But what has been the practical result of their and our respective systems? A return to the House of Commons, which we have already quoted, tells us that English exports of cotton, linen, silk, and woollen yarns and manufactures have increased from 73,000,000*l.* in 1859 to 94,000,000*l.* in 1879, and to 109,000,000*l.* in 1880, while French exports of a similar character have decreased from 32,000,000*l.* in 1859 to 28,000,000*l.* in 1879, and 29,000,000*l.* in 1880, giving an increase of English and a decrease of French exports of these articles between 1859 and 1879 of 32 per cent. and 11 per cent., and between 1859 and last year of 50 per cent. and 10 per cent. respectively. This being so, no Protectionist shall persuade us that France is beating England in the markets of the world. If she puts obstacles in the way of receiving our goods directly, the only effect will be that we shall continue to buy what we want of her, and pay for it in a roundabout fashion by means of the goods of some third country to which we shall have to send our own goods in our own ships earning freight, and from which we shall carry the goods of the third country earning some more freight, all of which will add to the cost of those goods, and diminish the amount which the French exporter ultimately receives.

Lastly, as to food-stuffs. Being as we are America's best and only certain customer, to suppose that she would starve her own farmers for some purpose of political aggrandisement is to refuse to her that credit for acuteness which she has always maintained. Cutting off the nose to spite the face would be far too weak a metaphor under such circumstances. She would not only be cutting off her nose but decapitating herself—committing national suicide—if, for any motive at present inconceivable, she were to make even the faintest suggestion of such a design. Her first foes would be those of her own household.*

We have endeavoured in the preceding pages to point out some of the principal misstatements and fallacies of the new school of Protection. But we think it will be well before parting to say a few more words as to the doctrines of Free Trade. It is evident that many persons have either never learnt, or having once learnt have since forgotten, those doctrines; and when persons who profess to lead public opinion fall into such monstrous blunders as those of Sir Edward Sullivan, Mr. Ecroyd, and the 'Quarterly Review,' it is surely expedient to proclaim afresh, though in few words, some of the more important truths of the old gospel.

First, as to exports and imports—foreign trade. Why do we deal with other nations? Because we can get from them, by way of exchange, either articles which we could not make at all at home, or which, if we made them, would require a greater expenditure of time and labour than other articles which we send abroad. For example, at a great cost we might make wine in England. It must of course be both dear and bad; but it might be made. So at a great cost the Spaniards might make railway iron. It would certainly be dear and probably be of inferior quality, but it might be made. We, wanting wine, export railway iron to pay for it. The Spaniards, wanting railway iron, export wine. Thence arises an advantage in the saving of labour to each country. But it is the imports directly, and the exports only indirectly, that carry this advantage to either nation. In other words, we import what we want, and export what other nations want. But as our primary object is not to supply the wants of other nations but to supply our own wants, it follows that

* Last year the imports from the United States were:—Articles of food, 63 millions sterling; raw produce, $41\frac{1}{2}$ millions; manufactured goods, $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of which nearly half was *hides*, tanned, tawed, curried, or dressed.

the amount of the exports must depend on the amount of the imports so far as commerce is concerned, and not, as our Protectionist friends would have us believe, that the imports ought to be governed by the exports. 'Reduced imports necessarily imply reduced exports and reduced foreign trade.' In like manner restricted imports necessarily imply restricted exports, and as every import duty, by raising the price of articles imported, and by causing that friction which every custom-house creates, restricts imports, it is impossible to reimpose import duties without diminishing exports and lowering the volume of our foreign trade.

It will no doubt be observed that in some nations imports exceed exports, and *vice versâ*. For example, in England, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and, so far as home produce and consumption are concerned, in France also, the imports exceed the exports; while in the United States, Spain, Turkey, Austria, Brazil, India, and Peru, the exports exceed the imports. It will be seen that those cases where the imports exceed the exports are the cases of rich and lending nations, and the cases where the exports exceed the imports are the cases of poor and borrowing nations. As the poor and borrowing nations have to pay the interest of their debts somehow, and as it is never paid in bullion, it is evident that the balance of exports from poor nations, and the balance of imports to rich ones, are employed in settling these international debtor and creditor accounts between the poor nations on the one hand and the rich nations on the other. As far as regards the United States, the statistics of this year stand, we believe, as follows:—Imports, 128,000,000*l.*; exports, 180,000,000*l.*; excess of exports, 52,000,000*l.* This excess is accounted for in the following way: Freight on 128,000,000*l.* paid to foreign, that is, English shipowners, at 10 per cent., 13,000,000*l.* Interest on European investments, 30,000,000*l.* Remittances on account of Americans travelling in Europe, 10,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* Total, 53,000,000*l.* to 58,000,000*l.* So that within the year, not taking into account some 20,000,000*l.* of specie imported, the account is more than balanced. It has been calculated that not less than 60,000,000*l.* of money is distributed annually in London in the shape of interest on foreign investments, not calculating those of a private nature. It is therefore easy to see why imports in this country always exceed exports in such large measure.

The consideration that it is all important to us to get what imports we want, while it is a secondary consideration in what

way and by what articles of export we pay for them, will lead us to see how delusive are the arguments of the Reciprocitarians. They say, protect our industries by import duties; don't deal with those who won't deal with you, or put an import duty on their productions if they put an import duty on yours. What will be the result? First of all, we shall have to pay dearer for the things which we want, so far as they consist of imports; and, secondly, we shall thereby have less to spend on the things which we want, so far as they are home products. For the imposition of import duties in no respect adds to the fund from which we have to draw in order to pay for articles needed in daily life.

The question of demand and supply brings us to another matter as to which Free Traders and Protectionists are always at issue. Are we, in public action, that is, in legislation, to consider the interest of the producer or the interest of the consumer? Among the Protectionists we constantly hear such arguments as this:—'There are ten thousand houses empty at Birmingham. We must do something to get work for the people, who would occupy these houses if work were found for them. The same for Bradford, the same for Preston. But, let us ask, which comes first, demand or supply? Is the supply produced in order to stimulate the demand? or does the demand by arising necessitate a supply? Is the producer put to work in order to create a consumer? or does the consumer by his wants create the producer? It is evident that the producer is an accident, a function, so to speak, of the consumer; and so it comes that all these great and varied interests, these hives of industry, these miracles of skill, depend for their support on demand, and have no existence except one dependent on the fancies, the tastes, the convenience, or the necessities of the consumer. Work is only valuable in its results. This being so, it follows of course that it is the interest of the consumer, and not the interest of the producer, which has to be considered—the interest, not of the sections who make up the community, but of the community itself. As M. Bastiat puts it in his lucid way, we must endeavour 'to realise the theory of plenty,' remembering that to consult the interest of the producer is to consult an interest which is anti-social, while to consult the interest of the consumer is to take as a basis the general interest.

Work, we have said, is only valuable in its results. The duty of the statesman, then, is not to create work, but to see that work is applied as usefully as possible. But it is not to be expected that the workman should see the truth of this.

He simply wants to earn wages, to be a producer that he may have the means wherewith to become a consumer. And here is the strength of the Fair Traders. They trade unfairly upon the ignorance of the workman—they suggest to him, what he already believes, that his work may be interfered with by the free introduction of the results of similar work from foreign countries; they trade upon the anti-social tendencies of the producer, and so they get him on their side. But they do not tell him, what he ought to know, that if the interest of every group of producers is consulted, the first result will be that the price of every article of growth or manufacture will be raised, that living will be dearer, and then that the second result will be that the demand for all articles will fall off, because there will not be money to buy them with, and that he will not be a gainer but a loser by a system which enhances the price of all articles alike.

The fact that negotiations have been going on for a renewal of the French Treaty of Commerce has no doubt had something to do with this recrudescence of Protection. It has given politicians of the calibre of Lord Sandon the opportunity of firing off very small pop-guns at the Treasury Bench; and it has enabled others of the party to testify an enormous amount of patriotism with the smallest possible expenditure of argument and sense. At the same time it has caused thinking men to review the whole question of international engagements of this nature; and it has provoked a discussion which tends to show that the arguments as to the expediency of such bargains are by no means all on one side.

The results of the Treaty of 1860 were given in a few sentences by Mr. Chamberlain in his speech of August 12. Mr. Ritchie, one of the members for the Tower Hamlets, had moved a resolution praying her Majesty to withhold her consent to any commercial treaty with France substituting specific for *ad valorem* duties, to the disadvantage of any article of British manufacture, raising the present rate of duties, not giving full liberty to deal with bounties, or binding us for more than a year. To this resolution Mr. Chamberlain spoke, and, after dealing with other matters, made a statement in effect as follows:—

‘In the ten years 1851 to 1860, our average exports to France were 8,300,000*l.* per annum. Last year these figures had risen to 28,000,000*l.*, of which 16,000,000*l.* was British, as distinguished from colonial produce. . . . Coming to imports, the average in 1851–60 was 11,300,000*l.*, and in 1880 they had risen to about 42,000,000*l.* But these figures do not represent the whole facts, as with regard to imports Swiss textiles coming through France figure as French

goods, and French goods intended for other countries than England pass through this country *en route*; while, as to exports, British yarns go to the Vosges through Antwerp and figure as exports to Belgium.'

So that the true amounts of imports from France are smaller, and of exports to France larger, than the above figures would lead us to imagine. And Professor Leone Levi, in a letter to the 'Times,' observes that the justifications for the conclusion of the Treaty were reasonable and well founded.

'As was said, let us once get the removal of the prohibitions of imports, and the diminution of those import duties which now disfigure the French tariff, and we shall have a large increase of trade between the two countries, certain to lead to further and greater reforms, and to the ultimate establishment of sound commercial principles on both sides of the Channel. And the results have more than verified such expectations. . . . Why then disturb a policy so beneficial?'

It is also to be remembered that the Anglo-French trade has developed more in proportion than the rest of our foreign trade. Our foreign trade in all has barely doubled in twenty years, but Anglo-French trade is now nearly three times what it was before 1860. A fifth of the foreign business of France is with us, and a fourth of what France exports comes to us. It is clearly, therefore, the interest of France to encourage trade with England by lowering its tariff. These observations we quote from the 'Times.'*

On the other hand, we have the case of no renewal strongly and boldly stated by one who, as he himself says, is among the very few survivors of those who took part in the debates which preceded the adoption of the policy of Free Trade.

Lord Grey, in two letters to the 'Times,'† gives his reasons for thinking that we should now revert to the original Free Trade policy, which, he says, was that duties of customs were in future to be imposed only for revenue; that import duties were to be charged at the same rate on the same goods from whatever quarter; that in the imposition of such duties we were not to be influenced by foreign tariffs; and that we were not to make such duties a subject of negotiation with foreign Powers. He points out that the Reciprocity negotiations which had been carried on for nearly thirty years after the Peace of 1815 had signally failed, and that, although in 1843 and 1844 Mr. Ricardo's resolutions for opening the ports were not agreed to, the policy of those resolutions was from that time acted upon. He mentions, in language not unlike that of Sir Stafford Northcote which was quoted by Mr. Chamber-

lain, and which we have inserted in an earlier part of this article, the brilliant success of that policy, and then, in terms of sincere regret, relates that in 1860 the Government of the day, departing from it, bound the country to make certain reductions in customs in respect of certain other reductions made by France—a proceeding which, in his view, has left our commercial relations with that country in a worse state than they were before, and has been followed by an increase of the restrictions imposed on British commerce by the majority of foreign nations.

Lord Grey proceeds in his second letter to point out the difficulties with which any fresh negotiations must be surrounded. He shows that retaliation would be impossible, for how could we put a duty on the agricultural produce, for example, of the United States and of Russia, in revenge for the extravagant duties those countries impose on British manufactures? And if we do not act on a principle of retaliation, on what principle are we to act? Are we to appear in the garb of suppliants, and ask other nations to be so very obliging as to alter their tariffs to what we consider to be our advantage, when the certain result of our taking up this position will be to convince our neighbours that we have something considerable to gain, and they something considerable to lose, if they consent to our proposals. Persistency on our part in half-hearted attempts of this kind will only confirm other nations in their conviction that it is their interest to pay no heed to our requests.

Another inconvenience attaching to a renewal of negotiations is the disturbance of trade thereby occasioned. When a Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes a fiscal change, the resolution sanctioning that change is usually passed at the instant. But bargaining transactions with foreign Governments, especially when the parties are not single but manifold, will take up months or years, during the whole of which time the trade whose interests are at stake will be in a state of the most inconvenient, not to say ruinous, uncertainty. Furthermore, a treaty once signed, the hands even of Parliament and of future Parliaments are bound, and any increase of indirect taxation as respects those articles which may be affected by the treaty will be rendered for a term of years impossible.

Lord Grey goes on to express his opinion, that if we set the example of keeping clear from further commercial treaties, it would gradually induce other nations to abandon the system of restriction. He thinks that there are already some signs

that they are suffering from it, and are placed by it at a disadvantage in mercantile matters, and he points to the enormous development of our mercantile marine as an illustration of the working of Free Trade.

The worst evil that can happen to us if the Commercial Treaty falls through will in Lord Grey's opinion be this: that, instead of sending goods direct to France, in payment of what we buy from thence, we shall send them to some third nation who has dealings with France, and who will pay our bill by goods sent thither. To ensure this we may have to transfer capital and labour from the production of goods suited to the French market to the production of goods suited to some other market.

But to France the matter will be far more serious. Her consumers will have to pay protection prices at home for goods they could have bought cheaper from us. And in her chief article of export to England, namely, wine, she will have very formidable rivals in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Hungary, and our own colonies. Here we may observe that, in the first eleven months of 1880, France imported 142,000,000 gallons of wine from Spain, Italy, and other places, while her export of wine to us during the whole year was under 7,000,000 gallons. Lord Grey winds up his letter by the expression of a very strong opinion, that to make our customs duties a matter of negotiation with other nations is to admit the principle of 'Fair Trade,' and to imply that free imports on our part are a favour done to other nations which ought to be met by a similar favour from them.

He also asserts that the manner in which the Commercial Treaty was forced upon France by the power of the Emperor, and with the assistance of England, created deep dissatisfaction in France, which has not yet disappeared, gave an impression there that we had much the best of the bargain, and weakened the hands of the Free Trade party, who were then striving to get their countrymen to a sounder view, and with much hope of success. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, Lord Grey is fully of opinion that the best course for our Government to adopt would be to drop any further attempt at negotiation, and leave matters as they are.

Whether the negotiations which have been alternately resumed and suspended will have any practical result is at present undetermined. Of one thing, however, we may feel certain, that the Government are firmly resolved not to be parties to any treaty with France less favourable to the commercial relations of the two countries than the one now in ex-

istence. We have also good reason to believe that the views so forcibly stated by Lord Grey are views with which the leading members of the Government are very much inclined to agree.

There were strong reasons for the Treaty of 1860 (as was then stated in this Review) which do not now exist. It was the only possible mode of reducing the rates of the French tariff and of removing all prohibitions, including those of cotton and woollen tissues; and although it was regarded with hostility by the productive classes in France, there can be no doubt that it has done much to improve relations between the two countries. Lord Grey appears to us to have somewhat underrated the value of the practical results of the Treaty of 1860. These reasons, however, do not apply with equal force to a renewal of the Treaty, and it is a matter of question whether it would not have been well to let bygones be bygones, and, by refraining from any further negotiations, to have satisfied our neighbours that we were in no degree anxious to persuade them to a course which, at the same time, we honestly thought was less for our benefit than for theirs; but whatever be the result, we are sure that, with the present negotiators, no attempt will be made to establish what Mr. Bright, who, perhaps, has as good a right as any man to use epithets in place of argument, calls a stupid and impossible proposition—this, namely, that we are only to trade freely without duties at our ports with nations who will do the same with us. This is, in fact, to determine never to buy at the cheapest possible rate from the inhabitants of any country whose rulers prevent them from buying at the cheapest possible rate from us.

In the course of this article we have made some reference to what is called Fair Trade; and perhaps the programme of the Fair Trade League deserves a short notice simply to point out its gross dishonesty. Their policy advocates *inter alia* the freedom of imports of raw materials for home industries, *in large print*, and then *in small print* excludes *food* from their list of raw material, and quotes these words of Mr. Cobden as their authority: ‘It is a complete delusion to suppose that the price of food regulates the rate of wages.’ Mr. Cobden in these words was meeting the old Protectionist argument, that if corn was cheap wages would go down; whereas he is represented as arguing that cheap food is not essential to success in manufacturing competition. In other words, what he said amounted to this: Cheap food does not imply low wages; and he is represented as saying, Cheap food does not imply cheap products. The Fair Traders are not much more fair to

Adam Smith than to Mr. Cobden. Here is the one quotation which they make from his works:—

‘The case in which it may (sometimes) * be a matter of deliberation how far it is proper to continue the free importation of certain foreign goods is when some foreign nation restrains by high duties or prohibitions the importation of some of our manufactures into their country. [Here follows in the original a whole page of instances of unsuccessful retaliation.] There may be good policy in retaliations of this kind when there is a probability that they will procure the repeal of the high duties or prohibitions complained of.’

But they forget to add a sentence in the same page:—

‘When there is no probability that any such repeal can be procured, it seems a bad method of compensating the injury done to certain classes of our people, to do another injury ourselves, not only to those classes, but to almost all the other classes of them.’

And another, to be found at the end of the same chapter:—

‘The legislature, were it possible that its deliberations could be always directed, not by the clamorous importunity of partial interests, but by an extensive view of the general good, ought upon this very account, perhaps, to be particularly careful neither to establish any new monopolies of this kind, nor to extend further those which are already established.’

One other statement we refer to, that our readers may see the enormous demands which these Fair Traders make on their credulity.

‘Where the supply’ (of any imported article, meaning, of course, American wheat and flour) ‘is not only commensurate with, but probably greater than, the demand, an import tax falls on the *foreign exporters*, who, to that extent, relieve the national burdens of the importers.’

‘But when the demand alone creates the supply, the position is reversed, and an import tax is then necessarily borne *by the importing nation*.’

On which they observe:—‘This distinction is generally lost sight of when treating of the economy of taxation.’ *Generally lost sight of!* No wonder, when the fact is, as may be shown in three sentences, that the distinction, if any exists, is exactly the reverse. The case for which this ‘distinction’ was invented is, of course, the case of American wheat and flour. This is the article of which the supply is ‘probably greater than the demand,’ and the suggestion is that, this being the state of things, the American farmer would pay any import duty imposed in England. But would he? When the supply

is greater than the demand, the seller takes the lowest possible price. The American farmer is that seller, and it is notorious that he complains that 'the price is made in Liverpool.' Are we to believe that the shrewd Liverpool merchant has all this time been giving 5s. a quarter more than he need have done, and that if an import duty of 5s. a quarter were imposed he would get his bargain for 5s. a quarter less money? If the supply were small and the demand unlimited, it is admitted by these Fair Traders themselves that the importing country would pay the duty, though in that case the seller would be making his own price, and might possibly be able to spare 5s. a quarter out of his profits. But if, when the seller's profits are large, he does not pay the import duty, how much less, when his profits are small or even *nil*, is there any probability of his paying it! The 'distinction' only requires a moment's inspection to enable us to see its absurdity.

In conclusion we wish to express our satisfaction that the bubble of the Fair Trade League appears to have burst. At all events, the Trade Unions Congress, at their meeting a month ago, accepted with enthusiasm their President's avowal, 'We are not willing to tolerate any reversion to the old 'nonsense of Protection.' At that meeting, too, some disclosures took place which showed how the Fair Trade League has been bolstered up. 'The delegates who attended it were 'not sent by trade societies. Their railway fares were paid 'for them; they received 15s. a day expenses and a luncheon.' So said Mr. Burnett, of the Amalgamated Engineers, and he added: 'If any man had a mind to sell himself to the Fair 'Trade Association, or any other association, for what was 'virtually a free trip up to London, let him do so; but he 'had no right to sell his fellow-unionists by appearing in their 'name and professing to represent their opinions.' After this exposure several delegates, including one who had taken a prominent part in the sugar-bounty agitation, were objected to and excluded.

The Farmers' Alliance have taken a similar step. Their committee 'believes that, if it were possible by united effort 'to reverse the national policy of Free Trade and to restore 'Protection, the first interest to be sacrificed would be that of 'agriculture; that, if duties upon corn could be reimposed, 'they would be repealed at the first moment of difficulty, and 'this whichever party happened to be in power;' and they go on to say that they

'cannot but look upon the agitation for "Fair Trade" as a delusion and a snare—a delusion because, whilst there is not the remotest chance

of the nation listening to any proposal to tax its food, duties on farm produce, even if allowed, would not only be of no permanent benefit to the tenant farmer, but would prove injurious to his interests by raising the price of foreign corn, now so largely required for stock feeding; a snare, because the proposal is an expedient for keeping up rents, and for staving off agricultural reforms, which are the only true remedies in the hands of Parliament for restoring prosperity to the farming interest.'

Where then are these dangerous dreamers to look for a realisation of their schemes? The working man will not have them, at least not under 15s. a day and a lunch. The farmer will not have them, so far as farmers are represented, and they are very largely represented, in the Farmers' Alliance. The London newspaper press, with one 'base exception,' is against them; and it is only necessary to look at their 'list' to see that not one name of any importance, nay, hardly a name which anybody knows except its possessor and a few private friends, is to be found among their supporters.

So we will leave them to their fate, simply proposing to them an alternative which may be better than total and ignominious extinction. If they cannot get on alone, they might mend matters by amalgamating with a kindred institution, the prospectus of which we extract from a well-known London newspaper, and which must have been composed by the ghost of Bastiat.

'“The Snowdon and Grampian Tea Company (Limited)” is the title of a new speculation which a correspondent informs us is being promoted by an enthusiastic fair trader and advocate of “the cause of British labour.” The following is an extract from its prospectus:—“This company is formed for the purpose of producing, with the greatest possible expenditure of labour, and therefore with the greatest advantage to the labouring classes of the country, an article to replace the cheap but admittedly useful article now imported from China. It is calculated that it will require to produce an equal tea on the slopes of Snowdon and the Grampians an expenditure of at least five guineas per lb. for the commonest sorts, and a proportionally larger sum for the production of the finer kinds. As nearly the whole of the amount spent will be paid for actual labour in tending the plants, keeping up the fires in the glasshouses, getting coal for this purpose, and transporting it to the highest and coldest parts of the mountains, a large number of artisans and labourers will be employed and directly benefited. It is further proposed to employ, as managers, persons selected for their total ignorance of the growth and preparation of tea, so that it is not impossible that the crop for the first three or four years will be even more costly than above intimated, necessitating, as this undoubtedly will, larger employment of labour in each succeeding season to remedy the errors of the one

past. Many of the directors, as will be seen from their names, are persons of large political influence, and it is hoped that in a short time Parliament may be induced to pass an Act forbidding the flooding of the country with the cheap produce of China by imposing upon the article a duty that shall enable the home producer to compete in the way of 'Fair Trade' with the better-situated foreigner." As chairman, he hopes to secure the services of Lord Salisbury, and he is reserving seats on the board of directors for all members of the late Conservative Cabinet. The post of secretary is not yet filled up, but the editor of the "Morning Post" is to have the first offer.'

It is possible that a study of the first year's balance-sheet of the new institution might do something to clear the eyes of the people who mistake means for ends, and measure the value of a production by the amount of employment it creates; but, without waiting for a document which would probably not be financially satisfactory, we counsel Fair Traders, actual or intending, to read, and try to understand, the prospectus we have printed for their benefit. Couched, as it is, in the form of a literary squib, it contains truths which, if mastered, will effectually protect those who have learned them from the ridiculous absurdities and sophistical misstatements of the Fair Trade League.

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